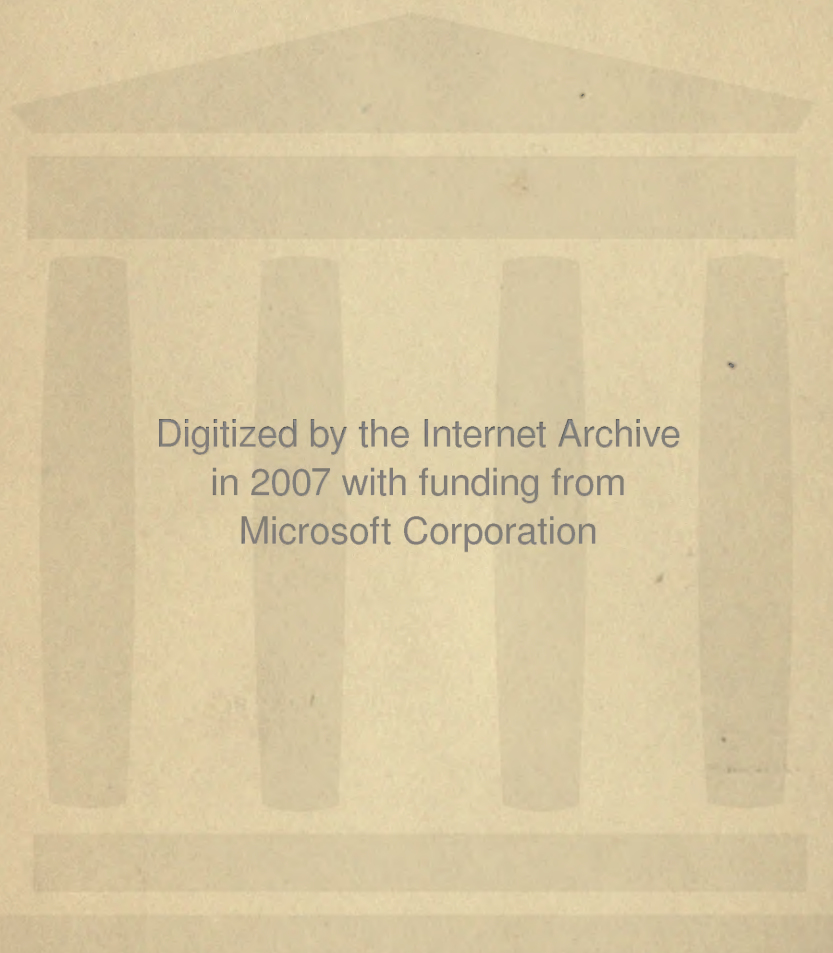


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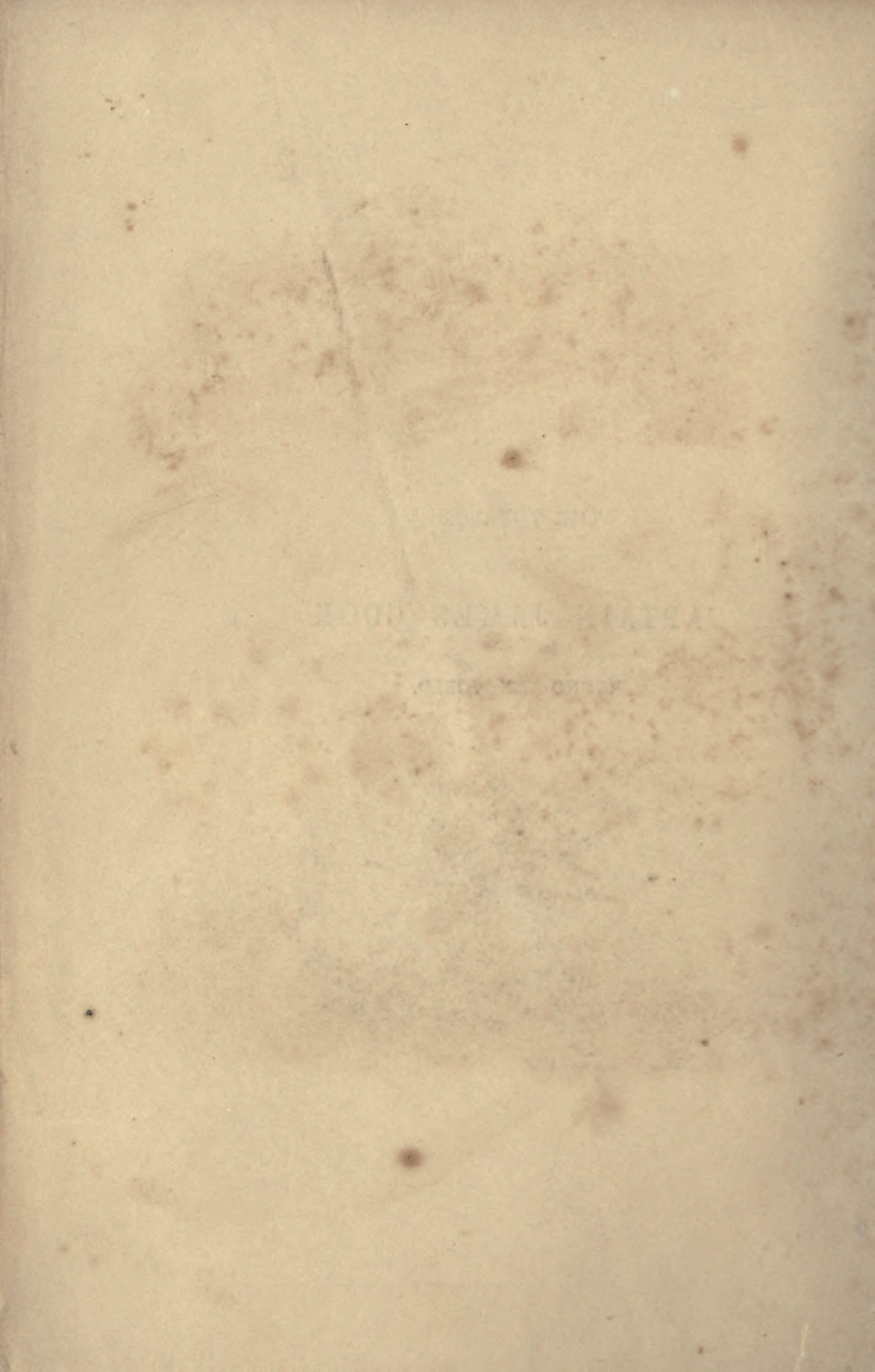
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ROUND THE WORLD.

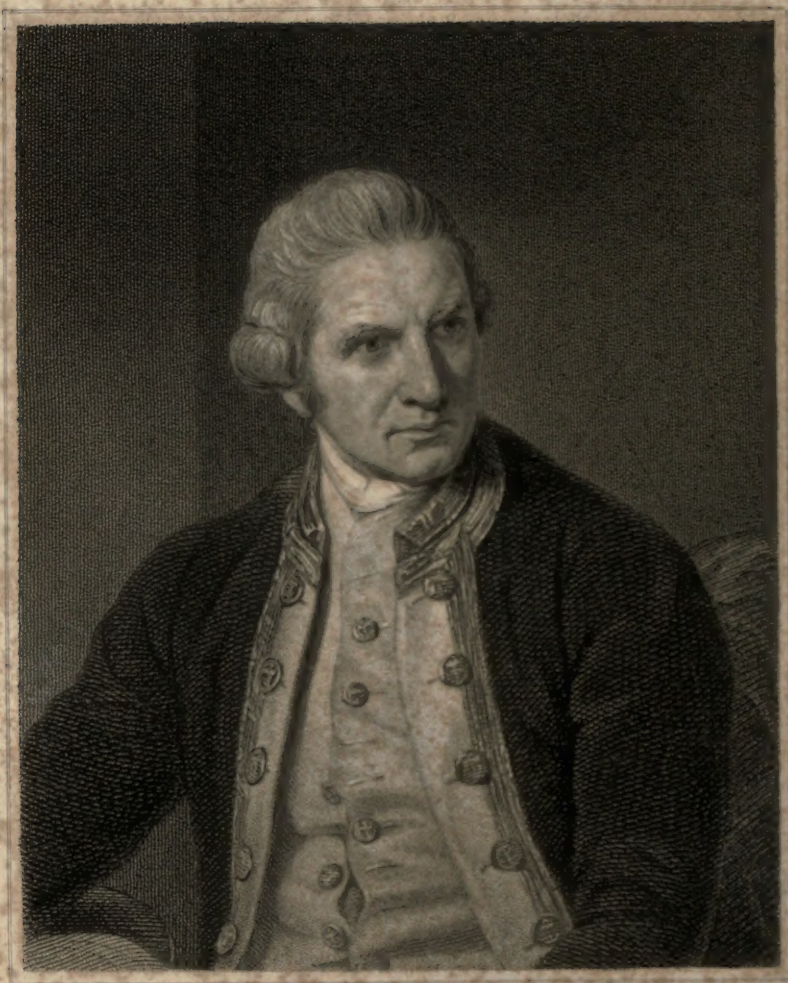












*Engraved by J. Smith.*

CAPTAIN COOK.

*From an original Picture by W. Verelst  
in the Gallery of Greenwich Hospital.*



THE  
THREE VOYAGES  
OF  
CAPTAIN JAMES COOK.

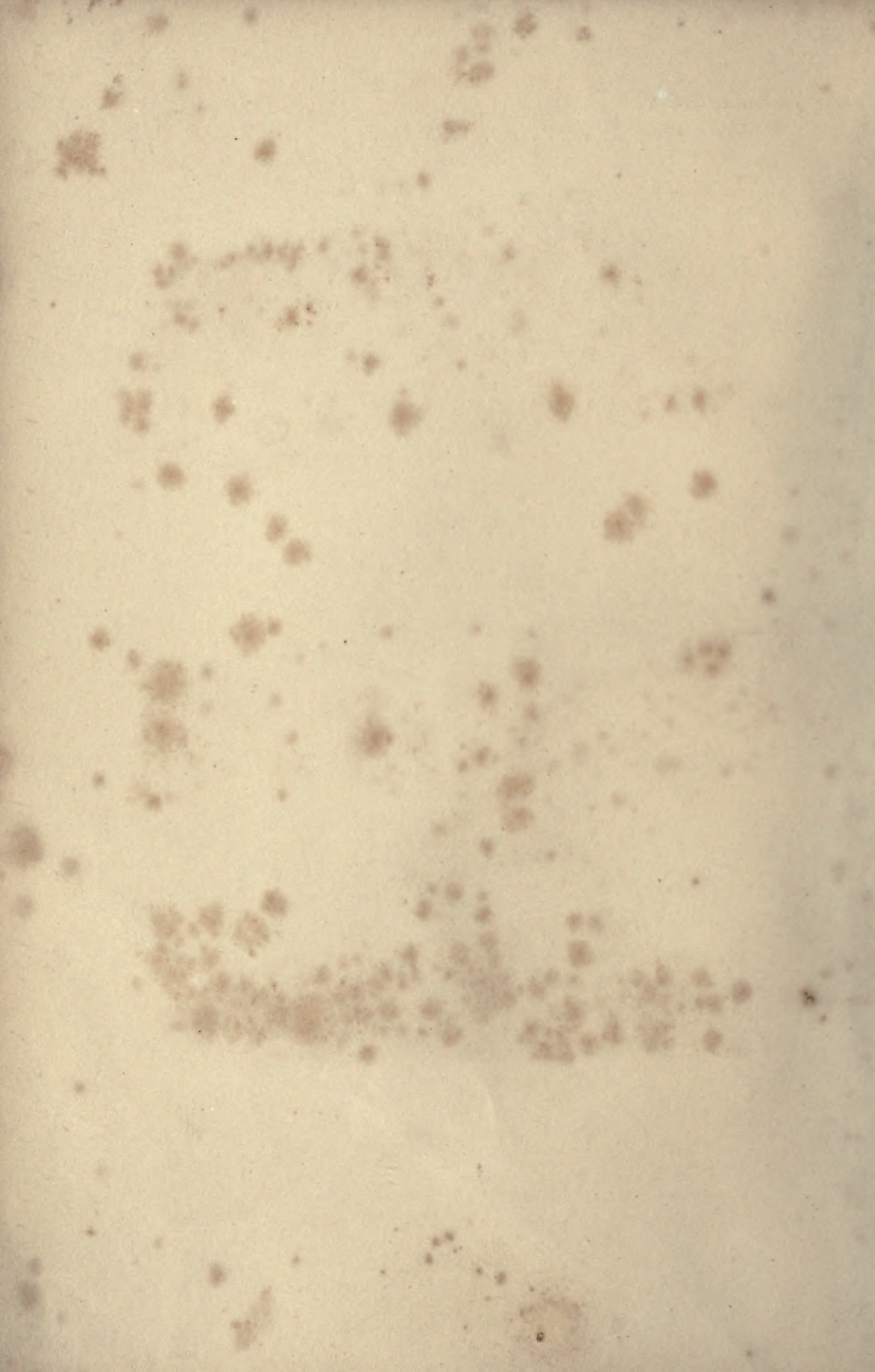
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*The Endeavour approaching Otaheite.*

LONDON:  
WILLIAM SMITH, 113, FLEET STREET.  
1842.







THE VOYAGES  
OF  
CAPTAIN JAMES COOK, 1728-77

ILLUSTRATED WITH  
MAPS AND NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD.

WITH  
An Appendix,  
GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE SOUTH SEA  
ISLANDS, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



LONDON:  
WILLIAM SMITH, 113, FLEET STREET.

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## LIFE OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK.

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SOME account of the life of this truly great man—one whose unobtrusive modesty, conspicuous alike in his actions and his writings, only made his fame the more purely bright—is the fitting preface to the history of his greatest achievements; that is to say, those by which he most directly served his country, for in considering his moral history, that of the growth, cultivation, and expansion of his mind, we find the greatest and most extraordinary had been effected long before his name was known beyond “the Service.” A faithful account of the early days of Cook, could it be obtained, would give us better data for forming a sound judgment on his character than is usually procured from information gleaned after fame has been reaped. All the most material events of his honourable career are mentioned in the account of his services and sketch of his career given by Captain King, in his journal of the events of the voyage subsequent to the death of his lamented leader (see *infra* vol. ii. p. 387-9), and we can add but little to it.

JAMES COOK was born on the 27th October 1728, at Marton, in Cleveland, a village about four miles from Great Ayrton in the County of York, and was baptised in the parish church there, on the 3rd November following. His father was then a day-labourer on a farm, and resided in one of the mud cottages common in that neighbourhood; but his circumstances were somewhat improved soon after, as in 1730 he was appointed hind or bailiff to Thomas Scottowe, Esq., and entrusted with the care of a large farm at Ayrton, whither he removed. Up to the age of thirteen his son James, who was one of a family of nine children, remained at home, assisting as far as his strength would permit in the ordinary duties of the farm. He was then sent to school at Ayrton, where he learnt writing and arithmetic, reading having been apparently picked up before. To what point that reading had extended—what influence it exercised over his young mind, we have no record beyond a traditionary statement that he displayed “a very early genius for figures.” In January 1745 he was put apprentice to a shopkeeper at Snaith, but on discovering an inclination to the sea, his master gave up his indentures, and in July 1746 he



articled himself for three years to Mr. J. Walker, a shipowner engaged in the coal trade at Whitby.

The coal trade has been the nursery of many good seamen, and in it Cook evidently acquired no common degree of nautical skill. He first sailed in the *Freelove*, a collier trading between Newcastle and London, where he remained till 1748; when his master, who already perceived his worth, and was desirous to give him all the advantages in his power, sent for him to Whitby that he might have an opportunity of improving himself in his profession, by assisting in the rigging and fitting out a new vessel of six hundred tons, called the *Three Brothers*, in which he sailed about the latter end of June, first in two trips to London in the coal trade, and afterwards, the ship being taken up as a transport, to Middleburg, Dublin, Liverpool, and Deptford, (where the ship was paid off), finishing the season in the Norway trade. In the spring of 1750 he left Mr. Walker's service, and entered on board the *Marian* of Whitby, engaged in the Baltic trade. The next year he passed in a vessel belonging to Stockton, the name of which has not been preserved; and in February 1752 he returned to Mr. Walker, who made him mate of one of his vessels, the *Friendship*, in which capacity he continued until he resolved to enter the navy; "having," to use his own words, "a mind to try his fortune that way." He was furnished with a letter of recommendation from Mr. Walker, and another which, at the request of several of his friends and neighbours, was written for him by Mr. Osbaldiston, M.P. for Scarborough; and thus provided, he in 1755 entered the king's service on board the *Eagle*, a sixty-gun ship, then commanded by Captain Hamer: that officer was shortly superseded by Sir Hugh Palliser, who, much to his honour, recognised Cook's merits, and transferred him from the fore-castle to the quarter-deck, thus laying the foundation for his future superstructure of fame. This fact should not be forgotten, when the name of Sir Hugh Palliser is called to mind.

We have no detailed accounts of the upward progress of the untutored collier apprentice, who, by the force of his own merits alone, had at so early a period won the rank of a gentleman, and become entitled to associate on equal terms with the educated and the high-born. But it was rapid; the same untiring energy and steady pursuit of one object which appears ever to have ruled him to the last moment of his life, that of concentrating all his energies for the discharge of immediate duties, without weakening them by vain anticipations of the future, very soon procured him additional rank.

On the 15th of May 1759, he was appointed a master in the navy on board the *Mercury*, and in that vessel joined the fleet before Quebec, then commanded by Sir Charles Saunders, who immediately employed him in making a complete draught of the channel and river of St. Lawrence, which chart was published. In September in the same year he was transferred to the *Northumberland*, the flagship of Lord Colville, who had the command of the squadron stationed on the coast of America. "It was here," says Captain King, "as I have often heard him

say, that, during a hard winter, he first read Euclid, and applied himself to the study of mathematics and astronomy, without any other assistance than what a few books and his own industry afforded him."

Whilst attached to these vessels, we learn from Captain King that "Sir Charles Saunders committed to his charge the execution of services of the first importance in the naval department. He piloted the boats to the attack of Montmorency; conducted the embarkation to the Heights of Abraham; examined the passage and laid buoys for the security of the large ships in proceeding up the river;" services of immense importance, yet performed by a man, chosen from many who had enjoyed infinitely greater advantages of education, but who had not learned like Cook to do something more than qualify themselves for the *ordinary* routine of duty. Up to the time he entered His Majesty's service, he knew little or nothing of the theory of navigation. With what earnestness he must have studied to fit himself for the thorough performance of the duties, which their confidence in his undeviating fidelity led his superiors to impose upon him, is evinced by his executing such arduous services at the very time when he was occupied in learning how they could be accomplished.

His conduct gained him the warm friendship of Sir Charles Saunders and Lord Colville, "who continued to patronise him during the rest of their lives with the greatest zeal and affection." At the close of the war he was, on the recommendation of Lord Colville and his old friend Sir Hugh Palliser, engaged in a survey of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the coasts of Newfoundland; an employment in which he continued till 1767, when he was fixed upon by Sir Edward Hawke to take charge of the expedition intended to be sent out for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus in the South Seas. Before that period he had, however, made a visit to England, where, in the latter end of the year 1762, he married Miss Elizabeth Batt, of Barking, Essex. In the early part of the next year he returned to Newfoundland, where he continued to act as Surveyor first with Captain Graves, and afterwards under Sir Hugh Palliser. Many of the marks which he erected for surveying purposes are still visible, and recall the memory of their author, whilst the changes which have taken place in the condition of those shores (which are stated by Sir R. Bonnycastle to be rapidly sinking and consequently much altered in their bearings and general appearance since their windings were delineated by the hand of Cook) forcibly remind us of the vast alterations moral and political which have since then changed the aspect of the whole world, and nowhere in a greater degree than in those far distant and undiscovered lands to which his destinies were now about to call him.

In 1767, when upon the representations of the Royal Society that an accurate observation of the approaching transit of Venus over the Sun's disc would materially serve the cause of science, and that such an observation could nowhere be made with such advantage as on some one of the islands of the South Sea, King George the Third, who ever delighted in forwarding every scheme which promised any



increase of scientific knowledge, and who had already sent forth two expeditions of discovery, one of which, that under Wallis and Carteret, was yet at sea, immediately determined that the wishes of the Society should not only be fulfilled, but that advantage should be taken of the occasion for sending forth a third expedition, better provided with every requisite for prosecuting researches through regions yet unexplored than had ever been sent forth by any nation. The whole success of this project depended upon the choice of the man who was to conduct it, and Cook, a humble Master in the Navy, totally unfriended by birth or fortune, but who possessed friends won and fast fixed by his conspicuous merit, was singled out for an employment perhaps the most truly honourable that could have been imposed upon any officer.

It was, however, necessary that the rank of the commander of a vessel, destined for such an enterprise, should be in some degree commensurate with its importance, and accordingly Cook received his commission as lieutenant on the 25th of May, 1768, and took his final departure from Plymouth on the 20th of August.

In a memoir prefacing the account of the three several voyages of discovery, which Cook conducted with a judgment and correspondent success never excelled, if ever equalled, we are not called on to trace his course, and this is the less needful here, as Captain King has already done so in his *Journal* (vol. ii. p. 388), and we shall have occasion to direct attention to it in the earlier parts of the Appendix.

From the time of Captain Cook's embarking in the *Endeavour*, all that we know of his history is comprised in the records of his voyages; from these a very fair estimate of his personal worth may be formed, but the most pleasing is that afforded by the testimony of his pupil, companion, and friend, Captain King, who, in the sketch we have before referred to has well depicted the character of his beloved commander.

The great charm, and the real use of all biography, consists much more in the insight we are able to gain of the true character, as it is displayed without disguise in the homely details of domestic life and friendly intercourse, than in a review of the circumstances attending the public life of the subject of the memoir. There is more interest in the history of the man than that of the hero. But we have no materials of this sort to interweave with our bare narrative of the public acts of a man who spent all his best days in the unceasing service of his country. No memorials of his domestic life, of those few hours of relaxation snatched from long protracted years of toil, have been preserved to us. Only the love and veneration with which the comrades of his toil regarded their leader, do not permit a doubt that he was not less estimable as a husband and father.

On his return from his first voyage, he was promoted to the rank of commander; and in 1775, on the completion of the voyage in search of a southern continent, he obtained his post rank, and was also rewarded with a valuable situation in Greenwich Hospital; and on his death a pension of £200 per annum was settled by the king on his widow, and £25 per annum on each of his children, of whom he

left three, neither of whom long survived him. Nathaniel, the second son, who was a midshipman on board the *Thunderer*, Commodore Walsingham, was lost with that vessel, which foundered at sea, he being then only sixteen years old. Hugh, the youngest child, who was a student at Christ's College, Cambridge, died there in 1793, being then only seventeen years of age; and in the next year James, the eldest son, then commander of the *Spitfire* sloop of war, was drowned in his thirty-second year with his whole boat's crew off the Isle of Wight. A daughter had previously died of a dropsy when about twelve years of age. Thus a few short years beheld the widow of the great navigator left alone in the world bereft of all the ties which were most dear to her.

She long survived; but ever observed four melancholy anniversaries, on each recurrence of which she was accustomed to seclude herself, and give up her thoughts to the memory of the dead. She had fixed her residence at Clapham, that she might enjoy the society of her son James, whenever his duties called him to London, and there she continued to reside until death at length called her, in her ninety-fourth year, to rejoin those whom she had so long lamented. Her circumstances, independently of her pension, were easy, and she left large sums to various charities; but her most precious relic, the Copley medal, which had been voted to her husband for his improved method of preserving the health of seamen during long voyages, but which he did not live to receive, she bequeathed to the British Museum.

The remarkable point in Cook's character appears to be this: that although from his boyhood he desired to reach beyond the point he occupied, his ambition, if we must, for fault of a better, use a very invidious term, never led him, as he himself would have expressed it, to go beyond soundings. He pursued a steady, upright career; his course was ever forward; as he proceeded he gained knowledge. His knowledge led to a novel discipline on board our "scientific navy," of which he was the founder, Captain J. C. Ross being the latest and right worthy follower.

In the account of his first voyage Captain Cook lies under a double disadvantage. His journals were "fitted for the press," as vile a proceeding as fitting "Shakspeare for the stage," (a proceeding now happily exploded), by Dr. Hawkesworth, who contrived to make them unpopular by some very uncalled-for interpolations of his own; and secondly, by the presence of Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks, which, although submitted to with due deference to the powers above, was evidently irksome to the man, who, knowing himself equal to the conduct of every branch of inquiry, with the assistance of capable and conformable assistants, felt himself in a disagreeable and somewhat equivocal position with one, who, though not officially, was virtually a sort of overseer, independent of his control. In a note, vol. i. p. 337, we noticed the disagreement which prevented Mr. Banks from accompanying Cook on his second voyage. It has been said (but by a spiteful enemy of Banks, who did not publish his statement till the object of his hatred was no more), that Cook wilfully caused Mr. Banks's accommodations to be curtailed, in order to



disgust him. There is very little doubt that Cook did not wish for his company, nor would the companionship of any man, however amiable, be easily tolerated on the terms on which Mr. Banks had once sailed, and proposed to sail again—as one almost, if not quite, independent of the captain—almost his equal on the quarter-deck, where no equal can be borne without death to discipline, even in the presence of royalty. Cook was glad that Banks did not sail again with him, but he was above a dirty trick to get rid of him.

Captain Cook was plain and unassuming in his manners and appearance. His stature was upwards of six feet, and his general aspect is described as good-looking. His head was small; he wore his hair, which was brown, tied behind; his face was full of expression; his nose exceedingly well shaped; his eyes, which were small and of a brown colour, were quick and piercing; his eyebrows prominent, which gave his countenance altogether an air of austerity.

The attentive perusal of his *own* portion of the account of his momentous voyages, strongly urges us to write a eulogium on Cook; but we shall do better to substitute that written by Admiral Forbes, Commander of the Fleet, and inscribed on a pillar erected to his memory by his old and faithful friend, Sir Hugh Palliser, in his own grounds.

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TO

## THE MEMORY OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK,

THE ABLEST AND MOST RENOWNED NAVIGATOR THIS OR ANY COUNTRY HATH PRODUCED.

---

HE raised himself, solely by his merit, from a very obscure birth, to the rank of Post-Captain in the royal navy, and was unfortunately killed by the savages of the island of Owhyhee, on the 14th of February, 1779; which island he had not long before discovered, when prosecuting his third voyage round the globe.

He possessed, in an eminent degree, all the qualifications requisite for his profession and great undertakings; together with the amiable and worthy qualities of the best men.

Cool and deliberate in judging: sagacious in determining: active in executing: steady and persevering in enterprising, from vigilance and unremitting caution: unsubdued by labour, difficulties, and disappointments: fertile in expedients: never wanting presence of mind: always possessing himself, and the full use of a sound understanding.

Mild, just, but exact in discipline, he was a father to his people, who were attached to him from affection, and obedient from confidence.

His knowledge, his experience, his sagacity, rendered him so entirely master of his subject, that the greatest obstacles were surmounted, and the most dangerous navigations became easy, and almost safe, under his direction.

He explored the Southern hemisphere to a much higher latitude than had ever been reached, and with fewer accidents than frequently befal those who navigate the coasts of this island.

By his benevolent and unabating attention to the welfare of his ship's company, he discovered and introduced a system for the preservation of the health of seamen in long voyages, which has proved wonderfully efficacious : for in his second voyage round the world, which continued upwards of three years, he lost only one man by distemper, of one hundred and eighteen, of which his company consisted.

The death of this eminent and valuable man was a loss to mankind in general ; and particularly to be deplored by every nation that respects useful accomplishments, that honours science, and loves the benevolent and amiable affections of the heart. It is still more to be deplored by this country, which may justly boast of having produced a man hitherto unequalled for nautical talents ; and that sorrow is farther aggravated by the reflection, that his country was deprived of this ornament by the enmity of a people, from whom, indeed, it might have been dreaded, but from whom it was not deserved. For, actuated always by the most attentive care and tender compassion for the savages in general, this excellent man was ever assiduously endeavouring, by kind treatment, to dissipate their fears and court their friendship ; overlooking their thefts and treacheries, and frequently interposing, at the hazard of his life, to protect them from the sudden resentment of his own injured people.

The object of his last mission was to discover and ascertain the boundaries of Asia and America, and to penetrate into the Northern Ocean by the North East Cape of Asia.

Traveller ! contemplate, admire, revere, and emulate this great master in his profession ; whose skill and labours have enlarged natural philosophy ; have extended nautical science ; and have disclosed the long-concealed and admirable arrangements of the Almighty in the formation of this globe, and, at the same time, the arrogance of mortals, in presuming to account, by their speculations, for the laws by which he was pleased to create it. It is now discovered, beyond all doubt, that the same Great Being who created the universe by his *fiat*, by the same ordained our earth to keep a just poise, without a corresponding Southern continent—and it does so ! “He stretches out the North over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing.”—JOB, xxvi. 7.

If the arduous but exact researches of this extraordinary man have not discovered a new world, they have discovered seas unnavigated and unknown before. They have made us acquainted with islands, people, and productions, of which we had no conception. And if he has not been so fortunate as Americus to give his name to a continent, his pretensions to such a distinction remain unrivalled ; and he will be

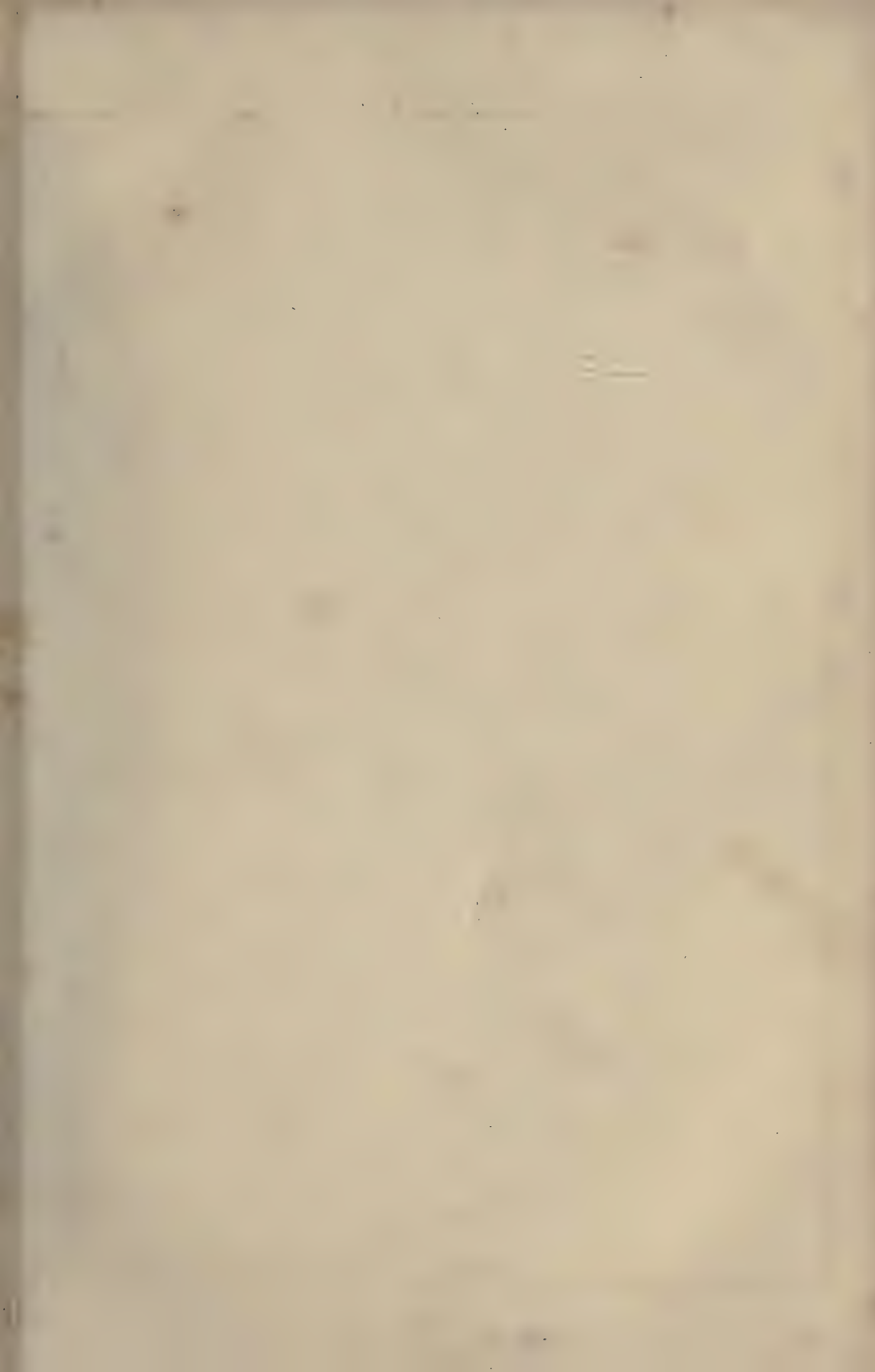


revered, while there remains a page of his own modest account of his voyages, and as long as mariners and geographers shall be instructed, by his new map of the Southern hemisphere, to trace the various courses and discoveries he has made.

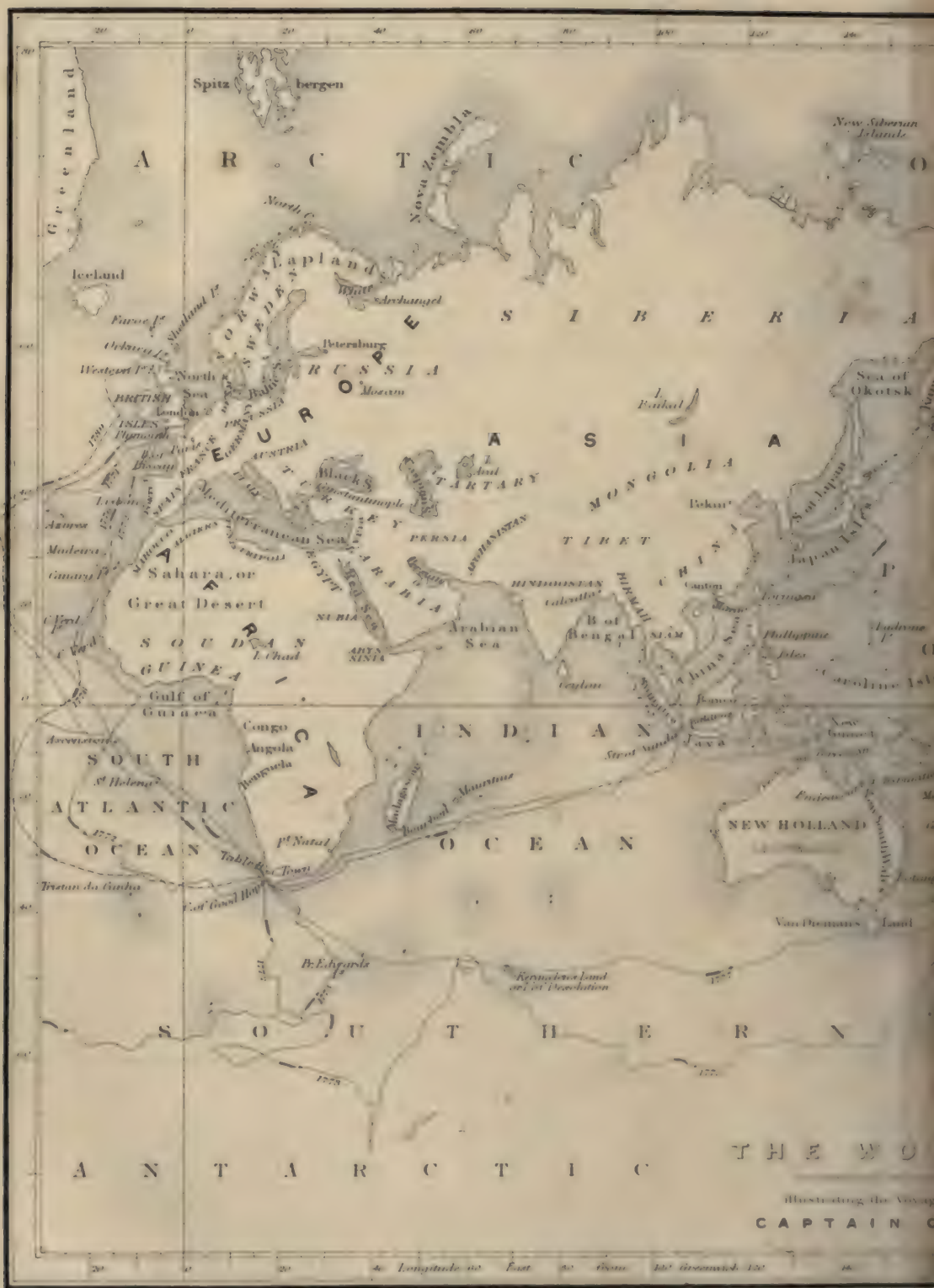
If public services merit public acknowledgments ; if the man who adorned and raised the fame of his country is deserving of honours, then Captain Cook deserves to have a monument raised to his memory, by a generous and grateful nation.

*Virtutis uberrimum alimentum et honos.*

VAL. MAXIMUS, lib. ii. cap. 6.







Illustrating the Voyage of  
CAPTAIN COOK







## INTRODUCTION.

WHEN the general peace of 1763 left Britain at liberty to turn her undivided energies to those pursuits which had too long been interrupted by war, the extension of her commerce, and the improvement of her people, a strong desire was manifested to increase the extent of our geographical knowledge; and by none was this object more eagerly pursued than by the young King George III. Under his auspices an expedition under Commodore Byron, and another under Captain Wallis and Captain Carteret, were fitted out. The more immediate commission of each of these navigators was the discovery and examination of islands in the South Atlantic ocean; but on their homeward voyage through the straits of Magelhaens or Magellan, and across the Pacific Ocean, out of the track of former voyagers, they made many discoveries which greatly stimulated curiosity at home, and gave additional strength to an opinion, then very generally entertained, that a southern continent must necessarily exist to counterbalance the weight of land in the north.

In the latter part of the year 1767, while Wallis and Carteret were still at sea, it was resolved by the Royal Society, that it would be proper to send persons into some part of the South Sea, to observe a transit of the planet Venus over the sun's disc, which, according to astronomical calculation, would happen in the year 1769; and that the islands called Marquesas de Mendoza, or those of Rotterdam or Amsterdam, were the fittest places then known for making such observation.

This resolution having been communicated to His Majesty, he directed that a vessel should be fitted out for the purpose. The command was intrusted to Lieutenant Cook, who had recently been employed on surveys in Newfoundland, and had been pointed out as an officer especially qualified for the service; and he was appointed by the Royal Society, in conjunction with Mr. Charles Green, a gentleman who had long been assistant to Dr. Bradley at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, to observe the transit.

Whilst the vessel was getting ready, Captain Wallis returned; and upon his representation that the island he had recently discovered, and named King George's Island (now known as Otaheite or Tahiti), was the fittest place for the observation, the Royal Society made choice of it for the purpose.

The vessel employed on this occasion was the *Endeavour*, a barque of 370 tons, built for the coal trade. A vessel of this class was preferred by Cook to any other: the colliers are particularly distinguished as excellent sea-boats, and their build



allows more room, and permits them to take the ground or to be laid on shore with more safety than any other vessels of equal size ; they also require fewer men for their navigation.

Her complement of officers and men was, Lieutenant Cook the commander, with two lieutenants under him ; a master and boatswain, with each two mates ; a surgeon and carpenter, with each one mate ; a gunner, a cook, a clerk and steward, two quarter-masters, an armourer, a sailmaker, three midshipmen, forty-one able seamen, twelve marines, and nine servants—in all eighty-four persons, besides the commander. She was victualled for eighteen months, and took on board ten carriage and twelve swivel guns, with good store of ammunition and other necessities.

The instructions given to the commander were, after making the necessary astronomical observations at Otaheite, to prosecute the design of making discoveries in the South Seas, returning home by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The happy results of this voyage more than equalled the most sanguine hopes that had been entertained of its success, and excited public interest in a high degree.

Mr., afterwards Sir Joseph Banks, long so well known as president of the Royal Society, but then a young man ardently devoted to scientific pursuits, and liberally expending an ample fortune in the advancement of his favourite studies, accompanied Lieutenant Cook on this expedition. He carried with him Dr. Solander, by birth a Swede, and a pupil of the celebrated Linnæus. Such a companion Mr. Banks considered as an acquisition of no small importance ; nor was he disappointed, for Dr. Solander proved as indefatigable as himself in the collection of every specimen of natural history that could be procured throughout the voyage, in the pursuit of which neither hesitated to encounter toil or danger. Mr. Banks also took with him two draftsmen—one to delineate views and figures, the other to paint such subjects of natural history as might offer—together with a secretary and four servants, two of whom were negroes.

Mr. Banks kept an accurate and circumstantial account of the voyage, which he did not publish himself, but freely communicated to Dr. Hawkesworth, to whom the care of preparing the following account was intrusted ; and many of the most interesting parts of the narration are derived from this source.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Banks did not accompany Captain Cook in his subsequent voyages : he had formed the design of joining him in his second expedition, and had made every arrangement for coming on board, when a slight misunderstanding between them induced him to abandon his intention.

The particular objects in view in the second and third voyages performed by Captain Cook are fully entered into in the several introductions to the respective narratives, to which we refer our readers.

# AN ACCOUNT OF A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD,

IN 1768, 1769, 1770, AND 1771.

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## BOOK I.

### CHAPTER I.—THE PASSAGE FROM PLYMOUTH TO MADEIRA, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THAT ISLAND.

HAVING received my commission, which was dated the 25th of May, 1768, I went on board on the 27th, hoisted the pennant, and took charge of the ship, which then lay in the basin in Deptford-yard. She was fitted for sea with all expedition; and stores and provisions being taken on board, sailed down the river on the 30th of July, and on the 13th of August anchored in Plymouth Sound.

While we lay here waiting for a wind, the articles of war and the act of parliament were read to the ship's company, who were paid two months' wages in advance, and told that they were to expect no additional pay for the performance of the voyage.

On Friday, the 26th of August, the wind becoming fair, we got under sail, and put to sea. On the 31st, we saw several of the birds which the sailors call Mother Carey's Chickens, and which they suppose to be the forerunners of a storm; and on the next day we had a very hard gale, which brought us under our courses, washed over-board a small boat belonging to the boatswain, and drowned three or four dozen of our poultry, which we regretted still more.

On Friday, the 2d of September, we saw land between Cape Finisterre and Cape Ortegal, on the coast of Galicia, in Spain; and on the 5th, by an observation of the sun and moon, we found the latitude of Cape Finisterre to be  $42^{\circ} 53'$  north, and its longitude  $8^{\circ} 46'$  west, our first meridian being always supposed to pass through Greenwich; variation of the needle  $21^{\circ} 4'$  west.

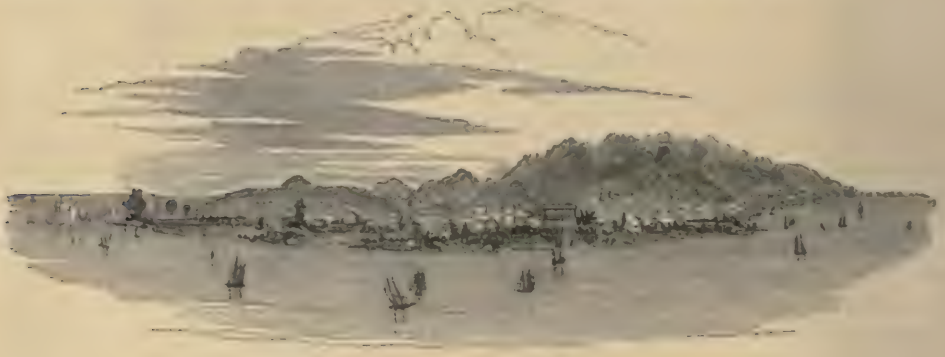
During this course, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander had an opportunity of observing many marine animals, of which no naturalist has hitherto taken notice; particularly a new species of the *Oniscus*, which was found adhering to the *Medusa Pelagica*; and an animal of an angular figure, about three inches long, and one thick, with a hollow passing quite through it, and a brown spot on one end, which they conjectured might be its stomach: four of these adhered together by their sides when they were taken, so that at first they were thought to be one animal; but upon being put into a glass of water they soon separated, and swam about very briskly. These animals are of a new genus, to which Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander gave the name of *Dagysa*, from the likeness of one species of them to a gem: several specimens of them were taken, adhering together sometimes to the length of a yard or more, and shining in the water with very beautiful colours. Another animal, of a new genus, they also discovered, which shone in the water with colours still more beautiful and vivid, and which indeed exceeded in variety and brightness anything that we had ever seen: the colouring and splendour of these animals were equal to those of an opal, and from their resemblance



to that gem, the genus was called *Carcinium Opalinum*. One of them lived several hours in a glass of salt water, swimming about with great agility, and at every motion displaying a change of colours almost infinitely various. We caught also among the rigging of the ship, when we were at the distance of about ten leagues from Cape Finisterre, several birds which have not been described by Linnaeus; they were supposed to have come from Spain, and our gentlemen called the species *Motacilla velificans*, as they said none but sailors would venture themselves on board a ship that was going round the world: one of them was so exhausted, that it died in Mr. Banks's hand almost as soon as it was brought to him.

It was thought extraordinary that no naturalist had hitherto taken notice of the *Dagysa*, as the sea abounds with them not twenty leagues from the coast of Spain; but, unfortunately for the cause of science, there are but very few of those who traverse the sea that are either disposed or qualified to remark the curiosities of which nature has made it the repository.

On the 12th, we discovered the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira, and on the next day anchored in Funchal road, and moored with the stream-anchor: but, in the night, the bend of the hawser of the stream-anchor slipped, owing to the negligence of the person who had been employed to make it fast. In the morning the anchor was heaved up into the boat, and carried out to the southward; but in heaving it again, Mr. Weir, the master's mate, was carried overboard by the buoy-rope, and went to the bottom with the anchor: the people in the ship saw the accident, and got the anchor up with all possible expedition; it was, however, too late; the body came up entangled in the buoy-rope, but it was dead.



MADEIRA—from the Sea.

When the island of Madeira is first approached from the sea, it has a very beautiful appearance, the sides of the hills being entirely covered with vines almost as high as the eye can distinguish; and the vines are green when every kind of herbage, except where they shade the ground, and here and there by the sides of a rill, is entirely burnt up, which was the case at this time.

On the 13th, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, a boat, which our sailors call the product boat, came on board from the officers of health, without whose permission no person is suffered to land from on board a ship. As soon as this permission was obtained, we went on shore at Funchal, the capital of the island, and proceeded directly to the house of Mr. Cheap, who is the English consul there, and one of the most considerable merchants of the place. This gentleman received us with the kindness of a brother, and the liberality of a prince; he insisted upon our taking possession of his house, in which he furnished us with every possible accommodation during our stay upon the island. He procured leave for Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander to search the island for such natural curiosities as they should think worth their notice; employed persons to take fish and gather shells, which time would not have permitted them to collect for themselves; and he provided horses and guides to take them to any part of the country which they should choose to visit. With all these advantages, however, their excursions were seldom pushed farther than three miles from the town,

as they were only five days on shore ; one of which they spent at home, in receiving the honour of a visit from the governor. The season was the worst in the year for their purpose, as it was neither that of plants nor insects ; a few of the plants, however, were procured in flower, by the kind attention of Dr. Heberden, the chief physician of the island, and brother to Dr. Heberden of London, who also gave them such specimens as he had in his possession, and a copy of his Botanical Observations ; containing, among other things, a particular description of the trees of the island. Mr. Banks inquired after the wood which has been imported into England for cabinet work, and is here called Madeira mahogany : he learned that no wood was exported from the island under that name ; but he found a tree called by the natives Vigniatico, the *Laurus indicus* of Linnæus, the wood of which cannot easily be distinguished from mahogany. Dr. Heberden has a book-case, in which the vigniatico and mahogany are mixed, and they are no otherwise to be known from each other than by the colour, which, upon a nice examination, appears to be somewhat less brown in the vigniatico than the mahogany ; it is, therefore, in the highest degree probable, that the wood known in England by the name of Madeira mahogany is the vigniatico.

There is great reason to suppose that this whole island was, at some remote period, thrown up by the explosion of subterraneous fire, as every stone, whether whole or in fragments, that we saw upon it, appeared to have been burnt, and even the sand itself to be nothing more than ashes : we did not, indeed, see much of the country, but the people informed us that what we did see was a very exact specimen of the rest.

The only article of trade in this island is wine ; and the manner in which it is made is so simple, that it might have been used by Noah, who is said to have planted the first vineyard after the flood. The grapes are put into a square wooden vessel, the dimensions of which are proportioned to the size of the vineyard to which it belongs ; the servants then, having taken off their stockings and jackets, get into it, and with their feet and elbows press out as much of the juice as they can : the stalks are afterwards collected, and being tied together with a rope, are put under a square piece of wood, which is pressed down upon them by a lever with a stone tied to the end of it. The inhabitants have made so little improvement in knowledge or art, that they have but very lately brought all the fruit of a vineyard to be of one sort, by engrafting their vines : there seems to be in mind, as there is in matter, a kind of *vis inertia*, which resists the first impulse to change. He who proposes to assist the artificer or the husbandman by a new application of the principles of philosophy, or the powers of mechanism, will find, that his having hitherto done without them will be a stronger motive for continuing to do without them still than any advantage, however manifest and considerable, for adopting the improvement. Wherever there is ignorance there is prejudice ; and the common people of all nations are, with respect to improvements, like the parish poor of England with respect to a maintenance, for whom the law must not only make a provision, but compel them to accept it, or else they will be still found begging in the streets. It was, therefore, with great difficulty that the people of Madeira were persuaded to engraft their vines ; and some of them still obstinately refuse to adopt the practice, though a whole vintage is very often spoiled by the number of bad grapes which are mixed in the vat, and which they will not throw out, because they increase the quantity of the wine : an instance of the force of habit, which is the more extraordinary, as they have adopted the practice of engrafting with respect to their chesnut-trees, an object of much less importance, which, however, are thus brought to bear sooner than they would otherwise have done.

We saw no wheel-carriages of any sort in the place, which, perhaps, is not more owing to the want of ingenuity to invent them than to the want of industry to mend the roads, which at present it is impossible that any wheel-carriage should pass. The inhabitants have horses and mules, indeed, excellently adapted to such ways ; but their wine is, notwithstanding, brought to town from the vineyards where it is made in vessels of goat-skins, which are carried by men upon their heads. The only imitation of a carriage among these people is a board, made somewhat hollow in the middle, to one end of which a pole is tied by a strap of whit-leather. This wretched sledge approaches about as near to an English cart as an Indian canoe to a ship's long-boat ; and even this would probably never have been thought



of, if the English had not introduced wine-vessels, which are too big to be carried by hand, and which, therefore, are dragged about the town upon these machines.

One reason, perhaps, why art and industry have done so little for Madeira, is, nature's having done so much. The soil is very rich; and there is such a difference of climate between the plains and the hills, that there is scarcely a single object of luxury that grows either in Europe or the Indies that might not be produced here. When we went to visit Dr. Heberden, who lives upon a considerable ascent, about two miles from town, we left the thermometer at 74, and when we arrived at his house, we found it at 66. The hills produce, almost spontaneously, walnuts, chesnuts, and apples in great abundance; and in the town there are many plants which are the natives both of the East and West Indies, particularly the banana, the guava, the pine-apple or anana, and the mango, which flourish almost without culture. The corn of this country is of a most excellent quality, large-grained and very fine, and the island would produce it in great plenty; yet most of what is consumed by the inhabitants is imported. The mutton, pork, and beef are also very good; the beef, in particular, which we took on board here, was universally allowed to be scarcely inferior to our own; the lean part was very like it, both in colour and grain, though the beasts are much smaller; but the fat is as white as the fat of mutton.

The town of Funchal derives its name from *Funcho*, the Portuguese name for fennel, which grows in great plenty upon the neighbouring rocks; and by the observation of Dr. Heberden, lies in the latitude of 32° 33' 33" N., and longitude 16° 49' W. It is situated in the bottom of a bay, and though larger than the extent of the island seems to deserve, is very ill built; the houses of the principal inhabitants are large, those of the common people are small; the streets are narrow, and worse paved than any I ever saw. The churches are loaded with ornaments, among which are many pictures, and images of favourite saints; but the pictures are in general wretchedly painted, and the saints are dressed in laced clothes. Some of the convents are in a better taste, especially that of the Franciscans, which is plain, simple, and neat in the highest degree. The infirmary in particular drew our attention as a model which might be adopted in other countries with great advantage. It consists of a long room, on one side of which are the windows, and an altar for the convenience of administering the sacrament to the sick: the other side is divided into wards, each of which is just big enough to contain a bed, and neatly lined with gally-tiles; behind these wards, and parallel to the room in which they stand, there runs a long gallery, with which each ward communicates by a door, so that the sick may be separately supplied with whatever they want without disturbing their neighbours. In this convent there is also a singular curiosity of another kind; a small chapel, the whole lining of which, both sides and ceiling, is composed of human skulls and thigh-bones; the thigh-bones are laid across each other, and a skull is placed in each of the four angles. Among the skulls one is very remarkable; the upper and the lower jaw, on one side, perfectly and firmly cohere: how the ossification which unites them was formed it is not, perhaps, very easy to conceive; but it is certain that the patient must have lived some time without opening his mouth: what nourishment he received was conveyed through a hole, which we discovered to have been made on the other side, by forcing out some of the teeth, in doing which the jaw also seems to have been injured.

We visited the good fathers of this convent on a Thursday evening, just before supper-time, and they received us with great politeness: "We will not ask you," said they, "to sup with us, because we are not prepared; but if you will come to-morrow, though it is a fast with us, we will have a turkey roasted for you." This invitation, which showed a liberality of sentiment not to have been expected in a convent of Portuguese friars at this place, gratified us much, though it was not in our power to accept it.

We visited also a convent of nuns, dedicated to *Santa Clara*, and the ladies did us the honour to express a particular pleasure in seeing us there: they had heard that there were great philosophers among us, and not at all knowing what were the objects of philosophical knowledge, they asked us several questions that were absurd and extravagant in the highest degree. One was, when it would thunder; and another, whether a spring of fresh water was to be found anywhere within the walls of their convent, of which it seems they were in great want. It will naturally be supposed that our answers to such questions were neither

satisfactory to the ladies, nor, in their estimation, honourable to us; yet their disappointment did not in the least lessen their civility, and they talked, without ceasing, during the whole of our visit, which lasted about half an hour.

The hills of this country are very high; the highest, Pico Ruivo, rises 5068 feet, near an English mile, perpendicularly from its base, which is much higher than any land that has been measured in Great Britain. The sides of these hills are covered with vines to a certain height, above which there are woods of chesnut and pine of immense extent; and above them forests of wild timber of various kinds, not known in Europe; particularly two, called by the Portuguese *Mirmulano* and *Paobranco*, the leaves of both which, particularly the *Paobranco*, are so beautiful, that these trees would be a great ornament to the gardens of Europe.

The number of inhabitants in this island is supposed to be about 80,000; and the custom-house duties produce a revenue to the king of Portugal of 20,000*l.* a year, clear of all expenses, which might easily be doubled by the product of the island, exclusive of the vines, if advantage was taken of the excellence of the climate and the amazing fertility of the soil; but this object is utterly neglected by the Portuguese. In the trade of the inhabitants of Madeira with Lisbon the balance is against them, so that all the Portuguese money naturally going thither, the currency of the island is Spanish: there are, indeed, a few Portuguese pieces of copper, but they are so scarce that we did not see one of them. The Spanish coin is of three denominations: pistercens, worth about a shilling; bitts, worth about sixpence; and half-bitts, threepence.

The tides at this place flow at the full and change of the moon, north and south; the spring-tides rise seven feet perpendicular, and the neap-tides, four. By Dr. Heberden's observation, the variation of the compass here is now  $15^{\circ} 30'$  west, and decreasing; but I have some doubt whether he is not mistaken with respect to its decrease: we found that the north point of the dipping-needle belonging to the Royal Society dipped  $77^{\circ} 18''$ .

The refreshments to be had here are water, wine, fruit of several sorts, onions in plenty, and some sweetmeats; fresh meat and poultry are not to be had without leave from the governor, and the payment of a very high price.

We took in 270*lb.* of fresh beef, and a live bullock, charged at 613*lb.*, 3032 gallons of water, and ten tons of wine; and in the night, between Sunday the 18th, and Monday the 19th of September, we set sail in prosecution of our voyage.

When Funchal bore north, 13 east, at the distance of 76 miles, the variation appeared by several azimuths to be  $16^{\circ} 30'$  west.

## CHAPTER II.—THE PASSAGE FROM MADERIA TO RIO DE JANEIRO, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED THERE.

On the 21st of September we saw the islands called the Salvages, to the north of the Canaries; when the principal of these bore S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. at the distance of about five leagues, we found the variation of the compass by an azimuth to be  $17^{\circ} 50'$ . I make these islands to lie in latitude  $30^{\circ} 11'$  north, and distant 58 leagues from Funchal in Madeira, in the direction of S. 16 E.

On Friday the 23d we saw the Peak of Teneriffe bearing W. by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. and found the variation of the compass to be from  $17^{\circ} 22'$  to  $16^{\circ} 30'$ . The height of this mountain, from which I took a new departure, has been determined by Dr. Heberden, who has been upon it, to be 15,396 feet, which is but 148 yards less than three miles, reckoning the mile at 1760 yards. Its appearance at sunset was very striking; when the sun was below the horizon, and the rest of the island appeared of a deep black, the mountain still reflected his rays, and glowed with a warmth of colour which no painting can express. There is no eruption of visible fire from it, but a heat issues from the chinks near the top, too strong to be borne by the hand when it is held near them. We had received from Dr. Heberden,



among other favours, some salt which he collected on the top of the mountain, where it is found in large quantities, and which he supposes to be the true *natrum* or *nitrum* of the ancients: he gave us also some native sulphur exceedingly pure, which he had likewise found upon the surface in great plenty.



TENERIFFE—from the Sea.

On the next day, Saturday the 24th, we came into the north-east trade wind, and on Friday the 30th saw Bona Vista, one of the Cape de Verd islands; we ranged the east side of it, at the distance of three or four miles from the shore, till we were obliged to haul off to avoid a ledge of rocks which stretch out S.W. by W. from the body, or S.E. point of the island, to the extent of a league and a half. Bona Vista, by our observation, lies in latitude 16 N. and longitude 21° 51' west.

On the 1st of October, in latitude 14° 6' N. and longitude 22° 10' W. we found the variation by a very good azimuth to be 10° 37' W. and the next morning it appeared to be 10°. This day we found the ship five miles a-head of the log, and the next day seven. On the third, hoisted out the boat to discover whether there was a current, and found one to the eastward, at the rate of three quarters of a mile an hour.

During our course from Teneriffe to Bona Vista we saw great numbers of flying fish, which from the cabin windows appear beautiful beyond imagination, their sides having the colour and brightness of burnished silver; when they are seen from the deck they do not appear to so much advantage, because their backs are of a dark colour. We also took a shark, which proved to be the *Squalus Carcharias* of Linnæus.

Having lost the trade wind on the 3d, in latitude 12° 14', and longitude 22° 10', the wind became somewhat variable, and we had light airs and calms by turns.

On the 7th Mr. Banks went out in the boat and took what the seamen call a Portuguese man-of-war; it is the *Holothuria Physalis* of Linnæus, and a species of the *Mollusca*. It consisted of a small bladder about seven inches long, very much resembling the air bladder of fishes, from the bottom of which descended a number of strings, of a bright blue and red, some of them three or four feet in length, which, upon being touched, sting like a nettle, but with much more force. On the top of the bladder is a membrane which is used as a sail, and turned so as to receive the wind which way soever it blows: this membrane is marked in fine pink-coloured veins, and the animal is in every respect an object exquisitely curious and beautiful.

We also took several of the shell-fishes, or testaceous animals, which are always found floating upon the water, particularly the *Helix Janthina* and *Violacea*; they are about the size of a snail, and are supported upon the surface of the water by a small cluster of bubbles, which are filled with air, and consist of a tenacious slimy substance that will not easily part with its contents; the animal is oviparous, and these bubbles serve also as a *nidus* for its eggs. It is probable that it never goes down to the bottom, nor willingly approaches any shore; for the shell is exceedingly brittle, and that of few fresh-water snails is so thin: every shell

contains about a teaspoonful of liquor, which it easily discharges upon being touched, and which is of the most beautiful red purple that can be conceived. It dyes linen cloth, and it may perhaps be worth inquiry, as the shell is certainly found in the Mediterranean, whether it be not the *Purpura* of the ancients.

On the 8th, in latitude  $8^{\circ} 25'$  north, longitude  $22^{\circ} 4'$  west, we found a current setting to the southward, which the next day in latitude  $7^{\circ} 58'$ , longitude  $22^{\circ} 13'$ , shifted to the N.N.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W., at the rate of one mile and a furlong an hour. The variation here, by the mean of several azimuths, appeared to be  $8^{\circ} 39'$  W.

On the 10th, Mr. Banks shot the black-toed gull, not yet described according to Linnæus's system; he gave it the name of *Larus crepidatus*: it is remarkable that the dung of this bird is of a lively red, somewhat like that of the liquor procured from the shells, only not so full; its principal food therefore is probably the *Helix* just mentioned. A current to the N.W. prevailed more or less till Monday the 24th, when we were in latitude  $1^{\circ} 7'$  N., and longitude  $28^{\circ} 50'$ .

On the 25th we crossed the line with the usual ceremonies, in longitude  $29^{\circ} 30'$ , when, by the result of several very good azimuths, the variation was  $2^{\circ} 24'$ .

On the 28th, at noon, being in the latitude of Ferdinand Noronha, and, by the mean of several observations by Mr. Green and myself, in longitude  $32^{\circ} 5' 16''$  W., which is to the westward of it by some charts, and to the eastward by others, we expected to see the island, or some of the shoals that are laid down in the charts between it and the main, but we saw neither one nor the other.

In the evening of the 29th, we observed that luminous appearance of the sea which has been so often mentioned by navigators, and of which such various causes have been assigned; some supposing it to be occasioned by fish, which agitated the water by darting at their prey, some by the putrefaction of fish and other marine animals, some by electricity, and others referring it into a great variety of different causes. It appeared to emit flashes of light exactly resembling those of lightning, only not so considerable; but they were so frequent, that sometimes eight or ten were visible almost at the same moment. We were of opinion that they proceeded from some luminous animal, and upon throwing out the casting net our opinion was confirmed: it brought up a species of the *Medusa*, which, when it came on board, had the appearance of metal violently heated, and emitted a white light; with these animals were taken some very small crabs, of three different species, each of which gave as much light as a glow-worm, though the creature was not so large by nine-tenths: upon examination of these animals Mr. Banks had the satisfaction to find that they were all entirely new.

On Wednesday, the 2d of November, about noon, being in the latitude of  $10^{\circ} 38'$  S., and longitude  $32^{\circ} 13' 43''$  W., we passed the line in which the needle at this time would have pointed due north and south, without any variation: for in the morning, having decreased gradually in its deviation for some days, it was no more than  $18'$  W., and in the afternoon it was  $34'$  east.

On the 6th, being in latitude  $19^{\circ} 3'$  south, longitude  $35^{\circ} 50'$  west, the colour of the water was observed to change, upon which we sounded, and found ground at the depth of 32 fathoms: the lead was cast three times within about four hours, without a foot difference in the depth or quality of the bottom, which was coral rock, fine sand, and shells; we therefore supposed that we had passed over the tail of the great shoal which is laid down in all our charts by the name of *Abrolhos*, on which Lord Anson struck soundings in his passage outwards: at four the next morning we had no ground with 100 fathom.

As several articles of our stock and provisions now began to fall short, I determined to put into Rio de Janeiro, rather than at any port in Brazil or Falkland's Islands, knowing that it could better supply us with what we wanted, and making no doubt but that we should be well received.

On the 8th, at day-break, we saw the coast of Brazil, and about ten o'clock we brought to, and spoke with a fishing-boat: the people on board told us that the land which we saw lay to the southward of Santo Espirito, but belonging to the captainship of that place.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on board this vessel, in which they found eleven men,



nine of whom were blacks : they all fished with lines ; and their fresh cargo, the chief part of which Mr. Banks bought, consisted of dolphins, large pelagic scombers of two kinds, sea-bream, and some of the fish which, in the West Indies, are called Welshmen. Mr. Banks had taken Spanish silver with him, which he imagined to be the currency of the continent, but to his great surprise the people asked him for English shillings ; he gave them two, which he happened to have about him, and it was not without some dispute that they took the rest of the money in pistereens. Their business seemed to be to catch large fish at a good distance from the shore, which they salted in bulk, in a place made for that purpose in the middle of their boat : of this merchandize they had about two quintals on board, which they offered for about 16 shillings, and would probably have sold for half the money. The fresh fish, which was bought for about nineteen shillings and sixpence, served the whole ship's company : the salt was not wanted.

The sea-provision of these fishermen consisted of nothing more than a cask of water, and a bag of Cassada flour, which they called *Farinha de Pao*, or wooden flour ; which, indeed, is a name which very well suits its taste and appearance. Their water-cask was large, as wide as their boat, and exactly fitted a place that was made for it in the ballast ; it was impossible therefore to draw out any of its contents by a tap, the sides being, from the bottom to the top, wholly inaccessible ; neither could any be taken out by dipping a vessel in at the head, for an opening sufficiently wide for that purpose would have endangered the loss of great part of it by the rolling of the vessel : their expedient to get at their water, so situated, was curious ; when one of them wanted to drink, he applied to his neighbour, who accompanied him to the water-cask with a hollow cane about three feet long, which was open at both ends ; this he thrust into the cask through a small hole in the top, and then, stopping the upper end with the palm of his hand, drew it out ; the pressure of the air against the other end keeping in the water which it contained ; to this end the person who wanted to drink applied his mouth, and the assistant then taking his hand from the other, and admitting the air above, the cane immediately parted with its contents, which the drinker drew off till he was satisfied.

We stood off and on along the shore till the 12th, and successively saw a remarkable hill near Santo Espirito, then Cape St. Thomas, and then an island just without Cape Frio, which in some maps is called the Island of Frio, and which being high, with a hollow in the middle, has the appearance of two islands when seen at a distance. On this day we stood along the shore for Rio de Janeiro, and at nine the next morning made sail for the harbour. I then sent Mr. Hicks, my first lieutenant, before us in the pinnace, up to the city, to acquaint the governor that we put in there to procure water and refreshments, and to desire the assistance of a pilot to bring us into proper anchoring-ground. I continued to stand up the river, trusting to Mr. Bellisle's draught, published in the *Petit Atlas Maritime*, vol. II. No. 54, which we found very good, till five o'clock in the evening, expecting the return of my lieutenant ; and just as I was about to anchor above the island of Cobras, which lies before the city, the pinnace came back without him, having on board a Portuguese officer, but no pilot. The people in the boat told me that my lieutenant was detained by the viceroy till I should go on shore. We came immediately to an anchor, and almost at the same time a ten-oared boat, full of soldiers, came up and kept rowing round the ship, without exchanging a word : in less than a quarter of an hour another boat came on board with several of the viceroy's officers, who asked whence we came, what was our cargo, the number of men and guns on board, the object of our voyage, and several other questions, which we directly and truly answered : they then told me, as a kind of apology for detaining my lieutenant, and putting an officer on board my pinnace, that it was the invariable custom of the place, to detain the first officer who came on shore from any ship on her arrival, till a boat from the viceroy had visited her, and to suffer no boat to go either from or to a ship, while she lay there, without having a soldier on board. They said that I might go on shore when I pleased ; but wished that every other person might remain on board till the paper which they should draw up had been delivered to the viceroy, promising that, immediately upon their return, the lieutenant should be sent on board.

This promise was performed ; and on the next morning, the 14th, I went on shore, and

obtained leave of the viceroy to purchase provisions and refreshments for the ship, provided I would employ one of their own people as a factor, but not otherwise. I made some objections to this, but he insisted upon it as the custom of the place. I objected also against the putting a soldier into the boat every time she went between the ship and the shore; but he told me, that this was done by the express orders of his court, with which he could in no case dispense. I then requested, that the gentlemen whom I had on board might reside on shore during our stay, and that Mr. Banks might go up the country to gather plants; but this he absolutely refused. I judged from his extreme caution, and the severity of these restrictions, that he suspected we were come to trade; I therefore took some pains to convince him of the contrary. I told him, that we were bound to the southward, by the order of his Britannic Majesty, to observe a transit of the planet Venus over the sun, an astronomical phenomenon of great importance to navigation. Of the transit of Venus, however, he could form no other conception, than that it was the passing of the north star through the south pole; for these are the very words of his interpreter, who was a Swede, and spoke English very well. I did not think it necessary to ask permission for the gentlemen to come on shore during the day, or that, when I was on shore myself, I might be at liberty, taking for granted that nothing was intended to the contrary; but in this I was unfortunately mistaken. As soon as I took leave of his excellency, I found an officer who had orders to attend me wherever I went: of this I desired an explanation, and was told that it was meant as a compliment. I earnestly desired to be excused from accepting such an honour, but the good viceroy would by no means suffer it to be dispensed with.

With this officer, therefore, I returned on board about twelve o'clock, where I was impatiently expected by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, who made no doubt but that a fair account of us having been given by the officers who had been on board the evening before, in their paper called a *Practica*, and every scruple of the viceroy removed in my conference with his excellency, they should immediately be at liberty to go on shore, and dispose of themselves as they pleased. Their disappointment at receiving my report may easily be conceived; and it was still increased by an account, that it had been resolved, not only to prevent their residing on shore, and going up the country, but even their leaving the ship; orders having been given that no person, except the captain, and such common sailors as were required to be upon duty, should be permitted to land; and that there was probably a particular view to the passengers in this prohibition, as they were reported to be gentlemen sent abroad to make observations and discoveries, and were uncommonly qualified for that purpose. In the evening, however, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander dressed themselves, and attempted to go on shore, in order to make a visit to the viceroy; but they were stopped by the guard-boat which had come off with our pinnace, and which kept hovering round the ship all the while she lay here, for that purpose; the officer on board saying, that he had particular orders, which he could not disobey, to suffer no passenger, nor any officer, except the captain, to pass the boat. After much expostulation to no purpose, they were obliged, with whatever reluctance and mortification, to return on board. I then went on shore myself, but found the viceroy inflexible; he had one answer ready for everything I could say, that the restrictions under which he had laid us were in obedience to the King of Portugal's commands, and therefore indispensable.

In this situation I determined, rather than be made a prisoner in my own boat, to go on shore no more; for the officer who, under pretence of a compliment, attended me when I was ashore, insisted also upon going with me to and from the ship: but still imagining, that the scrupulous vigilance of the viceroy must proceed from some mistaken notion about us, which might more easily be removed by writing than in conversation, I drew up a memorial, and Mr. Banks drew up another, which we sent on shore. These memorials were both answered, but by no means to our satisfaction; we therefore replied: in consequence of which, several other papers were interchanged between us and the viceroy, but still without effect. However, as I thought some degree of force, on the part of the viceroy, to enforce these restrictions, necessary to justify my acquiescence in them to the Admiralty, I gave orders to my lieutenant, Mr. Hicks, when I sent him with our last reply



on Sunday the 20th, in the evening, not to suffer a guard to be put into his boat. When the officer on board the guard-boat found that Mr. Hicks was determined to obey my orders, he did not proceed to force, but attended him to the landing-place, and reported the matter to the viceroy. Upon this his excellency refused to receive the memorial, and ordered Mr. Hicks to return to the ship; when he came back to the boat, he found that a guard had been put on board in his absence, but he absolutely refused to return till the soldier was removed: the officer then proceeded to enforce the viceroy's orders; he seized all the boat's crew, and sent them under an armed force to prison, putting Mr. Hicks, at the same time, into one of their own boats, and sending him under a guard back to the ship. As soon as he had reported these particulars, I wrote again to the viceroy, demanding my boat and crew, and in my letter inclosed the memorial which he had refused to receive from Mr. Hicks: these papers I sent by a petty officer, that I might waive the dispute about a guard, against which I had never objected except when there was a commissioned officer on board the boat. The petty officer was permitted to go on shore with his guard, and, having delivered his letter, was told that an answer would be sent the next day.

About eight o'clock this evening it began to blow very hard in sudden gusts from the south, and our long-boat coming on board just at this time with four pipes of rum, the rope which was thrown to her from the ship, and which was taken hold of by the people on board, unfortunately broke, and the boat, which had come to the ship before the wind, went adrift to windward of her, with a small skiff of Mr. Banks's that was fastened to her stern. This was a great misfortune, as the pinnace being detained on shore, we had no boat on board but a four-oared yawl: the yawl, however, was immediately manned and sent to her assistance; but, notwithstanding the utmost effort of the people in both boats, they were very soon out of sight: far, indeed, we could not see at that time in the evening, but the distance was enough to convince us that they were not under command, which gave us great uneasiness, as we knew they must drive directly upon a reef of rocks which ran out just to leeward of where we lay: after waiting some hours in the utmost anxiety, we gave them over for lost, but, about three o'clock the next morning, had the satisfaction to see all the people come on board in the yawl. From them we learnt, that the long-boat having filled with water, they had brought her to a grappling, and left her; and that, having fallen in with the reef of rocks in her return to the ship, they had been obliged to cut Mr. Banks's little boat adrift. As the loss of our long-boat, which we had now too much reason to apprehend, would have been an unspeakable disadvantage to us, considering the nature of our expedition, I sent another letter to the viceroy, as soon as I thought he could be seen, acquainting him with our misfortune, and requesting the assistance of a boat from the shore for the recovery of our own; I also renewed my demand that the pinnace and her crew should be no longer detained: after some delay, his excellency thought fit to comply both with my request and demand; and the same day we happily recovered both the long-boat and skiff, with the rum, but everything else that was on board was lost. On the 23rd, the viceroy, in his answer to my remonstrance against seizing my men and detaining the boat, acknowledged that I had been treated with some incivility, but said that the resistance of my officers to what he had declared to be the king's orders made it absolutely necessary; he also expressed some doubts whether the Endeavour, considering her structure and other circumstances, was in the service of his majesty, though I had before showed him my commission: to this I answered in writing, that, to remove all scruples, I was ready to produce my commission again. His excellency's scruples, however, still remained, and in his reply to my letter, he not only expressed them in still plainer terms, but accused my people of smuggling. This charge, I am confident, was without the least foundation in truth. Mr. Banks's servants had, indeed, found means to go on shore on the 22nd at daybreak, and stay till it was dark in the evening, but they brought on board only plants and insects, having been sent for no other purpose. And I had the greatest reason to believe that not a single article was smuggled by any of our people who were admitted on shore, though many artful means were used to tempt them, even by the very officers that were under his excellency's roof, which made the charge still more injurious and provoking. I have, indeed, some reason to suspect that one poor fellow bought a single bottle of rum with some of the

clothes upon his back ; and in my answer I requested of his excellency, that, if such an attempt at illicit trade should be repeated, he would without scruple order the offender to be taken into custody. And thus ended our altercation, both by conference and writing, with the viceroy of Rio de Janeiro.

A friar in the town having requested the assistance of our surgeon, Dr. Solander easily got admittance in that character on the 25th, and received many marks of civility from the people. On the 26th, before daybreak, Mr. Banks also found means to elude the vigilance of the people in the guard-boat, and got on shore ; he did not, however, go into the town, for the principal objects of his curiosity were to be found in the fields : to him also the people behaved with great civility, many of them invited him to their houses, and he bought a porker and some other things of them for the ship's company ; the porker, which was by no means lean, cost him eleven shillings, and he paid something less than two for a Muscovy duck.

On the 27th, when the boats returned from watering, the people told us there was a report in town, that search was making after some persons who had been on shore from the ship without the viceroy's permission : these persons we conjectured to be Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks, and therefore they determined to go on shore no more.

On the 1st of December, having got our water and other necessaries on board, I sent to the viceroy for a pilot to carry us to sea, who came off to us ; but the wind preventing us from getting out, we took on board a plentiful supply of fresh beef, yams, and greens for the ship's company. On the 2nd, a Spanish packet arrived with letters from Buenos Ayres for Spain, commanded by Don Antonio de Montę Negro y Velasco, who with great politeness offered to take our letters to Europe : I accepted the favour, and gave him a packet for the secretary of the Admiralty, containing copies of all the papers that had passed between me and the viceroy ; leaving also duplicates with the viceroy, to be by him forwarded to Lisbon.

On Monday, the 5th, it being a dead calm, we weighed anchor and towed down the bay ; but, to our great astonishment, when we got abreast of Santa Cruz, the principal fortification, two shot were fired at us. We immediately cast anchor, and sent to the fort to inquire the reason of what had happened ; our people brought us word, that the commandant had received no order from the viceroy to let us pass, and that, without such an order, no vessel was ever suffered to go below the fort. It was now, therefore, become necessary that we should send to the viceroy, to inquire why the necessary order had not been given, as he had notice of our departure, and had thought fit to write me a polite letter, wishing me a good voyage. Our messenger soon returned with an account, that the order had been written some days, but, by an unaccountable negligence, not sent.

We did not get under sail till the 7th ; and, when we had passed the fort, the pilot desired to be discharged. As soon as he was dismissed, we were left by our guard-boat, which had hovered about us from the first hour of our being in this place to the last ; and Mr. Banks, having been prevented from going ashore at Rio de Janeiro, availed himself of her departure to examine the neighbouring islands, where, particularly on one in the mouth of the harbour, called Raza, he gathered many species of plants, and caught a variety of insects.

It is remarkable, that, during the last three or four days of our staying in this harbour, the air was loaded with butterflies : they were chiefly of one sort, but in such numbers that thousands were in view in every direction, and the greatest part of them above our mast-head.

We lay here from the 14th of November to the 7th of December, something more than three weeks, during which time Mr. Monkhouse, our surgeon, was on shore every day to buy our provisions ; Dr. Solander was on shore once ; I was several times on shore myself ; and Mr. Banks also found means to get into the country, notwithstanding the watch that was set over us. I shall, therefore, with the intelligence obtained from these gentlemen, and my own observations, give some account of the town, and the country adjacent.

Rio de Janeiro, or the river of Januarius, was probably so called from its having been discovered on the feast-day of that saint ; and the town, which is the capital of the Portuguese dominions in America, derives its name from the river, which, indeed, is rather an arm of the sea, for it did not appear to receive any considerable stream of fresh water : it stands



on a plain, close to the shore, on the west side of the bay, at the foot of several high mountains which rise behind it. It is neither ill designed nor ill built : the houses, in general, are of stone, and two stories high ; every house having, after the manner of the Portuguese, a little balcony before its windows, and a lattice of wood before the balcony. I computed its circuit to be about three miles ; for it appears to be equal in size to the largest country towns in England, Bristol and Liverpool not excepted : the streets are straight, and of a convenient breadth, intersecting each other at right angles ; the greater part, however, lie in a line with the citadel called St. Sebastian, which stands on the top of a hill that commands the town.



BAY OF RIO DE JANEIRO.

It is supplied with water from the neighbouring hills, by an aqueduct, which is raised upon two stories of arches, and is said in some places to be at a great height from the ground, from which the water is conveyed by pipes into a fountain in the great square that exactly fronts the viceroy's palace. At this fountain great numbers of people are continually waiting for their turn to draw water ; and the soldiers, who are posted at the governor's door, find it very difficult to maintain any regularity among them. The water at this fountain, however, is so bad, that we, who had been two months at sea, confined to that in our casks, which was almost always foul, could not drink it with pleasure. Water of a better quality is laid into some other part of the town, but I could not learn by what means.

The churches are very fine, and there is more religious parade in this place than in any of the Popish countries in Europe : there is a procession of some parish every day, with various insignia, all splendid and costly in the highest degree : they beg money, and say prayers in great form, at the corner of every street.

While we lay here, one of the churches was re-building ; and to defray the expense, the parish to which it belonged had leave to beg in procession through the whole city once a week, by which very considerable sums were collected. At this ceremony, which was performed by night, all the boys of a certain age were obliged to assist, the sons of gentlemen not being excused. Each of these boys was dressed in a black cassock, with a short red cloak hanging about as low as the waist, and carried in his hand a pole about six or seven feet long, at the end of which was tied a lantern : the number of lanterns was generally

above two hundred, and the light they gave was so great, that the people who saw it from the cabin windows thought the town had been on fire.

The inhabitants, however, may pay their devotions at the shrine of any saint in the calendar, without waiting till there is a procession; for before almost every house there is a little cupboard, furnished with a glass window, in which one of these tutelary powers is waiting to be gracious; and to prevent his being out of mind, by being out of sight, a lamp is kept constantly burning before the window of his tabernacle in the night. The people, indeed, are by no means remiss in their devotions, for before these saints they pray and sing hymns with such vehemence, that in the night they were very distinctly heard on board the ship, though she lay at the distance of at least half a mile from the town.

The government here, as to its form, is mixed; it is notwithstanding very despotic in fact. It consists of the viceroy, the governor of the town, and a council, the number of which I could not learn: without the consent of this council, in which the viceroy has a casting vote, no judicial act should be performed; yet both the viceroy and governor frequently commit persons to prison at their own pleasure, and sometimes send them to Lisbon, without acquainting their friends or family with what is laid to their charge, or where they may be found.

To restrain the people from travelling into the country, and getting into any district where gold or diamonds may be found, of both which there is much more than the government can otherwise secure, certain bounds are prescribed them, at the discretion of the viceroy, sometimes at a few, and sometimes at many miles' distance from the city. On the verge of these limits a guard constantly patrols, and whoever is found beyond it is immediately seized and thrown into prison; and if a man is, upon any pretence, taken up by the guard without the limits, he will be sent to prison, though it should appear that he did not know their extent.

The inhabitants, who are very numerous, consist of Portuguese, negroes, and Indians, the original natives of the country. The township of Rio, which, as I was told, is but a small part of the Capitanea, or province, is said to contain 37,000 white persons, and 629,000 blacks, many of whom are free; making together 666,000, in the proportion of seventeen to one. The Indians, who are employed to do the king's work in this neighbourhood, can scarcely be considered as inhabitants; their residence is at a distance, from whence they come by turns to their task, which they are obliged to perform for a small pay. The guard-boat was constantly rowed by these people, who are of a light copper colour, and have long black hair.

The military establishment here consists of twelve regiments of regular troops, six of which are Portuguese and six Creoles; and twelve other regiments of provincial militia. To the regulars the inhabitants behave with the utmost humility and submission; and I was told, that if any of them should neglect to take off his hat upon meeting an officer, he would immediately be knocked down. These haughty severities render the people extremely civil to any stranger who has the appearance of a gentleman. But the subordination of the officers themselves to the viceroy is enforced with circumstances equally mortifying, for they are obliged to attend in his hall three times every day to ask his commands; the answer constantly is, "There is nothing new." I have been told, that this servile attendance is exacted to prevent their going into the country; and if so, it effectually answers the purpose.

It is, I believe, universally allowed, that the women, both of the Spanish and Portuguese settlements in South America, make less difficulty of granting personal favours than those of any other civilized country in the world. Of the ladies of this town some have formed so unfavourable an opinion as to declare, that they did not believe there was a modest one among them. This censure is certainly too general; but what Dr. Solander saw of them when he was on shore, gave him no very exalted idea of their chastity: he told me, that as soon as it was dark, one or more of them appeared in every window, and distinguished those whom they liked, among the gentlemen that walked past them, by giving them nosegays; that he, and two gentlemen who were with him, received so many of these favours, that, at the end of their walk, which was not a long one, they threw whole hatfuls of them away.



Great allowance must certainly be made for local customs ; that which in one country would be an indecent familiarity, is a mere act of general courtesy in another ; of the fact, therefore, which I have related, I shall say nothing, but that I am confident it is true.

Neither will I take upon me to affirm, that murders are frequently committed here ; but the churches afford an asylum to the criminal : and as our cockswain was one day looking at two men, who appeared to be talking together in a friendly manner, one of them suddenly drew a knife, and stabbed the other ; who not instantly falling, the murderer withdrew the weapon, and stabbed him a second time. He then ran away, and was pursued by some negroes who were also witnesses of the fact ; but whether he escaped or was taken I never heard.

The country, at a small distance round the town, which is all that any of us saw, is beautiful in the highest degree ; the wildest spots being varied with a greater luxuriance of flowers, both as to number and beauty, than the best gardens in England.

Upon the trees and bushes sat an almost endless variety of birds, especially small ones, many of them covered with the most elegant plumage ; among which were the humming-bird. Of insects, too, there was a great variety, and some of them very beautiful ; but they were much more nimble than those of Europe, especially the butterflies, most of which flew near the tops of the trees, and were, therefore, very difficult to be caught, except when the sea-breeze blew fresh, which kept them nearer to the ground.

The banks of the sea, and of the small brooks which water this part of the country, are almost covered with the small crabs called *Cancer vocans* ; some of these had one of the claws, called by naturalists the hand, very large ; others had them both remarkably small, and of equal size : a difference which is said to distinguish the sexes, that with the large claw being the male.

There is the appearance of but little cultivation ; the greater part of the land is wholly uncultivated, and very little care and labour seem to have been bestowed upon the rest ; there are, indeed, little patches or gardens, in which many kinds of European garden-stuff are produced, particularly cabbages, peas, beans, kidney-beans, turnips, and white radishes, but all much inferior to our own : water-melons and pine-apples are also produced in these spots, and they are the only fruits that we saw cultivated, though the country produces musk melons, oranges, limes, lemons, sweet lemons, citrons, plantains, bananas, mangos, mamane apples, acajou or cashou apples and nuts ; jamboira of two kinds, one of which bears a small black fruit ; cocoa-nuts, mangos, palm-nuts of two kinds, one long, the other round ; and palm-berries ; all which were in season while we were there.

Of these fruits the water-melons and oranges are the best in their kind ; the pine apples are much inferior to those that I have eaten in England ; they are indeed more juicy and sweet, but have no flavour : I believe them to be natives of this country, though we heard of none that at this time grow wild ; they have, however, very little care bestowed upon them, the plants being set between beds of any kind of garden-stuff, and suffered to take the chance of the season. The melons are still worse—at least those that we tasted, which were mealy and insipid ; but the water-melons are excellent ; they have a flavour—at least a degree of acidity—which ours have not. We saw also several species of the prickly-pear, and some European fruits, particularly the apple and peach, both which were very mealy and insipid. In these gardens also grow yams and mandihoca, which in the West Indies is called Cassada or Cassava, and to the flower of which the people here, as I have before observed, give the name of *Farinha de Pao*, which may not improperly be translated, “ Powder of Post.” The soil, though it produces tobacco and sugar, will not produce bread-corn ; so that the people here have no wheat-flour but what is brought from Portugal, and sold at the rate of a shilling a pound, though it is generally spoiled by being heated in its passage. Mr. Banks is of opinion that all the products of our West Indian islands would grow here ; notwithstanding which, the inhabitants import their coffee and chocolate from Lisbon.

Most of the land, as far as we saw of the country, is laid down in grass, upon which cattle are pastured in great plenty ; but they are so lean, that an Englishman will scarcely eat of their flesh : the herbage of these pastures consists principally of cresses, and conse-

quently is so short, that though it may afford a bite for horses and sheep, it can scarcely be grazed by horned cattle in a sufficient quantity to keep them alive.

This country may possibly produce many valuable drugs; but we could not find any in the apothecaries' shops, except *pareira brava* and *balsam capivi*; both of which were excellent in their kind, and sold at a very low price. The drug trade is probably carried on to the northward, as well as that of the dyeing woods, for we could get no intelligence of either of them here.

As to manufactures, we neither saw nor heard of any except that of cotton hammocks, in which people are carried about here, as they are with us in sedan chairs; and these are principally, if not wholly, fabricated by the Indians.

The riches of the place consist chiefly in the mines, which we supposed to lie far up the country, though we could never learn where, or at what distance; for the situation is concealed as much as possible, and troops are continually employed in guarding the roads that lead to them: it is almost impossible for any man to get a sight of them, except those who are employed there; and indeed the strongest curiosity would scarcely induce any man to attempt it, for whoever is found upon the road to them, if he cannot give undeniable evidence of his having business there, is immediately hanged up upon the next tree.

Much gold is certainly brought from these mines, but at an expense of life that must strike every man, to whom custom has not made it familiar, with horror. No less than forty thousand negroes are annually imported on the king's account, to dig the mines; and we were credibly informed that the last year but one before we arrived here, this number fell so short, probably from some epidemic disease, that twenty thousand more were draughted from the town of Rio.

Precious stones are also found here in such plenty, that a certain quantity only is allowed to be collected in a year; to collect this quantity, a number of people are sent into the country where they are found, and when it is got together, which sometimes happens in a month, sometimes in less, and sometimes in more, they return; and after that, whoever is found in these precious districts, on any pretence, before the next year, is immediately put to death.

The jewels found here are diamonds, topazes of several kinds, and amethysts. We did not see any of the diamonds, but were informed that the viceroy had a large quantity by him, which he would sell on the king of Portugal's account, but not at a less price than they are sold for in Europe. Mr. Banks bought a few topazes and amethysts as specimens: of the topazes there are three sorts, of very different value, which are distinguished here by the names of *Pinga d'agua qualidade primeiro*, *Pinga d'agua qualidade secundo*, and *Chrystallos armerillos*: they are sold, large and small, good and bad together, by octavos, or the eighth part of an ounce; the best at 4*s.* 9*d.* All dealing, however, in these stones is prohibited to the subject under the severest penalties: there were jewellers here formerly, who purchased and worked them on their own account; but about fourteen months before our arrival, orders came from the court of Portugal that no more stones should be wrought here, except on the king's account: the jewellers were ordered to bring all their tools to the viceroy, and left without any means of subsistence. The persons employed here to work stones for the king are slaves.

The coin that is current here is either that of Portugal, consisting chiefly of thirty-six shillings pieces, or pieces both of gold and silver, which are struck at this place: the pieces of silver which are very much debased, are called *petacks*, and are of different value, and easily distinguished by the number of rees that is marked on the outside. Here is also a copper coin, like that in Portugal, of five and ten ree pieces. A ree is a nominal coin of Portugal, ten of which are equal in value to about three farthings sterling.

The harbour of Rio de Janeiro is situated W. by N. 18 leagues from Cape Frio, and may be known by a remarkable hill, in the form of a sugar-loaf, at the west point of the bay; but as all the coast is very high, and rises in many peaks, the entrance of this harbour may be more certainly distinguished by the islands that lie before it; one of which, called *Rodonda*, is high and round, like a hay stack, and lies at the distance of two leagues and a half from the entrance of the bay, in the direction of S. by W.; but the first islands which



are met with, coming from the east, or Cape Frio, are two that have a rocky appearance, lying near to each other, and at the distance of about four miles from the shore : there are also at the distance of three leagues to the westward of these two other islands, which lie near to each other, a little without the bay on the east side, and very near the shore. This harbour is certainly a good one ; the entrance, indeed, is not wide, but the sea-breeze, which blows every day from ten or twelve o'clock till sunset, makes it easy for any ship to go in before the wind ; and it grows wider as the town is approached, so that abreast of it there is room for the largest fleet, in five or six fathom water, with an oozy bottom. At the narrow part, the entrance is defended by two forts. The principal is Santa Cruz, which stands on the east point of the bay, and has been mentioned before ; that on the west side is called fort Lozia, and is built upon a rock that lies close to the main ; the distance between them is about three quarters of a mile, but the channel is not quite so broad, because there are sunken rocks which lie off each fort, and in this part alone there is danger : the narrowness of the channel causes the tides, both flood and ebb, to run with considerable strength, so that they cannot be stemmed without a fresh breeze. The rockiness of the bottom makes it also unsafe to anchor here ; but all danger may be avoided by keeping in the middle of the channel. Within the entrance the course up the bay is first N. by W. half W. and N.N.W., something more than a league ; this will bring the vessel the length of the great road ; and N.W. and W.N.W. one league more will carry her to the Isle dos Cobras, which lies before the city : she should then keep the north side of this island close on board, and anchor above it, before a monastery of Benedictines, which stands upon a hill at the N.W. end of the city.

The river, and indeed the whole coast, abounds with a greater variety of fish than we had ever seen ; a day seldom passed in which one or more of a new species were not brought to Mr. Banks : the bay also is as well adapted for catching these fish as can be conceived ; for it is full of small islands, between which there is shallow water, and proper beaches for drawing the seine. The sea, without the bay, abounds with dolphins, and large mackarel of different kinds, which readily bite at a hook, and the inhabitants always tow one after their boats for that purpose.

Though the climate is hot, the situation of this place is certainly wholesome : while we stayed here the thermometer never rose higher than 83 degrees. We had frequent rains, and once a very hard gale of wind.

Ships water here at the fountain in the great square, though, as I have observed, the water is not good : they land their casks upon a smooth, sandy beach, which is not more than a hundred yards distant from the fountain ; and upon application to the viceroy, a sentinel will be appointed to look after them, and clear the way to the fountain where they are to be filled.

Upon the whole, Rio de Janeiro is a very good place for ships to put in at that want refreshment : the harbour is safe and commodious ; and provisions, except wheaten bread and flour, may be easily procured : as a succedaneum for bread, there are yams and cassada in plenty ; beef, both fresh and jerked, may be bought at about two-pence farthing a pound ; though, as I have before remarked, it is very lean. The people here jerk their beef by taking out the bones, cutting it into large but thin slices, then curing it with salt, and drying it in the shade : it eats very well, and, if kept dry, will remain good a long time at sea. Mutton is scarcely to be procured, and hogs and poultry are dear : of garden-stuff and fruit-trees there is abundance—of which, however, none can be preserved at sea but the pumpkin ; rum, sugar, and molasses, all excellent in their kind, may be had at a reasonable price ; tobacco also is cheap, but it is not good. Here is a yard for building shipping, and a small hulk to heave down by ; for as the tide never rises above six or seven feet, there is no other way of coming at a ship's bottom.

When the boat which had been sent on shore returned, we hoisted her on board, and stood out to sea.

CHAPTER III.—THE PASSAGE FROM RIO DE JANEIRO TO THE ENTRANCE OF THE STRAIT OF LE MAIRE, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF SOME OF THE INHABITANTS OF TERRA DEL FUEGO.

ON the 9th of December we observed the sea to be covered with broad streaks of a yellowish colour, several of them a mile long, and three or four hundred yards wide ; some of the water thus coloured was taken up, and found to be full of innumerable atoms pointed at the end, of a yellowish colour, and none more than a quarter of a line, or the fortieth part of an inch long ; in the microscope they appeared to be *fasciculi* of small fibres interwoven with each other, not unlike the nidus of some of the *Phyganeas* called Caddices ; but whether they were animal or vegetable substances, whence they came, or for what they were designed, neither Mr. Banks nor Dr. Solander could guess. The same appearance had been observed before, when we first discovered the continent of South America.

On the 11th we hooked a shark, and while we were playing it under the cabin window it threw out and drew in again, several times, what appeared to be its stomach ; it proved to be a female, and upon being opened six young ones were taken out of it ; five of them were alive and swam briskly in a tub of water, but the sixth appeared to have been dead some time.

Nothing remarkable happened till the 30th, except that we prepared for the bad weather which we were shortly to expect, by bending a new suit of sails ; but on this day we ran a course of one hundred and sixty miles by the log, through innumerable land insects of various kinds, some upon the wing and more upon the water, many of which were alive ; they appeared to be exactly the same with the *Carabi*, the *Grylli*, the *Phalancæ*, *Aranea*, and other flies that are seen in England, though at this time we could not be less than thirty leagues from land ; and some of these insects, particularly the *Grylli Aranea*, never voluntarily leave it at a greater distance than twenty yards. We judged ourselves to be now nearly opposite to *Baye sans fond*, where Mr. Dalrymple supposes there is a passage quite through the continent of America ; and we thought from the insects that there might be at least a very large river, and that it had overflowed its banks.

On the 3d of January, 1769, being in latitude  $47^{\circ} 17'$  S. and longitude  $61^{\circ} 29' 45''$  W., we were all looking out for Pepys' island, and for some time an appearance was seen in the east which so much resembled land, that we bore away for it, and it was more than two hours and a half before we were convinced that it was nothing but what sailors call a fog-bank.

The people now beginning to complain of cold, each of them received what is called a Magellanic jacket and a pair of trousers. The jacket is made of a thick woollen stuff called *Fearnought*, which is provided by the government. We saw, from time to time, a great number of penguins, albatrosses, and sheerwaters, seals, whales, and porpoises ; and on the 11th, having passed Falkland's islands, we discovered the coast of Terra del Fuego, at the distance of about four leagues, extending from the W. to S.E. by S. We had here five-and-thirty fathom, the ground soft, small slate stones. As we ranged along the shore to the S.E., at the distance of two or three leagues, we perceived smoke in several places, which was made by the natives, probably as a signal, for they did not continue it after we had passed by. This day we discovered that the ship had got near a degree of longitude to the westward of the log, which, in this latitude, is 35 minutes of a degree on the equator : probably there is a small current setting to the westward, which may be caused by the westerly current coming round Cape Horn, and through the strait of Le Maire, and the indraught of the strait of Magellan\*.

\* The celebrated navigator who discovered this strait was a native of Portugal, and his name, in the language of his country, was *Fernando de Magalhaens* ; the Spaniards call him *Hernando Magalhães*, and the French *Magellan*, which is the orthography that has

been generally adopted : a gentleman, the fifth in descent from this great adventurer, is now living in or near London, and communicated the true name of his ancestor to Mr. Banks, with a request that it might be inserted in this work.



Having continued to range the coast, on the 14th we entered the strait of Le Maire ; but the tide turning against us drove us out with great violence, and raised such a sea off Cape St. Diego that the waves had exactly the same appearance as they would have had if they had broke over a ledge of rocks ; and when the ship was in this torrent she frequently pitched so that the bowsprit was under water. About noon we got under the land between Cape St. Diego and Cape St. Vincent, where I intended to have anchored, but finding the ground everywhere hard and rocky and shallowing from thirty to twelve fathoms, I sent the master to examine a little cove which lay at a small distance to the eastward of Cape St. Vincent. When he returned he reported that there was anchorage in four fathom, and a good bottom, close to the eastward of the first bluff point on the east of Cape St. Vincent, at the very entrance of the cove, to which I gave the name of VINCENT'S Bay ; before this anchoring ground, however, lay several rocky ledges that were covered with sea-weed ; but I was told that there was not less than eight and nine fathom over all of them. It will probably be thought strange that where weeds, which grow at the bottom, appear above the surface, there should be this depth of water ; but the weeds which grow upon rocky ground in these countries, and which always distinguish it from sand and ooze, are of an enormous size. The leaves are four feet long, and some of the stalks, though not thicker than a man's thumb, above one hundred and twenty. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander examined some of them, over which we sounded and had fourteen fathom, which is eighty-four feet ; and, as they made a very acute angle with the bottom, they were thought to be at least one half longer : the foot stalks were swelled into an air vessel, and Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander called this plant *Fucus giganteus*. Upon the report of the master I stood in with the ship, but not trusting implicitly to his intelligence I continued to sound, and found but four fathom upon the first ledge that I went over ; concluding, therefore, that I could not anchor here without risk, I determined to seek some port in the strait, where I might get on board such wood and water as we wanted.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, however, being very desirous to go on shore, I sent a boat with them and their people, while I kept plying as near as possible with the ship.

Having been on shore four hours they returned about nine in the evening, with above an hundred different plants and flowers, all of them wholly unknown to the botanists of Europe. They found the country about the bay to be in general flat, the bottom of it in particular was a plain covered with grass, which might easily have been made into a large quantity of hay ; they found also abundance of good wood and water, and fowl in great plenty. Among other things of which nature has been liberal in this place, is Winter's bark, *Winteranea aromatica* ; which may easily be known by its broad leaf, shaped like the laurel, of a light green colour without and inclining to blue within ; the bark is easily stripped with a bone or stick, and its virtues are well known ; it may be used for culinary purposes as a spice, and is not less pleasant than wholesome : here is also plenty of wild celery and scurvy-grass. The trees are chiefly of one kind, a species of the birch, called *Betula antarctica* ; the stem is from thirty to forty feet long, and from two to three feet in diameter, so that in a case of necessity they might possibly supply a ship with top-masts ; they are of a light white wood, bear a small leaf, and cleave very straight. Cranberries were also found here in great plenty, both white and red.

The persons who landed saw none of the inhabitants, but fell in with two of their deserted huts, one in a thick wood and the other close by the beach.

Having taken the boat on board I made sail into the strait, and at three in the morning of the 15th I anchored in twelve fathom and a half, upon coral rocks, before a small cove, which we took for Port Maurice, at the distance of about half a mile from the shore. Two of the natives came down to the beach, expecting us to land ; but this spot afforded so little shelter that I length determined not to examine it ; I therefore got under sail again about ten o'clock, and the savages retired into the woods.

At two o'clock we anchored in the bay of Good Success, and after dinner I went on shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, to look for a watering-place, and speak to the Indians, several of whom had come in sight. We landed on the starboard side of the bay near some rocks, which made smooth water and good landing : thirty or forty of the

Indians soon made their appearance at the end of a sandy beach on the other side of the bay, but seeing our number, which was ten or twelve, they retreated. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander then advanced about one hundred yards before us, upon which two of the Indians returned, and, having advanced some paces towards them, sat down : as soon as they came up the Indians rose, and each of them having a small stick in his hand threw it away, in a direction both from themselves and the strangers, which was considered as the renunciation of weapons in token of peace : they then walked briskly towards their companions, who had halted at about fifty yards behind them, and beckoned the gentlemen to follow, which they did. They were received with many uncouth signs of friendship ; and, in return, they distributed among them some beads and ribbons, which had been brought on shore for that purpose, and with which they were greatly delighted. A mutual confidence and good-will being thus produced, our parties joined : the conversation, such as it was, became general ; and three of them accompanied us back to the ship. When they came on board, one of them, whom we took to be a priest, performed much the same ceremonies which M. Bougainville describes, and supposes to be an exorcism. When he was introduced into a new part of the ship, or when any thing that he had not seen before caught his attention, he shouted with all his force for some minutes, without directing his voice either to us or his companions.



HEAD OF FUGEAN.

They ate some bread and some beef, but not apparently with much pleasure, though such part of what was given them as they did not eat they took away with them ; but they would not swallow a drop either of wine or spirits : they put the glass to their lips, but, having tasted the liquor, they returned it, with strong expressions of disgust. Curiosity seems to be one of the few passions which distinguish men from brutes ; and of this our guests appeared to have very little. They went from one part of the ship to another, and looked at the vast variety of new objects that every moment presented themselves, without any expression either of wonder or pleasure ; for the vociferation of our exorcist seemed to be neither. After having been on board about two hours, they expressed a desire to go ashore. A boat was immediately ordered, and Mr. Banks thought fit to accompany them : he landed them in safety, and conducted them to their companions, among whom he remarked the same vacant indifference, as in those who had been on board ; for as on one side there appeared no eagerness to relate, so on the other there seemed to be no curiosity to hear, how they had been received, or what they had seen. In about half an hour, Mr. Banks returned to the ship, and the Indians retired from the shore.

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CHAPTER IV.—AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED IN ASCENDING A MOUNTAIN TO SEARCH FOR PLANTS.

On the 16th, early in the morning, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, with their attendants and servants, and two seamen to assist in carrying the baggage, accompanied by Mr. Monkhouse the surgeon, and Mr. Green the astronomer, set out from the ship, with a view to penetrate as far as they could into the country, and return at night. The hills, when viewed at a distance, seemed to be partly a wood, partly a plain, and above them a bare rock. Mr. Banks hoped to get through the wood, and made no doubt but that, beyond it, he should, in a country which no botanist had ever yet visited, find alpine plants which



would abundantly compensate his labour. They entered the wood at a small sandy beach, a little to the westward of the watering-place, and continued to ascend the hill, through the pathless wilderness, till three o'clock, before they got a near view of the places which they intended to visit. Soon after they reached what they had taken for a plain; but, to their great disappointment, found it a swamp, covered with low bushes of birch, about three feet high, interwoven with each other, and so stubborn that they could not be bent out of the way; it was therefore necessary to lift the leg over them, which at every step was buried, ankle deep, in the soil. To aggravate the pain and difficulty of such travelling, the weather, which had hitherto been very fine, much like one of our bright days in May, became gloomy and cold, with sudden blasts of a most piercing wind, accompanied with snow. They pushed forward, however, in good spirits, notwithstanding their fatigue, hoping the worst of the way was past, and that the bare rock which they had seen from the tops of the lower hills was not more than a mile before them; but when they had got about two-thirds over this woody swamp, Mr. Buchan, one of Mr. Banks's draughtsmen, was unhappily seized with a fit. This made it necessary for the whole company to halt, and as it was impossible that he should go any farther, a fire was kindled, and those who were most fatigued were left behind to take care of him. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Mr. Green, and Mr. Monkhouse went on, and in a short time reached the summit. As botanists, their expectations were here abundantly gratified; for they found a great variety of plants, which, with respect to the alpine plants in Europe, are exactly what those plants are with respect to such as grow in the plain.

The cold was now become more severe, and the snow-blasts more frequent; the day also was so far spent, that it was found impossible to get back to the ship before the next morning: to pass the night upon such a mountain, in such a climate, was not only comfortless, but dreadful; it was impossible, however, to be avoided, and they were to provide for it as well as they could.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, while they were improving an opportunity which they had with so much danger and difficulty procured, by gathering the plants which they found upon the mountain, sent Mr. Green and Mr. Monkhouse back to Mr. Buchan and the people that were with him, with directions to bring them to a hill, which they thought lay in a better route for returning to the wood, and which was therefore appointed as a general rendezvous. It was proposed, that from this hill they should push through the swamp, which seemed by the new route not to be more than half-a-mile over, into the shelter of the wood, and there build their wigwam, and make a fire: this, as their way was all down hill, it seemed easy to accomplish. Their whole company assembled at the rendezvous, and, though pinched with the cold, were in health and spirits, Mr. Buchan himself having recovered his strength in a much greater degree than could have been expected. It was now near eight o'clock in the evening, but still good daylight, and they set forward for the nearest valley, Mr. Banks himself undertaking to bring up the rear, and see that no straggler was left behind: this may, perhaps, be thought a superfluous caution, but it will soon appear to be otherwise. Dr. Solander, who had more than once crossed the mountains which divide Sweden from Norway, well knew that extreme cold, especially when joined with fatigue, produces a torpor and sleepiness that are almost irresistible: he therefore conjured the company to keep moving, whatever pain it might cost them, and whatever relief they might be promised by an inclination to rest. Whoever sits down, says he, will sleep; and whoever sleeps, will wake no more. Thus, at once admonished and alarmed, they set forward; but while they were still upon the naked rock, and before they had got among the bushes, the cold became suddenly so intense, as to produce the effects that had been most dreaded. Dr. Solander himself was the first who found the inclination, against which he had warned others, irresistible; and insisted upon being suffered to lie down. Mr. Banks entreated and remonstrated in vain: down he lay upon the ground, though it was covered with snow; and it was with great difficulty that his friend kept him from sleeping. Richmond, also, one of the black servants, began to linger, having suffered from the cold in the same manner as the doctor. Mr. Banks, therefore, sent five of the company, among whom was Mr. Buchan, forward to get a fire ready at the first convenient place

they could find ; and himself, with four others, remained with the doctor and Richmond, whom, partly by persuasion and entreaty, and partly by force, they brought on ; but when they had got through the greatest part of the birch and swamp, they both declared they could go no farther. Mr. Banks had recourse again to entreaty and expostulation, but they produced no effect : when Richmond was told, that if he did not go on he would in a short time be frozen to death, he answered, that he desired nothing but to lie down and die : the doctor did not so explicitly renounce his life ; he said he was willing to go on, but that he must first take some sleep, though he had before told the company that to sleep was to perish. Mr. Banks and the rest found it impossible to carry them, and there being no remedy, they were both suffered to sit down, being partly supported by the bushes, and in a few minutes they fell into a profound sleep : soon after, some of the people who had been sent forward, returned, with the welcome news that a fire was kindled about a quarter of a mile farther on the way. Mr. Banks then endeavoured to wake Dr. Solander, and happily succeeded : but, though he had not slept five minutes, he had almost lost the use of his limbs, and the muscles were so shrunk that his shoes fell from his feet. He consented to go forward with such assistance as could be given him, but no attempts to relieve poor Richmond were successful. It being found impossible to make him stir, after some time had been lost in the attempt, Mr. Banks left his other black servant and a seaman, who seemed to have suffered least from the cold, to look after him ; promising, that as soon as two others should be sufficiently warmed, they should be relieved. Mr. Banks, with much difficulty, at length got the doctor to the fire ; and soon after sent two of the people who had been refreshed, in hopes that, with the assistance of those who had been left behind, they would be able to bring Richmond, even though it should still be found impossible to wake him. In about half an hour, however, they had the mortification to see these two men return alone : they said, that they had been all round the place to which they had been directed, but could neither find Richmond nor those who had been left with him ; and that though they had shouted many times, no voice had replied. This was matter of equal surprise and concern, particularly to Mr. Banks, who, while he was wondering how it could happen, missed a bottle of rum, the company's whole stock, which they now concluded to be in the knapsack of one of the absentees. It was conjectured, that with this Richmond had been roused by the two persons who had been left with him, and that, having perhaps drank too freely of it themselves, they had all rambled from the place where they had been left, in search of the fire, instead of waiting for those who should have been their assistants and guides. Another fall of snow now came on, and continued incessantly for two hours, so that all hope of seeing them again, at least alive, were given up ; but about twelve o'clock, to the great joy of those at the fire, a shouting was heard at some distance. Mr. Banks, with four more, immediately went out, and found the seaman with just strength enough left to stagger along, and call out for assistance : Mr. Banks sent him immediately to the fire, and, by his direction, proceeded in search of the other two, whom he soon after found. Richmond was upon his legs, but not able to put one before the other : his companion was lying upon the ground, as insensible as a stone. All hands were now called from the fire, and an attempt was made to carry them to it ; but this, notwithstanding the united efforts of the whole company, was found to be impossible. The night was extremely dark, the snow was now very deep, and, under these additional disadvantages, they found it very difficult to make way through the bushes and the bog for themselves, all of them getting many falls in the attempt. The only alternative was to make a fire upon the spot ; but the snow which had fallen, and was still falling, besides what was every moment shaken in flakes from the trees, rendered it equally impracticable to kindle one there and to bring any part of that which had been kindled in the wood thither : they were, therefore, reduced to the sad necessity of leaving the unhappy wretches to their fate ; having first made them a bed of boughs from the trees, and spread a covering of the same kind over them, to a considerable height. Having now been exposed to the cold and the snow near an hour and a half, some of the rest began to lose their sensibility ; and one, Briscoe, another of Mr. Banks's servants, was so ill, that it was thought he must die before he could be got to the fire.



At the fire, however, at length they arrived; and passed the night in a situation, which, however dreadful in itself, was rendered more afflicting by the remembrance of what was past, and the uncertainty of what was to come. Of twelve, the number that set out together in health and spirits, two were supposed to be already dead; a third was so ill, that it was very doubtful whether he would be able to go forward in the morning; and a fourth, Mr. Buchan, was in danger of a return of his fits, by fresh fatigue, after so uncomfortable a night: they were distant from the ship a long day's journey, through pathless woods, in which it was too probable they might be bewildered till they were overtaken by the next night; and, not having prepared for a journey of more than eight or ten hours, they were wholly destitute of provisions, except a vulture, which they happened to shoot while they were out, and which, if equally divided, would not afford each of them half a meal; and they knew not how much more they might suffer from the cold, as the snow still continued to fall. A dreadful testimony of the severity of the climate, as it was now the midst of summer in this part of the world, the twenty-first of December being here the longest day; and everything might justly be dreaded from a phenomenon which, in the corresponding season, is unknown even in Norway and Lapland.

When the morning dawned, they saw nothing round them, as far as the eye could reach, but snow, which seemed to lie as thick upon the trees as upon the ground; and the blasts returned so frequently, and with such violence, that they found it impossible for them to set out: how long this might last they knew not, and they had but too much reason to apprehend that it would confine them in that desolate forest till they perished with hunger and cold. After having suffered the misery and terror of this situation till six o'clock in the morning, they conceived some hope of deliverance by discovering the place of the sun through the clouds, which were become thinner, and began to break away. Their first care was to see whether the poor wretches whom they had been obliged to leave among the bushes were yet alive: three of the company were despatched for that purpose, and very soon afterwards returned with the melancholy news that they were dead.

Notwithstanding the flattering appearance of the sky, the snow still continued to fall so thick that they could not venture out on their journey to the ship; but about eight o'clock a small regular breeze sprung up, which, with the prevailing influence of the sun, at length cleared the air; and they soon after, with great joy, saw the snow fall in large flakes from the trees, a certain sign of an approaching thaw. They now examined more critically the state of their invalids: Briscoe was still very ill, but said that he thought himself able to walk; and Mr. Buchan was much better than either he or his friends had any reason to expect. They were now, however, pressed by the calls of hunger, to which, after long fasting, every consideration of future good or evil immediately gives way. Before they set forward, therefore, it was unanimously agreed that they should eat their vulture: the bird was accordingly skinned, and it being thought best to divide it before it was fit to be eaten, it was cut into ten portions, and every man cooked his own as he thought fit. After this repast, which furnished each of them with about three mouthfuls, they prepared to set out; but it was ten o'clock before the snow was sufficiently gone off to render a march practicable. After a walk of about three hours, they were very agreeably surprised to find themselves upon the beach, and much nearer to the ship than they had any reason to expect. Upon reviewing their track from the vessel, they perceived that, instead of ascending the hill in a line, so as to penetrate into the country, they had made almost a circle round it. When they came on board, they congratulated each other upon their safety with a joy that no man can feel who has not been exposed to equal danger; and as I had suffered great anxiety at their not returning in the evening of the day on which they set out, I was not wholly without my share.

## CHAPTER V.—THE PASSAGE THROUGH THE STRAIT OF LE MAIRE, AND A FURTHER DESCRIPTION OF THE INHABITANTS OF TERRA DEL FUEGO AND ITS PRODUCTIONS.

On the 18th and 19th, we were delayed in getting on board our wood and water by a swell; but on the 20th, the weather being more moderate, we again sent the boat on shore, and Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went in it. They landed in the bottom of the bay; and while my people were employed in cutting brooms, they pursued their great object, the improvement of natural knowledge, with success, collecting many shells and plants which hitherto have been altogether unknown. They came on board to dinner, and afterwards went again on shore to visit an Indian town, which some of the people had reported to lie about two miles up the country. They found the distance not more than by the account, and they approached it by what appeared to be the common road; yet they were above an hour in getting thither, for they were frequently up to their knees in mud. When they got within a small distance, two of the people came out to meet them, with such state as they could assume. When they joined them, they began to halloo as they had done on board the ship, without addressing themselves either to the strangers or their companions;



FUEGIAN VILLAGE.

and having continued this strange vociferation for some time, they conducted them to the town. It was situated on a dry knoll, or small hill, covered with wood, none of which seemed to have been cleared away, and consisted of about twelve or fourteen hovels, of the most rude and inartificial structure that can be imagined. They were nothing more than a few poles set up so as to incline towards each other, and meet at the top, forming a kind of a cone, like some of our bee-hives: on the weather-side they were covered with a few boughs and a little grass, and on the lee-side about one-eighth of the circle was left open, both for a door



and a fire-place ; and of this kind were the huts that had been seen in St. Vincent's bay, in one of which the embers of a fire were still remaining. Furniture they had none ; a little grass, which lay round the inside of the hovel, served both for chairs and beds ; and of all the utensils which necessity and ingenuity have concurred to produce among other savage nations, they saw only a basket to carry in the hand, a satchel to hang at the back, and the bladder of some beast to hold water, which the natives drink through a hole that is made near the top for that purpose.

The inhabitants of this town were a small tribe, not more than fifty in number, of both sexes and of every age. Their colour resembles that of the rust of iron mixed with oil, and they have long black hair : the men are large, but clumsily built ; their stature is from five feet eight to five feet ten : the women are much less, few of them being more than five feet high. Their whole apparel consists of the skin of a guanoco\*, or seal, which is thrown over their shoulders, exactly in the state in which it came from the animal's back ; a piece of the same skin, which is drawn over their feet, and gathered about the ankles like a purse, and a small flap, which is worn by the women as a succedaneum for a fig-leaf. The men wear their cloak open ; the women tie it about their waist with a thong ; but although they are content to be naked, they are very ambitious to be fine. Their faces were painted in various forms ; the region of the eye was in general white, and the rest of the face adorned with horizontal streaks of red and black ; yet scarcely any two were exactly alike. This decoration seems to be more profuse and elaborate upon particular occasions ; for the two gentlemen who introduced Mr. Banks and the doctor into the town, were almost covered with streaks of black in all directions, so as to make a very striking appearance. Both men and women wore bracelets of such beads as they could make themselves of small shells or bones ; the women both upon their wrists and ankles, the men upon their wrists only ; but to compensate for the want of bracelets on their legs, they wore a kind of fillet of brown worsted round their heads. They seemed to set a particular value upon anything that was red, and preferred beads even to a knife or a hatchet.

Their language in general is guttural, and they express some of their words by a sound exactly like that which we make to clear the throat when anything happens to obstruct it ; yet they have words that would be deemed soft in the better languages of Europe. Mr. Banks learnt what he supposes to be their name for beads and water. When they wanted beads, instead of ribbons or other trifles, they said *hallēcā* ; and when they were taken on shore from the ship, and by signs asked where water might be found, they made the sign of drinking, and pointing as well to the casks as the watering-place, cried *Oodā*.

We saw no appearance of their having any food but shell-fish ; for though seals were frequently seen near the shore, they seemed to have no implements for taking them. The shell-fish is collected by the women, whose business it seems to be to attend at low water, with a basket in one hand, and a stick, pointed and barbed, in the other, and a satchel at their backs. They loosen the limpets and other fish that adhere to the rocks with the stick, and put them into the basket, which, when full, they empty into the satchel.

The only things that we found among them, in which there was the least appearance of neatness or ingenuity, were their weapons, which consisted of a bow and arrows. The bow was not inelegantly made, and the arrows were the neatest that we had ever seen : they were of wood, polished to the highest degree ; and the point, which was of glass or flint, and barbed, was formed and fitted with wonderful dexterity. We saw also some pieces of glass and flint among them unwrought, besides rings, buttons, cloth, and canvass, with other European commodities ; they must, therefore, sometimes travel to the northward, for it is

\* "The guanoco, by some naturalists, is considered as the same animal with the llama, but in its wild state, is the South American representative of the camel of the East. In size it may be compared to an ass, mounted on taller legs, and with a very long neck. The guanoco abounds over the whole of the temperate parts of South America, from the wooded islands of Terra del Fuego, through Patagonia, the hilly parts of La Plata, Chili, even to the Cordillera of Peru. Although prefer-

ring an elevated site, it yields in this respect to its near relative the vicuña. On the plains of southern Patagonia we saw them in greater numbers than in any other part. Generally they go in small herds, from half-a-dozen to thirty together ; but on the banks of the St. Cruz we saw one herd which must have contained at least five hundred. On the northern shores of the Strait of Magellan they are also very numerous."—Darwin, in *Surveying Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle*.

many years since any ship has been so far south as this part of Terra del Fuego. We observed, also, that they showed no surprise at our fire-arms, with the use of which they appeared to be well acquainted; for they made signs to Mr. Banks to shoot a seal which followed the boat, as they were going on shore from the ship.

M. de Bougainville, who, in January, 1768, just one year before us, had been on shore upon this coast in latitude  $53^{\circ} 40' 41''$ , had, among other things, given glass to the people whom he found here; for he says, that a boy about twelve years old took it into his head to eat some of it. By this unhappy accident he died in great misery; but the endeavours of the good father, the French *aumônier*, were more successful than those of the surgeon; for though the surgeon could not save his life, the charitable priest found means to steal a Christian baptism upon him so secretly, that none of his pagan relations knew anything of the matter. These people might probably have some of the very glass which Bougainville left behind him, either from other natives, or perhaps from himself; for they appeared rather to be a travelling horde than to have any fixed habitation. Their houses are built to stand but for a short time. They have no utensil or furniture but the basket and satchel, which have been mentioned before, and which have handles adapted to the carrying them about, in the hand and upon the back. The only clothing they had here was scarcely sufficient to prevent their perishing with cold in the summer of this country, much less in the extreme severity of winter. The shell-fish, which seems to be their only food, must soon be exhausted at any one place; and we had seen houses upon what appeared to be a deserted station in St. Vincent's Bay. It is also probable that the place where we found them was only a temporary residence, from their having here nothing like a boat or canoe, of which it can scarcely be supposed that they were wholly destitute, especially as they were not sea-sick, or particularly affected, either in our boat or on board the ship. We conjectured that there might be a strait or inlet, running from the sea through great part of this island, from the Strait of Magellan, whence these people might come, leaving their canoes where such inlet terminated.

They did not appear to have among them any government or subordination: none was more respected than another; yet they seemed to live together in the utmost harmony and good fellowship. Neither did we discover any appearance of religion among them, except the noises which have been mentioned, and which we supposed to be a superstitious ceremony, merely because we could refer them to nothing else: they were used only by one of those who came on board the ship, and the two who conducted Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander to the town, whom we therefore conjectured to be priests. Upon the whole, these people appear to be the most destitute and forlorn, as well as the most stupid, of all human beings; the outcasts of nature, who spent their lives in wandering about the dreary wastes, where two of our people perished with cold in the midst of summer; with no dwelling but a wretched hovel of sticks and grass, which would not only admit the wind, but the snow and the rain; almost naked; and destitute of every convenience that is furnished by the rudest art, having no implement even to dress their food: yet they were content. They seemed to have no wish for anything more than they possessed, nor did anything that we offered them appear acceptable but beads, as an ornamental superfluity of life. What bodily pain they might suffer from the severities of their winter we could not know; but it is certain that they suffered nothing from the want of the innumerable articles which we consider not as the luxuries and conveniencies only but the necessities of life: as their desires are few, they probably enjoy them all; and how much they may be gainers by an exemption from the care, labour, and solicitude, which arise from a perpetual and unsuccessful effort to gratify that infinite variety of desires which the refinements of artificial life have produced among us, is not very easy to determine: possibly this may counterbalance all the real disadvantages of their situation in comparison with ours, and make the scales by which good and evil are distributed to man hang even between us.

In this place we saw no quadruped except seals, sea-lions, and dogs: of the dogs it is remarkable that they bark, which those that are originally bred in America do not. And this is a further proof, that the people we saw here had, either immediately or remotely, communicated with the inhabitants of Europe. There are, however, other quadrupeds in



this part of the country ; for when Mr. Banks was at the top of the highest hill that he ascended in his expedition through the woods, he saw the footsteps of a large beast imprinted upon the surface of a bog, though he could not with any probability guess of what kind it might be.

Of land-birds there are but few : Mr. Banks saw none larger than an English blackbird, except some hawks and a vulture ; but of water-fowl there is great plenty, particularly ducks. Of fish we saw scarce any, and with our hooks could catch none that was fit to eat ; but shell-fish, limpets, clams, and mussels, were to be found in abundance. Among the insects, which were not numerous, there was neither gnat nor musquito, nor any other species that was either hurtful or troublesome, which perhaps is more than can be said of any other uncleared country. During the snow-blasts, which happened every day while we were here, they hide themselves ; and the moment it is fair they appear again, as nimble and vigorous as the warmest weather could make them.

Of plants, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander found a vast variety, the far greater part wholly different from any that have been hitherto described. Besides the birch and winter's bark, which have been mentioned already, there is the beech, *Fagus antarcticus*, which, as well as the birch, may be used for timber. The plants cannot be enumerated here ; but as the scurvy-grass, *Cardamine antiscorbutica*, and the wild celery, *Apium antarcticum*, probably contain antiscorbutic qualities, which may be of great benefit to the crews of such ships as shall hereafter touch at this place, the following short description is inserted :—The scurvy-grass will be found in plenty in damp places, near springs of water, and, in general, in all places that lie near the beach, especially at the watering-place in the Bay of Good Success. When it is young, the state of its greatest perfection, it lies flat upon the ground, having many leaves of a bright green, standing in pairs opposite to each other, with a single one at the end, which generally makes the fifth upon a foot-stalk. The plant, passing from this state, shoots up in stalks that are sometimes two feet high, at the top of which are small white blossoms, and these are succeeded by long pods. The whole plant greatly resembles that which in England is called lady's smock, or cuckow-flower. The wild celery is very like the celery in our gardens ; the flowers are white, and stand in the same manner, in small tufts at the top of the branches, but the leaves are of a deeper green. It grows in great abundance near the beach, and generally upon the soil that lies next above the spring tides. It may, indeed, easily be known by the taste, which is between that of celery and parsley. We used the celery in large quantities, particularly in our soup, which, thus medicated, produced the same good effects which seamen generally derive from a vegetable diet, after having been long confined to salt provisions.

On Sunday, the 22d of January, about two o'clock in the morning, having got our wood and water on board, we sailed out of the bay, and continued our course through the strait.



FUGEAN CANOE.

CHAPTER VI.—A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE S. E. PART OF TERRA DEL FUEGO, AND THE STRAIT OF LE MAIRE; WITH SOME REMARKS ON LORD ANSON'S ACCOUNT OF THEM, AND DIRECTIONS FOR THE PASSAGE WESTWARD, ROUND THIS PART OF AMERICA, INTO THE SOUTH SEAS.

ALMOST all writers, who have mentioned the island of Terra del Fuego, describe it as destitute of wood, and covered with snow. In the winter it may possibly be covered with snow, and those who saw it at that season might, perhaps, be easily deceived by its appearance into an opinion that it was destitute of wood. Lord Anson was there in the beginning of March, which answers to our September, and we were there the beginning of January, which answers to our July, which may account for the difference of his description of it from ours. We fell in with it about twenty-one leagues to the westward of the Strait of Le Maire, and from the time that we first saw it, trees were plainly to be distinguished with our glasses; and as we came nearer, though here and there we discovered patches of snow, the sides of the hills and the sea-coast appeared to be covered with a beautiful verdure. The hills are lofty, but not mountainous, though the summits of them are quite naked. The soil in the valleys is rich, and of a considerable depth; and at the foot of almost every hill there is a brook, the water of which has a reddish hue, like that which runs through our turf bogs in England; but it is by no means ill tasted, and, upon the whole, proved to be the best that we took in during our voyage. We ranged the coast to the Strait, and had soundings all the way from forty to twenty fathom upon a gravelly and sandy bottom. The most remarkable land on Terra del Fuego is a hill in the form of a sugar-loaf, which stands on the west side, not far from the sea; and the three hills, called the Three Brothers, about nine miles to the westward of Cape St. Diego, the low point that forms the north entrance of the Strait of Le Maire.

It is said, in the account of Lord Anson's voyage, that it is difficult to determine exactly where the strait lies, though the appearance of Terra del Fuego be well known, without knowing also the appearance of Staten Land; and that some navigators have been deceived by three hills on Staten Land, which have been mistaken for the Three Brothers on Terra del Fuego, and so overshot the strait. But no ship can possibly miss the strait that coasts Terra del Fuego within sight of land, for it will then of itself be sufficiently conspicuous; and Staten Land, which forms the east side, will be still more manifestly distinguished, for there is no land on Terra del Fuego like it. The Strait of Le Maire can be missed only by standing too far to the eastward, without keeping the land of Terra del Fuego in sight. If this is done, it may be missed, however accurately the appearance of the coast of Staten Land may have been exhibited; and if this is not done, it cannot be missed, though the appearance of that coast be not known. The entrance of the strait should not be attempted but with a fair wind and moderate weather, and upon the very beginning of the tide of flood, which happens here at the full and change of the moon, about one or two o'clock; it is also best to keep as near to the Terra del Fuego shore as the winds will admit. By attending to these particulars, a ship may be got quite through the strait in one tide; or, at least, to the southward of Success Bay, into which it will be more prudent to put, if the wind should be southerly, than to attempt the weathering of Staten Land with a lee wind and a current, which may endanger her being driven on that island.

The Strait itself, which is bounded on the west by Terra del Fuego, and on the east by the west end of Staten Land, is about five leagues long, and as many broad. The bay of Good Success lies about the middle of it, on the Terra del Fuego side, and is discovered immediately upon entering the Strait from the northward: and the south head of it may be distinguished by a mark on the land that has the appearance of a broad road leading up from the sea into the country: at the entrance it is half a league wide, and runs in westward about two miles and a half. There is good anchorage in every part of it, in from ten to seven fathom, clear ground; and it affords plenty of exceeding good wood and water. The tides flow in the bay, at the full and change of the moon, about four or five o'clock, and rise about five or six feet perpendicular. But the flood runs two or three hours longer in



the Strait than in the Bay ; and the ebb, or northerly current, runs with nearly double the strength of the flood.

In the appearance of Staten Land we did not discover the wildness and horror that is ascribed to it in the account of Lord Anson's voyage. On the north side are the appearances of bays or harbours ; and the land, when we saw it, was neither destitute of wood nor verdure, nor covered with snow. The island seems to be about twelve leagues in length, and five broad. On the west side of the Cape of Good Success, which forms the S.W. entrance of the Strait, lies Valentine's Bay, of which we only saw the entrance ; from this bay the land trends away to the W.S.W. for twenty or thirty leagues ; it appears to be high and mountainous, and forms several bays and inlets.

At the distance of fourteen leagues from the Bay of Good Success, in the direction of S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. and between two or three leagues from the shore, lies New Island. It is about two leagues in length from N. E. to S. W., and terminates to the N. E. in a remarkable hillock. At the distance of seven leagues from New Island, in the direction of S. W. lies the Isle *Ecoute* ; and a little to the W. of the south of this island lie Barnevelt's two small flat islands, close to each other ; they are partly surrounded with rocks, which rise to different heights above the water, and lie twenty-four leagues from the Strait of Le Maire. At the distance of three leagues from Barnevelt's islands, in the direction of S. W. by S., lies the S. E. point of Hermit's islands : these islands lie S. E. and N. W., and are pretty high : from most points of view they will be taken for one island, or a part of the main. From the S. E. point of Hermit's islands to Cape Horn the course is S. W. by S., distance three leagues.

The appearance of this Cape and Hermit's islands is represented in the chart of this coast, from our first making land to the Cape, which includes the Strait of Le Maire, and part of Staten Land. In this chart I have laid down no land, nor traced out any shore but what I saw myself, and thus far it may be depended upon : the bays and inlets, of which we saw only the openings, are not traced ; it can, however, scarcely be doubted, but that most, if not all of them, afford anchorage, wood, and water. The Dutch squadron, commanded by Hermit, certainly put into some of them in the year 1624. And it was Chapenham, the vice-admiral of this squadron, who first discovered that the land of Cape Horn consisted of a number of islands. The account, however, which those who sailed in Hermit's fleet have given of these parts is extremely defective ; and those of Schouten and Le Maire are still worse. It is therefore no wonder that the charts hitherto published should be erroneous, not only in laying down the land, but in the latitude and longitude of the places they contain. I will, however, venture to assert, that the longitude of few parts of the world is better ascertained than that of the Strait of Le Maire and Cape Horn, in the chart now offered to the public, as it was laid down by several observations of the sun and moon, that were made both by myself and Mr. Green.

The variation of the compass on this coast I found to be from  $23^{\circ}$  to  $25^{\circ}$  E., except near Barnevelt's islands and Cape Horn, where we found it less, and unsettled : probably it is disturbed here by the land, as Hermit's squadron, in this very place, found all their compasses differ from each other. The declination of the dipping-needle, when set upon shore in Success Bay, was  $63^{\circ} 15'$  below the horizon. Between Strait Le Maire and Cape Horn we found a current setting, generally very strong, to the N. E., when we were in with the shore ; but lost it when we were at the distance of fifteen or twenty leagues.

On the 26th January, we took our departure from Cape Horn, which lies in latitude  $55^{\circ} 53'$  S., longitude  $68^{\circ} 13'$  W. The farthest southern latitude that we made was  $60^{\circ} 10'$ , our longitude was then  $74^{\circ} 30'$  W. ; and we found the variation of the compass, by the mean of eighteen azimuths to be  $27^{\circ} 9'$  E. As the weather was frequently calm, Mr. Banks went out in a small boat to shoot birds, among which were some albatrosses and sheerwaters. The albatrosses were observed to be larger than those which had been taken northward of the Strait ; one of them measured ten feet two inches from the tip of one wing to that of the other, when they were extended : the sheerwater, on the contrary, is less, and darker coloured on the back. The albatrosses we skinned, and having soaked them in salt-water till the morning, we parboiled them, then throwing away the liquor,

stewed them in a very little fresh water till they were tender, and had them served up with savoury sauce; thus dressed, the dish was universally commended, and we eat of it very heartily, even when there was fresh pork upon the table.

From a variety of observations which were made with great care, it appeared probable in the highest degree, that, from the time of our leaving the land to the 13th of February, when we were in latitude  $49^{\circ} 32'$ , and longitude  $90^{\circ} 37'$ , we had no current to the west.

At this time we had advanced about  $12^{\circ}$  to the westward, and  $3\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  to the northward of the Strait of Magellan; having been just three-and-thirty days in coming round the land of Terra del Fuego, or Cape Horn, from the east entrance of the Strait to this situation. And though the doubling of Cape Horn is so much dreaded, that, in the general opinion, it is more eligible to pass through the Strait of Magellan, we were not once brought under our close-reefed topsails after we left the Strait of Le Maire. The Dolphin, in her last voyage, which she performed at the same season of the year with ours, was three months in getting through the Strait of Magellan, exclusive of the time that she lay in Port Famine; and I am persuaded, from the winds we had, that if we had come by that passage, we should not at this time have been in these seas; that our people would have been fatigued, and our anchors, cables, sails, and rigging much damaged; neither of which inconveniences we had now suffered. But, supposing it more eligible to go round the Cape than through the Strait of Magellan, it may still be questioned, whether it is better to go through the Strait of Le Maire, or stand to the eastward, and go round Staten Land. The advice given in the Account of lord Anson's voyage is, "That all ships bound to the South Seas, instead of passing through the Strait of Le Maire, should constantly pass to the eastward of Staten Land, and should be invariably bent on running to the southward as far as the latitude of  $61$  or  $62$  degrees, before they endeavour to stand to the westward." But, in my opinion, different circumstances may at one time render it eligible to pass through the Strait, and to keep to the eastward of Staten Land at another. If the land is fallen in with to the westward of the Strait, and the wind is favourable for going through, I think it would be very injudicious to lose time by going round Staten Land, as I am confident that, by attending to the directions which I have given, the Strait may be passed with the utmost safety and convenience. But if, on the contrary, the land is fallen in with to the eastward of the Strait, and the wind should prove tempestuous or unfavourable, I think it would be best to go round Staten Land. But I cannot in any case concur in recommending the running into the latitude of  $61$  or  $62$ , before any endeavour is made to stand to the westward. We found neither the current nor the storms which the running so far to the southward is supposed necessary to avoid; and, indeed, as the winds almost constantly blow from that quarter, it is scarcely possible to pursue the advice. The navigator has no choice but to stand to the southward, close upon a wind, and by keeping upon that tack, he will not only make southing, but westing; and, if the wind varies towards the north of the west, his westing will be considerable. It will, indeed, be highly proper to make sure of a westing sufficient to double all the lands, before an attempt is made to stand to the northward, and to this every man's own prudence will of necessity direct him\*.

We now began to have strong gales and heavy seas, with irregular intervals of calm and fine weather.

\* The recent survey of the Straits of Magellan and Terra del Fuego by Captains King and Fitzroy, has removed many of the difficulties which embarrassed former voyagers. With respect to the passage through the Straits of Le Maire, Capt. King's opinion is quite confirmatory of that of Capt. Cook. "Prudence, I think," says he, "suggests the passage round Staten Land; yet I should very reluctantly give up the opportunity that might offer of clearing the Strait, and therefore of being so much more to windward. With a southerly wind it would not be advisable to attempt the Strait; for, with a weather tide, the sea runs very cross and deep, and might severely injure and endanger the safety of a small vessel, and to a larger one do much damage. In calm weather it would be still more imprudent (unless the western side of the

Strait can be reached, where a ship might anchor), on account of the tides setting over to the Staten Island side; where, if it becomes advisable to anchor, it would necessarily be in very deep water, and close to the land. With a northerly wind the route seems not only practicable but very advantageous, and it would require some resolution to give up the opportunity so invitingly offered. I doubt whether northerly winds, unless they are very strong, blow through the Strait—if not, a ship is drifted over to the eastern shores, where, from the force of the tides, she must be quite unmanageable.

"Capt. Fitzroy seems to think there is neither difficulty nor risk in passing the Strait. The only danger that does exist, and that may be an imaginary one, is the failure of the wind. Ships passing through it from the



CHAPTER VII.—THE SEQUEL OF THE PASSAGE FROM CAPE HORN TO THE NEWLY-DISCOVERED ISLANDS IN THE SOUTH SEAS, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THEIR FIGURE AND APPEARANCE; SOME ACCOUNT OF THE INHABITANTS, AND SEVERAL INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED DURING THE COURSE, AND AT THE SHIP'S ARRIVAL AMONG THEM.

On the first of March, we were in latitude  $38^{\circ} 44'$  S. and longitude  $110^{\circ} 33'$  W., both by observation and by the log. This agreement, after a run of 660 leagues, was thought to be very extraordinary; and is a demonstration, that after we left the land of Cape Horn we had no current that affected the ship. It renders it also highly probable, that we had been near no land of any considerable extent; for currents are always found when land is not remote, and sometimes, particularly on the east side of the continent in the North Sea, when land has been distant 100 leagues.

Many birds, as usual, were constantly about the ship, so that Mr. Banks killed no less than 62 in one day; and what is more remarkable, he caught two forest flies, both of them of the same species, but different from any that have hitherto been described; these probably belonged to the birds, and came with them from the land, which we judged to be at a great distance. Mr. Banks also, about this time, found a large cuttle-fish, which had just been killed by the birds, floating in a mangled condition upon the water; it is very different from the cuttle-fishes that are found in the European seas; for its arms, instead of suckers, were furnished with a double row of very sharp talons, which resemble those of a cat, and, like them, were retractable into a sheath of skin, from which they might be thrust at pleasure. Of this cuttle-fish we made one of the best soups we had ever tasted.

The albatrosses now began to leave us, and after the 8th there was not one to be seen. We continued our course without any memorable event till the 24th, when some of the people who were upon the watch in the night, reported that they saw a log of wood pass by the ship; and that the sea, which was rather rough, became suddenly as smooth as a mill-pond. It was a general opinion that there was land to windward; but I did not think myself at liberty to search for what I was not sure to find; though I judged we were not far from the islands that were discovered by Quiros in 1606. Our latitude was  $22^{\circ} 11'$  S. and longitude  $127^{\circ} 55'$  W.

On the 25th, about noon, one of the marines, a young fellow about twenty, was placed as sentry at the cabin-door; while he was upon this duty, one of my servants was at the same place preparing to cut a piece of seal-skin into tobacco pouches: he had promised one to several of the men, but had refused one to this young fellow, though he had asked him several times; upon which he jocularly threatened to steal one, if it should be in his power. It happened that the servant being called hastily away, gave the skin in charge to the sentinel, without regarding what had passed between them. The sentinel immediately secured a piece of the skin, which the other missing at his return, grew angry; but after some altercation, contented himself with taking it away, declaring that, for so trifling an affair, he would not complain of him to the officers. But it happened that one of his fellow-soldiers, overhearing the dispute, came to the knowledge of what had happened, and told it the rest; who, taking it into their heads to stand up for the honour of their corps, reproached the offender with great bitterness, and reviled him in the most opprobrious terms; they exaggerated his offence into a crime of the deepest dye; they said it was a

south, are not so liable to the failure of the south-westerly wind, unless it be light, and then a breeze will probably be found from N.W. at the northern end of the Strait. The anchorage in Good Success Bay, however, is at hand, should the wind or tide fail."

With respect to the passage through the Strait of Magellan, Capt. King observes:—"By the present survey, the navigation through it, independent of wind and weather, has been rendered much easier—the local dif-

ficulties, therefore, have been removed; but there remain much more serious ones, which I should not recommend a large, or even any but a very active and fast-sailing square-rigged vessel to encounter, unless detention be not an object of importance. For small vessels, especially if they be fore-and-aft rigged, many, if not all, the local difficulties vanish."—*Surveying Voyages of the Adventure and the Beagle.*

theft by a sentry when he was upon duty, and of a thing that had been committed to his trust; they declared it a disgrace to associate with him; and the serjeant, in particular, said that, if the person from whom the skin had been stolen would not complain, he would complain himself; for that his honour would suffer if the offender was not punished. From the scoffs and reproaches of these men of honour, the poor young fellow retired to his hammock in an agony of confusion and shame. The serjeant soon after went to him, and ordered him to follow him to the deck: he obeyed without reply; but it being in the dusk of the evening, he slipped from the serjeant and went forward: he was seen by some of the people, who thought he was gone to the head; but a search being made for him afterwards, it was found that he had thrown himself overboard; and I was then first made acquainted with the theft and its circumstances. The loss of this man was the more regretted as he was remarkably quiet and industrious, and as the very action that put an end to his life was a proof of an ingenuous mind; for to such only disgrace is insupportable.



POLYNESIAN ISLAND.—LAGOON SHAPE, AND COMPOSED OF CORAL.

On Tuesday the 4th of April, about ten o'clock in the morning, Mr. Banks' servant, Peter Briscoe, discovered land, bearing south, at the distance of about three or four leagues. I immediately hauled up for it, and found it to be an island of an oval form, with a lagoon in the middle, which occupied much the larger part of it; the border of land which circumscribes the lagoon is in many places very low and narrow, particularly on the south side, where it consists principally of a beach or reef of rocks. It has the same appearance also in three places on the north side; so that the firm land being disjointed, the whole looks like many islands covered with wood. On the west end of the island is a large tree, or clump of trees, that in appearance resembles a tower; and about the middle are two cocoa-nut trees, which rise above all the rest, and, as we came near to the island, appeared like a flag. We approached it on the north side, and though we came within a mile, we found no bottom with 130 fathom of line, nor did there appear to be any anchorage about it. The whole is covered with trees of different verdure, but we could distinguish none, even with our glasses, except cocoa-nuts and palm-nuts. We saw several of the natives upon the shore, and counted four-and-twenty. They appeared to be tall, and to have heads remarkably large; perhaps they had something wound round them which we could not distinguish; they were of a copper colour, and had long black hair. Eleven of them walked along the beach abreast of the ship, with poles or pikes in their hands which reached twice as high as themselves. While they walked on the beach they seemed to be naked; but soon after they retired, which they did as soon as the ship had passed the island, they covered themselves with something that made them appear of a light colour. Their habitations were under some clumps of palm-nut-trees, which at a distance appeared like high ground; and to us, who for a long time had seen nothing but water and sky, except the dreary hills of Terra del Fuego, these groves seemed a terrestrial paradise. To this spot, which lies in latitude  $18^{\circ} 47' S.$ , and longitude  $139^{\circ} 28' W.$ , we gave the name of LAGOON ISLAND. The variation of the needle here is  $2^{\circ} 54' E.$



About one o'clock we made sail to the westward, and about half an hour after three we saw land again to the N.W. We got up with it at sunset, and it proved to be a low woody island, of a circular form, and not much above a mile in compass. We discovered no inhabitants, nor could we distinguish any cocoa-nut-trees, though we were within half a mile of the shore. The land, however, was covered with verdure of many hues. It lies in latitude  $18^{\circ} 35' S.$ , and longitude  $139^{\circ} 48' W.$ , and is distant from Lagoon Island, in the direction of N. 62 W., about seven leagues. We called it *THRUMB-CAP.* I discovered, by the appearance of the shore, that at this place it was low water; and I had observed at Lagoon Island that it was either high water, or that the sea neither ebbed nor flowed. I infer, therefore, that a S. by E. or S. moon makes high water.

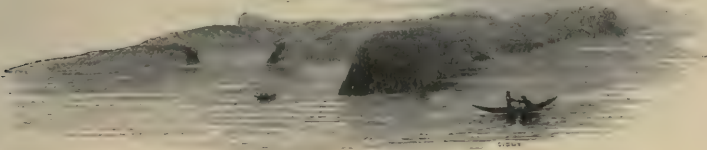
We went on with a fine trade-wind and pleasant weather, and on the 5th, about three in the afternoon, we discovered land to the westward. It proved to be a low island of much greater extent than either of those that we had seen before, being about ten or twelve leagues in compass. Several of us remained at the mast-head the whole evening, admiring its extraordinary figure: it was shaped exactly like a bow, the arc and cord of which were land, and the space between them water: the cord was a flat beach, without any signs of vegetation, having nothing upon it but heaps of sea-weed, which lay in different ridges, as higher or lower tides had left them. It appeared to be about three or four leagues long, and not more than two hundred yards wide; but as a horizontal plane is always seen in perspective, and greatly foreshortened, it is certainly much wider than it appeared: the horns, or extremities of the bow, were two large tufts of cocoa-nut-trees; and much the greater part of the arc was covered with trees of different height, figure, and hue; in some parts, however, it was naked and low, like the cord. Some of us thought they discovered openings through the cord, into the pool or lake that was included between that and the bow; but whether there were or were not such openings is uncertain. We sailed abreast of the low beach or bow-string, within less than a league of the shore, till sunset, and we then judged ourselves to be about halfway between the two horns. Here we brought to, and sounded, but found no bottom with one hundred and thirty fathom; and, as it is dark almost instantly after sunset in these latitudes, we suddenly lost sight of the land, and making sail again, before the line was well hauled in, we steered by the sound of the breakers, which were distinctly heard till we got clear of the coast. We knew this island to be inhabited, by smoke which we saw in different parts of it, and we gave it the name of *BOW ISLAND.* Mr. Gore, my second lieutenant, said, after we had sailed by the island, that he had seen several of the natives, under the first clump of trees, from the deck; that he had distinguished their houses, and seen several canoes hauled up under the shade; but in this he was more fortunate than any other person on board. The east end of this island, which, from its figure, we called the Bow, lies in latitude  $18^{\circ} 23' S.$ , and longitude  $141^{\circ} 12' W.$ ; we observed the variation of the compass to be  $5^{\circ} 38' E.$

On the next day, Thursday the 6th, about noon, we saw land again to the westward, and came up with it about three. It appeared to be two islands, or rather groups of islands, extending from N.W. by N. to S.E. by S. about nine leagues. Of these, the two largest were separated from each other by a channel of about half-a-mile broad, and were severally surrounded by smaller islands, to which they were joined by reefs that lay under water. These islands were long narrow strips of land, ranging in all directions, some of them ten miles or upwards in length, but none more than a quarter of a mile broad, and upon all of them there were trees of various kinds, particularly the cocoa-nut. The south-easternmost of them lies in the latitude of  $18^{\circ} 12' S.$ , and longitude  $142^{\circ} 42' W.$ , and at the distance of twenty-five leagues in the direction of W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. from the west end of Bow Island. We ranged along the S.W. side of this island, and hauled into a bay which lies to the N.W. of the southernmost point of the group, where there was a smooth sea, and the appearance of anchorage, without much surf on the shore. We sounded, but we found no bottom with one hundred fathom, at the distance of no more than three quarters of a mile from the beach; and I did not think it prudent to go nearer.

While this was doing, several of the inhabitants assembled upon the shore, and some came out in their canoes as far as the reefs, but would not pass them. When we saw this,

we ranged, with an easy sail, along the shore; but just as we were passing the end of the island, six men, who had for some time kept abreast of the ship, suddenly launched two canoes with great quickness and dexterity, and three of them getting into each, they put off, as we imagined, with a design to come on board us; the ship was therefore brought to, but they, like their fellows, stopped at the reef. We did not, however, immediately make sail, as we observed two messengers despatched to them from the other canoes, which were of a much larger size. We perceived that these messengers made great expedition, wading and swimming along the reef; at length they met, and the men on board the canoes making no dispositions to pass the reef, after having received the message, we judged that they had resolved to come no farther. After waiting, therefore, some little time longer, we stood off; but when we were got about two or three miles from the shore, we perceived some of the natives following us in a canoe with a sail. We did not, however, think it worth while to wait for her, and though she had passed the reef, she soon after gave over the chase.

According to the best judgment that we could form of the people when we were nearest the shore, they were about our size, and well made. They were of a brown complexion, and appeared to be naked; their hair, which was black, was confined by a fillet that went round the head, and stuck out behind like a bush. The greater part of them carried in their hands two weapons; one of them was a slender pole, from ten to fourteen feet long, on one end of which was a small knob, not unlike the point of a spear; the other was about four feet long, and shaped like a paddle, and possibly might be so, for some of their canoes were very small: those which we saw them launch seemed not intended to carry more than the three men that got into them: we saw others that had on board six or seven men, and one of them hoisted a sail which did not seem to reach more than six feet above the gun-wale of the boat, and which, upon the falling of a slight shower, was taken down and converted into an awning or tilt. The canoe which followed us to sea hoisted a sail not unlike an English lug-sail, and almost as lofty as an English boat of the same size would have carried.



POLYNESIAN ISLAND.—CRYSTAL STRUCTURE.

The people, who kept abreast of the ship on the beach, made many signals; but whether they were intended to frighten us away, or invite us on shore, it is not easy to determine: we returned them by waving our hats and shouting, and they replied by shouting again. We did not put their disposition to the test, by attempting to land; because, as the island was inconsiderable, and as we wanted nothing that it could afford, we thought it imprudent as well as cruel to risk a contest, in which the natives must have suffered by our superiority, merely to gratify an idle curiosity; especially as we expected soon to fall in with the island where we had been directed to make our astronomical observation, the inhabitants of which would probably admit us without opposition, as they were already acquainted with our strength, and might also procure us a ready and peaceable reception among the neighbouring people, if we should desire it. To these islands we gave the name of *THE GROUPS*.

On the 7th, about half an hour after six in the morning, being just at daybreak, we discovered another island to the northward, which we judged to be about four miles in circumference. The land lay very low, and there was a piece of water in the middle of it;



there seemed to be some wood upon it, and it looked green and pleasant; but we saw neither cocoa-trees nor inhabitants: it abounded, however, with birds, and we therefore gave it the name of *BIRD ISLAND*. It lies in latitude  $17^{\circ} 48' S.$ , and longitude  $143^{\circ} 35' W.$ , at the distance of ten leagues, in the direction  $W. \frac{1}{2} N.$  from the west end of the Groups. The variation here was  $6^{\circ} 32' E.$

On the 8th, about two o'clock in the afternoon, we saw land to the northward, and about sunset came abreast of it, at about the distance of two leagues. It appeared to be a double range of low woody islands joined together by reefs, so as to form one island, in the form of an ellipsis or oval, with a lake in the middle of it. The small islands and reefs that circumscribe the lake have the appearance of a chain, and we therefore gave it the name of *CHAIN ISLAND*. Its length seemed to be about five leagues, in the direction of *N.W.* and *S.E.*, and its breadth about five miles. The trees upon it appeared to be large, and we saw smoke rising in different parts of it from among them: a certain sign that it was inhabited. The middle of it lies in latitude  $17^{\circ} 23' S.$ , and longitude  $145^{\circ} 54' W.$ , and is distant from Bird Island forty-five leagues, in the direction of *W. by N.* The variation here was, by several azimuths, found to be  $4^{\circ} 54' E.$

On the 10th, having had a tempestuous night with thunder and rain, the weather was hazy till about nine o'clock in the morning, when it cleared up, and we saw the island to which Captain Wallis, who first discovered it, gave the name of *Osnaburgh Island*, called by the natives *Maitea*, bearing *N.W. by W.*, distant about five leagues. It is a high round island, not above a league in circuit; in some parts it is covered with trees, and in others a naked rock. In this direction it looked like a high-crowned hat; but when it bears north, the top of it has more the appearance of the roof of a house. We made its latitude to be  $17^{\circ} 48' S.$ , its longitude  $148^{\circ} 10' W.$ , and its distance from Chain Island, forty-four leagues, in the direction of *W. by S.*



POLYNESIAN ISLAND.—VOLCANIC SHAPED.

CHAPTER VIII.—THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENDEAVOUR AT OTAHEITE, CALLED BY CAPTAIN WALLIS KING GEORGE THE THIRD'S ISLAND.—RULES ESTABLISHED FOR TRAFFIC WITH THE NATIVES, AND AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL INCIDENTS WHICH HAPPENED IN A VISIT TO TOOTAHAI AND TUBOURAI TAMAI, TWO CHIEFS.

ABOUT one o'clock, on Monday the 10th of April, some of the people who were looking out for the island to which we were bound, said they saw land a-head, in that part of the horizon where it was expected to appear; but it was so faint that whether there was land in sight or not remained a matter of dispute till sunset. The next morning, however, at six o'clock, we were convinced that those who said they had discovered land were not mistaken; it appeared to be very high and mountainous, extending from *W. by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S.* to *W. by N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N.*, and we knew it to be the same that Captain Wallis had called King George the Third's Island. We were delayed in our approach to it by light airs and calms, so that in the morning of the 12th we were but little nearer than we had been the

night before; but about seven a breeze sprang up, and before eleven several canoes were seen making towards the ship: there were but few of them, however, that would come near; and the people in those that did could not be persuaded to come on board. In every canoe there were young plantains, and branches of a tree which the Indians call *E'Midho*: these, as we afterwards learnt, were brought as tokens of peace and amity; and the people in one of the canoes handed them up the ship's side, making signals at the same time with great earnestness, which we did not immediately understand; at length we guessed that they wished these symbols should be placed in some conspicuous part of the ship; we, therefore, immediately stuck them among the rigging, at which they expressed the greatest satisfaction. We then purchased their cargoes, consisting of cocoa-nuts and various kinds of fruit, which, after our long voyage, were very acceptable.

We stood on with an easy sail all night, with soundings from twenty-two fathom to twelve, and about seven o'clock in the morning we came to an anchor in thirteen fathom, in Portroyal Bay, called by the natives *Matavai*. We were immediately surrounded by the natives in their canoes, who gave us cocoa-nuts, fruit resembling apples, bread-fruit, and some small fishes, in exchange for beads and other trifles. They had with them a pig, which they would not part with for anything but a hatchet, and therefore we refused to purchase it; because if we gave them a hatchet for a pig now, we knew they would never afterwards sell one for less, and we could not afford to buy as many as it was probable we should want at that price. The bread-fruit grows on a tree that is about the size of a middling oak: its leaves are frequently a foot and a half long, of an oblong shape, deeply sinuated like those of the fig-tree, which they resemble in consistence and colour, and in the exuding of a white milky juice upon being broken. The fruit is about the size and shape of a child's head, and the surface is reticulated, not much unlike a truffle: it is covered with a thin skin, and has a core about as big as the handle of a small knife: the eatable part lies between the skin and the core: it is as white as snow, and somewhat of the consistence of new bread: it must be roasted before it is eaten, being first divided into three or four parts: its taste is insipid, with a slight sweetness, somewhat resembling that of the crumb of wheaten bread mixed with a Jerusalem artichoke.



BREAD FRUIT.

Among others who came off to the ship was an elderly man, whose name, as we learnt afterwards, was *OWHAW*, and who was immediately known to Mr. Gore, and several others who had been here with Captain Wallis. As I was informed that he had been very useful to them, I took him on board the ship with some others, and was particularly attentive to gratify him, as I hoped he might also be useful to us.

As our stay here was not likely to be very short, and as it was necessary that the merchandise which we had brought for traffic with the natives should not diminish in its value, which it would certainly have done if every person had been left at liberty to give what he pleased for such things as he should purchase; at the same time, that confusion and quarrels must necessarily have arisen from there being no standard at market, I drew up the following rules, and ordered that they should be punctually observed:—

*Rules to be observed by every Person in or belonging to his Majesty's Bark the Endeavour, for the better establishing a regular and uniform Trade for Provision, &c. with the Inhabitants of George's Island.*

“ I. To endeavour, by every fair means, to cultivate a friendship with the natives; and to treat them with all imaginable humanity.



"II. A proper person or persons will be appointed to trade with the natives for all manner of provisions, fruit, and other productions of the earth; and no officer or seaman, or other person belonging to the ship, excepting such as are so appointed, shall trade or offer to trade for any sort of provision, fruit, or other productions of the earth, unless they have leave so to do.

"III. Every person employed on shore, on any duty whatsoever, is strictly to attend to the same; and if by any neglect he loseth any of his arms, or working tools, or suffers them to be stolen, the full value thereof will be charged against his pay, according to the custom of the navy in such cases; and he shall receive such farther punishment as the nature of the offence may deserve.

"IV. The same penalty will be inflicted on every person who is found to embezzle, trade, or offer to trade, with any part of the ship's stores, of what nature soever.

"V. No sort of iron, or anything that is made of iron, or any sort of cloth, or other useful or necessary articles, are to be given in exchange for anything but provision.

"J. COOK."

As soon as the ship was properly secured, I went on shore with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, a party of men under arms, and our friend Owahaw. We were received from the boat by some hundreds of the inhabitants, whose looks at least gave us welcome, though they were struck with such awe, that the first who approached us crouched so low that he almost crept upon his hands and knees. It is remarkable that he, like the people in the canoes, presented to us the same symbol of peace that is known to have been in use among the ancient and mighty nations of the northern hemisphere, the green branch of a tree. We received it with looks and gestures of kindness and satisfaction; and observing that each of them held one in his hand, we immediately gathered every one a bough, and carried it in our hands in the same manner.

They marched with us about half-a-mile towards the place where the Dolphin had watered, conducted by Owahaw; they then made a full stop, and having laid the ground bare, by clearing away all the plants that grew upon it, the principal persons among them threw their green branches upon the naked spot, and made signs that we should do the same; we immediately showed our readiness to comply, and to give a greater solemnity to the rite, the marines were drawn up, and marching in order, each dropped his bough upon those of the Indians, and we followed their example. We then proceeded, and when we came to the watering-place it was intimated to us by signs, that we might occupy that ground, but it happened not to be fit for our purpose. During our walk, they had shaken off their first timid sense of our superiority, and were become familiar: they went with us from the watering-place and took a circuit through the woods; as we went along, we distributed beads and other small presents among them, and had the satisfaction to see that they were much gratified. Our circuit was not less than four or five miles, through groves of trees, which were loaded with cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit, and afforded the most grateful shade. Under these trees were the habitations of the people, most of them being only a roof without walls, and the whole scene realised the poetical fables of Arcadia. We remarked, however, not without some regret, that in all our walk we had seen only two hogs, and not a single fowl. Those of our company who had been here with the Dolphin told us, that none of the people whom we had yet seen were of the first class: they suspected that the chiefs had removed; and upon carrying us to the place where what they called the queen's palace had stood, we found that no traces of it were left. We determined therefore to return in the morning, and endeavour to find out the *noblesse* in their retreats.

In the morning, however, before we could leave the ship, several canoes came about us, most of them from the westward, and two of them were filled with people, who, by their dress and deportment, appeared to be of a superior rank: two of these came on board, and each singled out his friend; one of them, whose name we found to be MATAHAI, fixed upon Mr. Banks, and the other upon me: this ceremony consisted in taking off great part of their clothes and putting them upon us. In return for this, we presented each of them with a hatchet and some beads. Soon after they made signs for us to go with them to the

places where they lived, pointing to the S.W.; and as I was desirous of finding a more commodious harbour, and making farther trial of the disposition of the people, I consented.

I ordered out two boats, and with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, the other gentlemen, and our two Indian friends, we embarked for our expedition. After rowing about a league, they made signs that we should go on shore, and gave us to understand that this was the place of their residence. We accordingly landed, among several hundreds of the natives, who conducted us into a house of much greater length than any we had seen. When we entered, we saw a middle-aged man, whose name was afterwards discovered to be TOOTAHAH: mats were immediately spread, and we were desired to sit down over-against him. Soon after we were seated, he ordered a cock and hen to be brought out, which he presented to Mr. Banks and me: we accepted the present; and in a short time each of us received a piece of cloth, perfumed after their manner, by no means disagreeably, which they took great pains to make us remark. The piece presented to Mr. Banks was eleven yards long and two wide; in return for which, he gave a laced silk neckcloth, which he happened to have on, and a linen pocket-handkerchief: Tootahah immediately dressed himself in this new finery, with an air of perfect complacency and satisfaction. But it is now time that I should take some notice of the ladies.

Soon after the interchanging of our presents with Tootahah, they attended us to several large houses, in which we walked about with great freedom: they showed us all the civility of which, in our situation, we could accept; and, on their part, seemed to have no scruple that would have prevented its being carried farther. The houses, which, as I have observed before, are all open, except a roof, afforded no place of retirement; but the ladies, by frequently pointing to the mats upon the ground, and sometimes seating themselves and drawing us down upon them, left us no room to doubt of their being much less jealous of observation than we were.

We now took leave of our friendly chief, and directed our course along the shore. When we had walked about a mile, we met, at the head of a great number of people, another chief, whose name was TUBOURAI TAMAIDE, with whom we were also to ratify a treaty of peace, with the ceremony of which we were now become better acquainted. Having received the branch which he presented to us, and given another in return, we laid our hands upon our left breasts, and pronounced the word *Taiò*, which we supposed to signify friend; the chief then gave us to understand, that if we chose to eat, he had victuals ready for us. We accepted his offer, and dined very heartily upon fish, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and plantains, dressed after their manner: they ate some of their fish raw; and raw fish was offered to us, but we declined that part of the entertainment.

During this visit a wife of our noble host, whose name was TOMIO, did Mr. Banks the honour to place herself upon the same mat, close by him. Tomio was not in the first bloom of her youth, nor did she appear to have been ever remarkable for her beauty; he did not, therefore, I believe, pay her the most flattering attention: it happened, too, as a farther mortification to this lady, that seeing a very pretty girl among the crowd, he, not adverting to the dignity of his companion, beckoned her to come to him: the girl, after some entreaty, complied, and sat down on the other side of him: he loaded her with beads, and every showy trifle that would please her: his princess, though she was somewhat mortified at the preference that was given to her rival, did not discontinue her civilities, but still assiduously supplied him with the milk of the cocoa-nut, and such other dainties as were in her reach. This scene might possibly have become more curious and interesting, if it had not been suddenly interrupted by an interlude of a more serious kind. Just at this time, Dr. Solander and Mr. Monkhouse complained that their pockets had been picked. Dr. Solander had lost an opera-glass in a shagreen case, and Mr. Monkhouse his snuff-box. This incident unfortunately put an end to the good-humour of the company. Complaint of the injury was made to the chief; and, to give it weight, Mr. Banks started up, and hastily struck the butt-end of his firelock upon the ground: this action, and the noise that accompanied it, struck the whole assembly with a panic; and every one of the natives ran out of the house with the utmost precipitation, except the chief, three women, and two or three others, who appeared by their dress to be of a superior rank.



The chief, with a mixture of confusion and concern, took Mr. Banks by the hand, and led him to a large quantity of cloth, which lay at the other end of the house: this he offered to him piece by piece, intimating by signs, that if that would atone for the wrong which had been done, he might take any part of it, or, if he pleased, the whole. Mr. Banks put it by, and gave him to understand that he wanted nothing but what had been dishonestly taken away. Tubourai Tamaide then went hastily out, leaving Mr. Banks with his wife Tomio, who, during the whole scene of terror and confusion, had kept constantly at his side, and intimating his desire that he should wait there till his return. Mr. Banks accordingly sat down, and conversed with her, as well as he could by signs, about half an hour. The chief then came back with the snuff-box and the case of the opera-glass in his hand, and, with a joy in his countenance that was painted with a strength of expression which distinguishes these people from all others, delivered them to the owners. The case of the opera-glass, however, upon being opened, was found to be empty; upon this discovery, his countenance changed in a moment; and catching Mr. Banks again by the hand, he rushed out of the house, without uttering any sound, and led him along the shore, walking with great rapidity: when they had got about a mile from the house, a woman met him and gave him a piece of cloth, which he hastily took from her, and continued to press forward with it in his hand. Dr. Solander and Mr. Monkhouse had followed them, and they came at length to a house where they were received by a woman, to whom he gave the cloth, and intimated to the gentlemen that they should give her some beads. They immediately complied; and the beads and cloth being deposited upon the floor, the woman went out, and in about half an hour returned with the opera-glass, expressing the same joy upon the occasion that had before been expressed by the chief. The beads were now returned, with an inflexible resolution not to accept them; and the cloth was, with the same pertinacity, forced upon Dr. Solander, as a recompense for the injury that had been done him. He could not avoid accepting the cloth, but insisted in his turn upon giving a new present of beads to the woman. It will not, perhaps, be easy to account for all the steps that were taken in the recovery of the glass and snuff-box; but this cannot be thought strange, considering that the scene of action was among a people whose language, policy, and connexions, are even now but imperfectly known; upon the whole, however, they show an intelligence and influence which would do honour to any system of government, however regular and improved. In the evening, about six o'clock, we returned to the ship.

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CHAPTER IX. — A PLACE FIXED UPON FOR AN OBSERVATORY AND FORT: AN EXCURSION INTO THE WOODS, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.—THE FORT ERECTED: A VISIT FROM SEVERAL CHIEFS ON BOARD AND AT THE FORT, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE MUSIC OF THE NATIVES, AND THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY DISPOSE OF THEIR DEAD.

On the next morning, Saturday the 15th, several of the chiefs, whom we had seen the day before, came on board, and brought with them hogs, bread-fruit, and other refreshments, for which we gave them hatchets and linen, and such things as seemed to be most acceptable.

As in my excursion to the westward, I had not found any more convenient harbour than that in which we lay, I determined to go on shore, and fix upon some spot, commanded by the ship's guns, where I might throw up a small fort for our defence, and prepare for making our astronomical observation. I therefore took a party of men, and landed without delay, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and the astronomer, Mr. Green. We soon fixed upon a part of the sandy beach, on the N.E. point of the bay, which was in every respect convenient for our purpose, and not near any habitation of the natives. Having marked out the ground that we intended to occupy, a small tent belonging to Mr. Banks was set up, which had been brought on shore for that purpose. By this time a great number of the people had gathered about us; but, as it appeared, only to look on, there not being a single weapon of any kind among them. I intimated, however, that none of them were to come

within the line I had drawn, except one who appeared to be a chief, and Owhaw. To these two persons I addressed myself by signs, and endeavoured to make them understand that we wanted the ground which we had marked out to sleep upon for a certain number of nights, and that then we should go away. Whether I was understood I cannot certainly determine; but the people behaved with a deference and respect that at once pleased and surprised us. They sat down peaceably without the circle, and looked on without giving



NATIVES OF OTAHEITE TRADING WITH CAPTAIN COOK.

us any interruption till we had done, which was upwards of two hours. As we had seen no poultry, and but two hogs, in our walk when we were last on shore at this place, we suspected that, upon our arrival, they had been driven farther up the country; and the rather, as Owhaw was very importunate with us, by signs, not to go into the woods, which, however, and partly for these reasons, we were determined to do. Having, therefore, appointed the thirteen marines and a petty officer to guard the tent, we set out, and a great number of the natives joined our party. As we were crossing a little river that lay in our way, we saw some ducks, and Mr. Banks, as soon as he had got over, fired at them, and happened to kill three at one shot: this struck them with the utmost terror, so that most of them fell suddenly to the ground, as if they also had been shot at the same discharge. It was not long, however, before they recovered from their fright, and we continued our route; but we had not gone far before we were alarmed by the report of two pieces, which were fired by the guard at the tent. We had then straggled a little distance from each other, but Owhaw immediately called us together, and, by waving his hand, sent away every Indian who followed us except three, each of whom, as a pledge of peace on their part, and an entreaty that there might be peace on ours, hastily broke a branch from the trees, and came to us with it in their hands. As we had too much reason to fear that some mischief had happened, we hasted back to the tent, which was not distant above half a mile, and when we came up, we found it entirely deserted, except by our own people.

It appeared that one of the Indians, who remained about the tent after we left it, had watched his opportunity, and, taking the sentry unawares, had snatched away his musket. Upon this the petty officer, a midshipman, who commanded the party, perhaps from a sudden fear of farther violence, perhaps from the natural petulance of power newly acquired, and perhaps from a brutality in his nature, ordered the marines to fire. The men, with as little consideration or humanity as the officer, immediately discharged their pieces among the thickest of the flying crowd, consisting of more than a hundred; and observing that the



thief did not fall, pursued him, and shot him dead. We afterwards learnt that none of the others were either killed or wounded.

Owhaw, who had never left us, observing that we were now totally deserted, got together a few of those who had fled, though not without some difficulty, and ranged them about us. We endeavoured to justify our people as well as we could, and to convince the Indians that, if they did no wrong to us, we should do no wrong to them. They went away without any appearance of distrust or resentment; and having struck our tent, we returned to the ship, but by no means satisfied with the transactions of the day.

Upon questioning our people more particularly, whose conduct they soon perceived we could not approve, they alleged that the sentinel, whose musket was taken away, was violently assaulted and thrown down, and that a push was afterwards made at him by the man who took the musket before any command was given to fire. It was also suggested, that Owhaw had suspicions, at least, if not certain knowledge, that something would be attempted against our people at the tent, which made him so very earnest in his endeavours to prevent our leaving it; others imputed his importunity to his desire that we should confine ourselves to the beach; and it was remarked, that neither Owhaw, nor the chiefs who remained with us after he had sent the rest of the people away, would have inferred the breach of peace from the firing at the tent, if they had had no reason to suspect that some injury had been offered by their countrymen; especially as Mr. Banks had just fired at the ducks: and yet that they did infer a breach of peace from that incident was manifest from their waving their hands for the people to disperse, and instantly pulling green branches from the trees. But what were the real circumstances of this unhappy affair, and whether either, and which of these conjectures, were true, can never certainly be known.

The next morning but few of the natives were seen upon the beach, and not one of them came off to the ship. This convinced us that our endeavours to quiet their apprehensions had not been effectual; and we remarked with particular regret that we were deserted even by Owhaw, who had hitherto been so constant in his attachment, and so active in renewing the peace that had been broken. Appearances being thus unfavourable, I warped the ship nearer to the shore, and moored her in such a manner as to command all the N.E. part of the bay, particularly the place which I had marked out for the building a fort. In the evening, however, I went on shore with only a boat's crew, and some of the gentlemen; the natives gathered about us, but not in the same number as before; there were, I believe, between thirty and forty; and they trafficked with us for cocoa-nuts and other fruit, to all appearance as friendly as ever.

On the 17th, early in the morning, we had the misfortune to lose Mr. Buchan, the person whom Mr. Banks had brought out as a painter of landscapes and figures. He was a sober, diligent, and ingenious young man, and greatly regretted by Mr. Banks; who hoped, by his means, to have gratified his friends in England with representations of this country and its inhabitants, which no other person on board could delineate with the same accuracy and elegance. He had always been subject to epileptic fits, one of which seized him on the mountains of Terra del Fuego; and this disorder being aggravated by a bilious complaint, which he contracted on board the ship, at length put an end to his life. It was at first proposed to bury him on shore, but Mr. Banks thinking that it might perhaps give offence to the natives, with whose customs we were then wholly unacquainted, we committed his body to the sea, with as much decency and solemnity as our circumstances and situation would admit.

In the forenoon of this day we received a visit from Tubourai Tamaide and Tootahah, our chiefs from the west. They brought with them, as emblems of peace, not branches of plantain, but two young trees, and would not venture on board till these had been received, having probably been alarmed by the mischief which had been done at the tent. Each of them also brought, as propitiatory gifts, some bread-fruit, and a hog ready-dressed: this was a most acceptable present, as we perceived that hogs were not always to be got; and in return we gave to each of our noble benefactors a hatchet and a nail. In the evening we went on shore, and set up a tent, in which Mr. Green and myself spent the night, in order to observe an eclipse of the first satellite of Jupiter; but the weather becoming cloudy, we were disappointed.

On the 18th, at daybreak, I went on shore, with as many people as could possibly be spared from the ship, and began to erect our fort. While some were employed in throwing up intrenchments, others were busy in cutting pickets and fascines, which the natives, who soon gathered round us as they had been used to do, were so far from hindering, that many of them voluntarily assisted us, bringing the pickets and fascines from the wood where they had been cut, with great alacrity. We had, indeed, been so scrupulous of invading their property, that we purchased every stake which was used upon this occasion, and cut down no tree till we had first obtained their consent. The soil where we constructed our fort was sandy, and this made it necessary to strengthen the intrenchments with wood; three sides were to be fortified in this manner; the fourth was bounded by a river, upon the banks of which I proposed to place a proper number of water-casks. This day we served pork to the ship's company for the first time; and the Indians brought down so much bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, that we found it necessary to send away part of them unbought, and to acquaint them by signs that we should want no more for two days to come. Everything was purchased this day with beads: a single bead, as big as a pea, being the purchase of five or six cocoa-nuts, and as many of the bread-fruit. Mr. Banks's tent was got up before night within the works, and he slept on shore for the first time. Proper sentries were placed round it, but no Indian attempted to approach it the whole night.

The next morning, our friend Tubourai Tamaide made Mr. Banks a visit at the tent, and brought with him not only his wife and family, but the roof of a house, and several materials for setting it up, with furniture and implements of various kinds, intending, as we understood him, to take up his residence in our neighbourhood. This instance of his confidence and good-will gave us great pleasure, and we determined to strengthen his attachment to us by every means in our power. Soon after his arrival, he took Mr. Banks by the hand, and leading him out of the line, signified that he should accompany him into the woods. Mr. Banks readily consented; and having walked with him about a quarter of a mile, they arrived at a kind of awning which he had already set up, and which seemed to be his occasional habitation. Here he unfolded a bundle of his country cloth, and taking out two garments, one of red cloth, and the other of very neat matting, he clothed Mr. Banks in them, and, without any other ceremony, immediately conducted him back to the tent. His attendants soon after brought him some pork and bread-fruit, which he ate, dipping his meat into salt-water instead of sauce: after his meal, he retired to Mr. Banks's bed, and slept about an hour. In the afternoon, his wife Tomio brought to the tent a young man about two-and-twenty years of age, of a very comely appearance, whom they both seemed to acknowledge as their son, though we afterwards discovered that he was not so. In the evening this young man and another chief, who had also paid us a visit, went away to the westward, but Tubourai Tamaide and his wife returned to the awning in the skirts of the wood.

Our surgeon, Mr. Monkhouse, having walked out this evening, reported, that he had seen the body of the man who had been shot at the tents, which he said was wrapped in cloth, and placed on a kind of bier, supported by stakes, under a roof that seemed to have been set up for the purpose: that near it were deposited some instruments of war and other things, which he would particularly have examined but for the stench of the body, which was intolerable. He said, that he saw also two more sheds of the same kind, in one of which were the bones of a human body that had lain till they were quite dry. We discovered afterwards, that this was the way in which they usually disposed of their dead.

A kind of market now began to be kept just without the lines, and was plentifully supplied with everything but pork. Tubourai Tamaide was our constant guest, imitating our manners, even to the using of a knife and fork, which he did very handily.

As my curiosity was excited by Mr. Monkhouse's account of the situation of the man who had been shot, I took an opportunity to go with some others to see it. I found the shed under which his body lay, close by the house in which he resided when he was alive, some others being not more than ten yards distant; it was about fifteen feet long, and eleven broad, and of a proportionable height: one end was wholly open, and the other end, and the two sides, were partly enclosed with a kind of wicker-work. The bier on which



the corpse was deposited, was a frame of wood like that in which the sea-beds, called cots, are placed, with a matted bottom, and supported by four posts, at the height of about five feet from the ground. The body was covered first with a mat, and then with white cloth; by the side of it lay a wooden mace, one of their weapons of war, and near the head of it, which lay next to the close end of the shed, lay two cocoa-nut shells, such as are sometimes used to carry water in; at the other end a bunch of green leaves, with some dried twigs, all tied together, were stuck in the ground, by which lay a stone about as big as a cocoa-nut: near these lay one of the young plantain-trees which are used for emblems of peace, and close by it a stone axe. At the open end of the shed also hung, in several strings, a great number of palm-nuts, and without the shed was stuck upright in the ground the stem of a plantain-tree about five feet high, upon the top of which was placed a cocoa-nut shell full of fresh water: against the side of one of the posts hung a small bag, containing a few pieces of bread-fruit ready roasted, which were not all put in at the same time, for some of them were fresh, and others stale. I took notice that several of the natives observed us with a mixture of solicitude and jealousy in their countenances, and by their gestures expressed uneasiness when we went near the body, standing themselves at a little distance while we were making our examination, and appearing to be pleased when we came away.

Our residence on shore would by no means have been disagreeable, if we had not been incessantly tormented by the flies, which, among other mischief, made it almost impossible for Mr. Parkinson, Mr. Banks's natural-history painter, to work; for they not only covered his subject so as that no part of its surface could be seen, but even ate the colour off the paper as fast as he could lay it on. We had recourse to mosquito-nets and fly-traps, which, though they made the inconvenience tolerable, were very far from removing it.

On the 22nd, Tootahah gave us a specimen of the music of this country: four persons performed upon flutes, which had only two stops, and therefore could not sound more than four notes, by half tones: they were sounded like our German flutes, except that the performer, instead of applying it to his mouth, blew into it with one nostril, while he stopped the other with his thumb: to these instruments four other persons sung, and kept very good time; but only one tune was played during the whole concert.

Several of the natives brought us axes, which they had received from on board the *Dolphin*, to grind and repair; but among others there was one which became the subject of much speculation, as it appeared to be French: after much inquiry, we learnt that a ship had been here between our arrival and the departure of the *Dolphin*, which we then conjectured to have been a Spaniard, but now know to have been the *Boudeuse*, commanded by M. Bougainville.

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CHAPTER X.—AN EXCURSION TO THE EASTWARD, AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED BOTH ON BOARD AND ON SHORE, AND OF THE FIRST INTERVIEW WITH OBEREA, THE PERSON WHO, WHEN THE *DOLPHIN* WAS HERE, WAS SUPPOSED TO BE QUEEN OF THE ISLAND, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE FORT.

On the 24th, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander examined the country for several miles along the shore to the eastward: for about two miles it was flat and fertile; after that the hills stretched quite to the water's edge, and a little farther ran out into the sea, so that they were obliged to climb over them. These hills, which were barren, continued for about three miles more, and then terminated in a large plain, which was full of good houses, and people who appeared to live in great affluence. In this place there was a river, much more considerable than that at our fort, which issued from a deep and beautiful valley, and, where our travellers crossed it, though at some distance from the sea, was near one hundred yards wide. About a mile beyond this river the country became again barren, the rocks everywhere projecting into the sea, for which reason they resolved to return. Just as they had formed this resolution, one of the natives offered them refreshment, which they accepted. They found this man to be of a kind that has been described by various authors, as mixed

with many nations, but distinct from them all. His skin was of a dead white, without the least appearance of what is called complexion, though some parts of his body were in a small degree less white than others: his hair, eyebrows, and beard, were as white as his skin; his eyes appeared as if they were bloodshot, and he seemed to be very short-sighted. At their return they were met by Tubourai Tamaide, and his women, who, at seeing them, felt a joy which, not being able to express, they burst into tears, and wept some time before their passion could be restrained.

This evening Dr. Solander lent his knife to one of these women, who neglected to return it, and the next morning Mr. Banks's also was missing; upon this occasion I must bear my testimony, that the people of this country, of all ranks, men and women, are the arrantest thieves upon the face of the earth. The very day after we arrived here, when they came on board us, the chiefs were employed in stealing what they could in the cabin, and their dependants were no less industrious in other parts of the ship; they snatched up everything that it was possible for them to secrete till they got on shore, even to the glass ports, two of which they carried off undetected. Tubourai Tamaide was the only one except Tootahah who had not been found guilty; and the presumption, arising from this circumstance, that he was exempt from a vice, of which the whole nation besides were guilty, cannot be supposed to outweigh strong appearances to the contrary. Mr. Banks, therefore, though not without some reluctance, accused him of having stolen his knife: he solemnly and steadily denied that he knew anything of it; upon which Mr. Banks made him understand, that whoever had taken it, he was determined to have it returned. Upon this resolute declaration, one of the natives who was present produced a rag, in which three knives were very carefully tied up. One was that which Dr. Solander had lent to the woman, another was a table-knife belonging to me, and the owner of the third was not known. With these the chief immediately set out, in order to make restitution of them to their owners at the tents. Mr. Banks remained with the women, who expressed great apprehensions that some mischief was designed against their lord. When he came to the tents, he restored one of the knives to Dr. Solander, and another to me, the third not being owned, and then began to search for Mr. Banks' in all the places where he had ever seen it. After some time, one of Mr. Banks' servants, understanding what he was about, immediately fetched his master's knife, which it seems he had laid by the day before, and till now knew nothing of its having been missed. Tubourai Tamaide, upon this demonstration of his innocence, expressed the strongest emotions of mind, both in his looks and gestures: the tears started from his eyes; and he made signs with the knife, that, if he was ever guilty of such an action as had been imputed to him, he would submit to have his throat cut. He then rushed out of the lines, and returned hastily to Mr. Banks, with a countenance that severely reproached him with his suspicions. Mr. Banks soon understood that the knife had been received from his servant, and was scarcely less affected at what had happened than the chief: he felt himself to be the guilty person, and was very desirous to atone for his fault. The poor Indian, however violent his passions, was a stranger to sullen resentment; and upon Mr. Banks' spending a little time familiarly with him, and making him a few trifling presents, he forgot the wrongs that had been done him, and was perfectly reconciled.

Upon this occasion it may be observed, that these people have a knowledge of right and wrong from the mere dictates of natural conscience; and involuntarily condemn themselves when they do that to others which they would condemn others for doing to them. That Tubourai Tamaide felt the force of moral obligation is certain; for the imputation of an action which he considered as indifferent would not, when it appeared to be groundless, have moved him with such excess of passion. We must, indeed, estimate the virtue of these people by the only standard of morality, the conformity of their conduct to what in their opinion is right; but we must not hastily conclude that theft is a testimony of the same depravity in them that it is in us, in the instances in which our people were sufferers by their dishonesty; for their temptation was such as to surmount would be considered as a proof of uncommon integrity among those who have more knowledge, better principles, and stronger motives to resist the temptations of illicit advantage: an Indian among penny



knives, and beads, or even nails and broken glass, is in the same state of trial with the meanest servant in Europe among unlocked coffers of jewels and gold.

On the 26th, I mounted six swivel guns upon the fort, which I was sorry to see struck the natives with dread: some fishermen who lived upon the point removed farther off, and Owhaw told us, by signs, that in four days we should fire great guns. On the 27th, Tubourai Tamaide, with a friend, who ate with a voracity that I never saw before, and the three women that usually attended him, whose names were TERAPO, TIRAO, and OMIE, dined at the fort: in the evening they took their leave, and set out for the house which Tubourai Tamaide had set up in the skirts of the wood; but in less than a quarter of an hour he returned in great emotion, and hastily seizing Mr. Banks's arm, made signs that he should follow him. Mr. Banks immediately complied, and they soon came up to a place where they found the ship's butcher with a reaping-hook in his hand: here the chief stopped, and, in a transport of rage which rendered his signs scarcely intelligible, intimated that the butcher had threatened, or attempted, to cut his wife's throat with the reaping-hook. Mr. Banks then signified to him, that if he could fully explain the offence, the man should be punished. Upon this he became more calm, and made Mr. Banks understand that the offender, having taken a fancy to a stone-hatchet which lay in his house, had offered to purchase it of his wife for a nail: that she having refused to part with it upon any terms, he had caught it up, and throwing down the nail, threatened to cut her throat if she made any resistance: to prove this charge the hatchet and the nail were produced, and the butcher had so little to say in his defence, that there was not the least reason to doubt of its truth.

Mr. Banks having reported this matter to me, I took an opportunity, when the chief and his women, with other Indians, were on board the ship, to call up the butcher, and after a recapitulation of the charge and the proof, I gave orders that he should be punished, as well to prevent other offences of the same kind, as to acquit Mr. Banks of his promise: the Indians saw him stripped and tied up to the rigging with a fixed attention, waiting in silent suspense for the event; but as soon as the first stroke was given, they interfered with great agitation, earnestly entreating that the rest of the punishment might be remitted: to this, however, for many reasons, I could not consent, and when they found that they could not prevail by their intercession, they gave vent to their pity by tears.

Their tears, indeed, like those of children, were always ready to express any passion that was strongly excited, and like those of children they also appeared to be forgotten as soon as shed; of which the following, among many others, is a remarkable instance. Very early in the morning of the 28th, even before it was day, a great number of them came down to the fort, and Terapo being observed among the women on the outside of the gate, Mr. Banks went out and brought her in; he saw that the tears then stood in her eyes, and as soon as she entered they began to flow in great abundance: he inquired earnestly the cause, but instead of answering she took from under her garment a shark's tooth, and struck it six or seven times into her head with great force; a profusion of blood followed, and she talked loud, but in a most melancholy tone, for some minutes, without at all regarding his inquiries, which he repeated with still more impatience and concern, while the other Indians, to his great surprise, talked and laughed, without taking the least notice of her distress. But her own behaviour was still more extraordinary. As soon as the bleeding was over, she looked up with a smile, and began to collect some small pieces of cloth, which during her bleeding she had thrown down to catch the blood; as soon as she had picked them all up, she carried them out of the tent, and threw them into the sea, carefully dispersing them abroad, as if she wished to prevent the sight of them from reviving the remembrance of what she had done. She then plunged into the river, and after having washed her whole body returned to the tents with the same gaiety and cheerfulness as if nothing had happened.

It is not, indeed, strange, that the sorrows of these artless people should be transient, any more than that their passions should be suddenly and strongly expressed: what they feel they have never been taught either to disguise or suppress, and having no habits of thinking which perpetually recall the past and anticipate the future, they are affected by all

the changes of the passing hour, and reflect the colour of the time, however frequently it may vary ; they have no project which is to be pursued from day to day, the subject of unremitted anxiety and solicitude, that first rushes into their mind when they awake in the morning, and is last dismissed when they sleep at night. Yet if we admit that they are upon the whole happier than we, we must admit that the child is happier than the man, and that we are losers by the perfection of our nature, the increase of our knowledge, and the enlargement of our views.



CANOES OF OTAHEITE.

Canoes were continually coming in during all this forenoon, and the tents at the fort were crowded with people of both sexes from different parts of the island. I was myself busy on board the ship, but Mr. Molineux, our master, who was one of those that made the last voyage in the *Dolphin*, went on shore. As soon as he entered Mr. Banks's tent he fixed his eyes upon one of the women, who was sitting there with great composure among the rest, and immediately declared her to be the person who at that time was supposed to be the queen of the island ; she also, at the same time, acknowledging him to be one of the strangers whom she had seen before. The attention of all present was now diverted from every other object, and wholly engaged in considering a person who had made so distinguished a figure in the accounts that had been given of this island by its first discoverers ; and we soon learnt that her name was OBEREA. She seemed to be about forty years of age, and was not only tall but of a large make ; her skin was white, and there was an uncommon intelligence and sensibility in her eyes ; she appeared to have been handsome when she was young, but at this time little more than memorials of her beauty were left.

As soon as her quality was known, an offer was made to conduct her to the ship. Of this she readily accepted, and came on board with two men and several women, who seemed to be all of her family : I received her with such marks of distinction as I thought would gratify her most, and was not sparing of my presents, among which this august personage seemed particularly delighted with a child's doll. After some time spent on board, I attended her back to the shore ; and as soon as we landed, she presented me with a hog and several bunches of plantains, which she caused to be carried from her canoes up to the fort in a kind of procession, of which she and myself brought up the rear. In our way to the fort we met Tootahahi, who, though not king, appeared to be at this time invested with the sovereign authority ; he seemed not to be well pleased with the distinction that was showed to the lady, and became so jealous when she produced her doll, that to propitiate him it was



thought proper to compliment him with another. At this time he thought fit to prefer a doll to a hatchet ; but this preference arose only from a childish jealousy, which could not be soothed but by a gift of exactly the same kind with that which had been presented to Oberea ; for dolls in a very short time were universally considered as trifles of no value. The men who had visited us from time to time had, without scruple, eaten of our provisions ; but the women had never yet been prevailed upon to taste a morsel. To-day, however, though they refused the most pressing solicitations to dine with the gentlemen, they afterwards retired to the servants' apartment, and ate of plantains very heartily ; a mystery of female economy here, which none of us could explain.

On the 29th, not very early in the forenoon, Mr. Banks went to pay his court to Oberea, and was told that she was still asleep under the awning of her canoe ; thither therefore he went, intending to call her up, a liberty which he thought he might take, without any danger of giving offence ; but, upon looking into her chamber, to his great astonishment he found her in bed with a handsome young fellow about five-and-twenty, whose name was OBADÉE ; he retreated with some haste and confusion, but was soon made to understand, that such amours gave no occasion to scandal, and that Obadée was universally known to have been selected by her as the object of her private favours. The lady being too polite to suffer Mr. Banks to wait long in her antechamber, dressed herself with more than usual expedition ; and, as a token of special grace, clothed him in a suit of fine cloth and proceeded with him to the tents. In the evening Mr. Banks paid a visit to Tubourai Tamaide, as he had often done before, by candle-light, and was equally grieved and surprised to find him and his family in a melancholy mood, and most of them in tears ; he endeavoured in vain to discover the cause, and therefore his stay among them was but short. When he reported this circumstance to the officers at the fort, they recollected that Owahaw had foretold, that in four days we should fire our great guns ; and as this was the eve of the third day, the situation in which Tubourai Tamaide and his family had been found alarmed them. The sentries therefore were doubled at the fort, and the gentlemen slept under arms. At two in the morning, Mr. Banks himself went round the point, but found everything so quiet, that he gave up all suspicions of mischief intended by the natives as groundless. We had, however, another source of security,—our little fortification was now complete. The north and south sides consisted of a bank of earth four feet and a half high on the inside, and a ditch without ten feet broad and six deep : on the west side, facing the bay, there was a bank of earth four feet high, and palisades upon that, but no ditch, the works here being at high-water mark : on the east side, upon the bank of the river, was placed a double row of water-casks, filled with water ; and as this was the weakest side, the two four-pounders were planted there, and six swivel guns were mounted so as to command the only two avenues from the woods. Our garrison consisted of about five-and-forty men with small arms, including the officers and the gentlemen who resided on shore ; and our sentries were as well relieved as in the best regulated frontier in Europe.

We continued our vigilance the next day, though we had no particular reason to think it necessary ; but about ten o'clock in the morning, Tomio came running to the tents, with a mixture of grief and fear in her countenance, and taking Mr. Banks, to whom they applied in every emergency and distress, by the arm, intimated that Tubourai Tamaide was dying, in consequence of something which our people had given him to eat, and that he must instantly go with her to his house. Mr. Banks set out without delay, and found his Indian friend leaning his head against a post, in an attitude of the utmost languor and despondency : the people about him intimated that he had been vomiting, and brought out a leaf folded up with great care, which they said contained some of the poison, by the deleterious effects of which he was now dying. Mr. Banks hastily opened the leaf, and upon examining its contents found them to be no other than a chew of tobacco, which the chief had begged of some of our people, and which they had indiscreetly given him : he had observed that they kept it long in the mouth, and being desirous of doing the same, he had chewed it to powder, and swallowed the spittle. During the examination of the leaf and its contents, he looked up at Mr. Banks with the most piteous aspect, and intimated that he had but a very short time to live. Mr. Banks, however, being now master of his disease, directed him to drink

plentifully of cocoa-nut milk, which in a short time put an end to his sickness and apprehensions; and he spent the day at the fort with that uncommon flow of cheerfulness and good humour which is always produced by a sudden and unexpected relief from pain either of body or mind.

Captain Wallis having brought home one of the adzes which these people, having no metal of any kind, make of stone, Mr. Stevens, the secretary to the Admiralty, procured one to be made of iron in imitation of it, which I brought out with me, to show how much we excelled in making tools after their own fashion; this I had not yet produced, as it never happened to come into my mind. But on the first of May Tootahah coming on board about ten o'clock in the forenoon, expressed a great curiosity to see the contents of every chest and drawer that was in my cabin: as I always made a point of gratifying him, I opened them immediately; and having taken a fancy to many things that he saw, and collected them together, he at last happened to cast his eye upon this adze; he instantly snatched it up with the greatest eagerness, and putting away everything which he had before selected, he asked me whether I would let him have that; I readily consented; and, as if he was afraid I should repent, he carried it off immediately in a transport of joy, without making any other request, which, whatever had been our liberality, was seldom the case.

About noon, a chief, who had dined with me a few days before, accompanied by some of his women, came on board alone: I had observed that he was fed by his women, but I made no doubt that upon occasion he would condescend to feed himself; in this, however, I found myself mistaken. When my noble guest was seated, and the dinner upon the table, I helped him to some victuals: as I observed that he did not immediately begin his meal, I pressed him to eat; but he still continued to sit motionless like a statue, without attempting to put a single morsel into his mouth, and would certainly have gone without his dinner, if one of the servants had not fed him.

CHAPTER XI.—THE OBSERVATORY SET UP; THE QUADRANT STOLEN, AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE THEFT: A VISIT TO TOOTAHAH: DESCRIPTION OF A WRESTLING-MATCH: EUROPEAN SEEDS SOWN: NAMES GIVEN TO OUR PEOPLE BY THE INDIANS.

In the afternoon of Monday the 1st of May, we set up the observatory, and took the astronomical quadrant, with some other instruments, on shore, for the first time. The next morning, about nine o'clock, I went on shore with Mr. Green to fix the quadrant in a situation for use, when to our inexpressible surprise and concern it was not to be found. It had been deposited in the tent which was reserved for my use, where, as I passed the night on board, nobody slept: it had never been taken out of the packing-case, which was eighteen inches square, and the whole was of considerable weight; a sentinel had been posted the whole night within five yards of the tent door, and none of the other instruments were missing. We at first suspected that it might have been stolen by some of our own people, who seeing a deal box, and not knowing the contents, might think it contained nails, or some other subjects of traffic with the natives. A large reward was therefore offered to any one who could find it, as, without this, we could not perform the service for which our voyage was principally undertaken. Our search in the mean time was not confined to the fort and places adjacent, but as the case might possibly have been carried back to the ship, if any of our own people had been the thieves, the most diligent search was made for it on board; all the parties, however, returned without any news of the quadrant. Mr. Banks, therefore, who upon such occasions declined neither labour nor risk, and who had more influence over the Indians than any of us, determined to go in search of it into the woods; he hoped, that if it had been stolen by the natives, he should find it wherever they had opened the box, as they would immediately discover that to them it would be wholly useless: or, if in this expectation he should be disappointed, that he might recover it by the ascendancy he had acquired over the chiefs. He set out, accompanied by a midshipman and Mr. Green, and as he was crossing the river he was met by Tubourai Tamaide, who immediately made the figure of a triangle with three bits of straw upon his



hand. By this Mr. Banks knew that the Indians were the thieves; and that, although they had opened the case, they were not disposed to part with the contents. No time was therefore to be lost, and Mr. Banks made Tubourai Tamaide understand, that he must instantly go with him to the place whither the quadrant had been carried; he consented, and they set out together to the eastward, the chief inquiring at every house which they passed after the thief by name: the people readily told him which way he was gone, and how long it was since he had been there: the hope which this gave them that they should overtake him, supported them under their fatigue, and they pressed forward, sometimes walking, sometimes running, though the weather was intolerably hot; when they had climbed a hill at the distance of about four miles, their conductor showed them a point full three miles farther, and gave them to understand that they were not to expect the instrument till they had got thither. Here they paused; they had no arms, except a pair of pistols, which Mr. Banks always carried in his pocket; they were going to a place that was at least seven miles distant from the fort, where the Indians might be less submissive than at home, and to take from them what they had ventured their lives to get, and what, notwithstanding our conjectures, they appeared desirous to keep: these were discouraging circumstances, and their situation would become more critical at every step. They determined, however, not to relinquish their enterprise, nor to pursue it without taking the best measures for their security that were in their power. It was therefore determined, that Mr. Banks and Mr. Green should go on, and that the midshipman should return to me, and desire that I would send a party of men after them, acquainting me, at the same time, that it was impossible they should return till it was dark. Upon receiving this message, I set out, with such a party as I thought sufficient for the occasion; leaving orders, both at the ship and at the fort, that no canoe should be suffered to go out of the bay, but that none of the natives should be seized or detained.

In the mean time, Mr. Banks and Mr. Green pursued their journey, under the auspices of Tubourai Tamaide, and in the very spot which he had specified, they met one of his own people, with part of the quadrant in his hand. At this most welcome sight they stopped; and a great number of Indians immediately came up, some of whom pressing rather rudely upon them, Mr. Banks thought it necessary to show one of his pistols, the sight of which reduced them instantly to order: as the crowd that gathered round them was every moment increasing, he marked out a circle in the grass, and they ranged themselves on the outside of it to the number of several hundreds with great quietness and decorum. Into the middle of this circle, the box, which was now arrived, was ordered to be brought, with several reading-glasses, and other small matters, which in their hurry they had put into a pistol-case, that Mr. Banks knew to be his property, it having been some time before stolen from the tents, with a horse-pistol in it, which he immediately demanded, and which was also restored. Mr. Green was impatient to see whether all that had been taken away was returned, and upon examining the box found the stand, and a few small things of less consequence, wanting; several persons were sent in search of these, and most of the small things were returned: but it was signified that the thief had not brought the stand so far, and that it would be delivered to our friends as they went back; this being confirmed by Tubourai Tamaide, they prepared to return, as nothing would then be wanting but what might easily be supplied; and after they had advanced about two miles, I met them with my party, to our mutual satisfaction, congratulating each other upon the recovery of the quadrant, with a pleasure proportionate to the importance of the event.

About eight o'clock, Mr. Banks with Tubourai Tamaide got back to the fort; when to his great surprise, he found Tootahah in custody, and many of the natives in the utmost terror and distress, crowding about the gate. He went hastily in, some of the Indians were suffered to follow him, and the scene was extremely affecting. Tubourai Tamaide pressing forward, ran up to Tootahah, and catching him in his arms, they both burst into tears, and wept over each other, without being able to speak: the other Indians were also in tears for their chief, both he and they being strongly possessed with the notion that he was to be put to death. In this situation they continued till I entered the fort, which was

about a quarter of an hour afterwards. I was equally surprised and concerned at what had happened, the confining Tootahah being contrary to my orders, and therefore instantly set him at liberty. Upon inquiring into the affair, I was told, that my going into the woods with a party of men under arms, at a time when a robbery had been committed, which it was supposed I should resent, in proportion to our apparent injury by the loss, had so alarmed the natives, that in the evening they began to leave the neighbourhood of the fort with their effects: that a double canoe having been seen to put off from the bottom of the bay by Mr. Gore, the second lieutenant, who was left in command on board the ship, and who had received orders not to suffer any canoe to go out, he sent the boatswain with a boat after her to bring her back: that as soon as the boat came up, the Indians being alarmed, leaped into the sea; and that Tootahah, being unfortunately one of the number, the boatswain took him up, and brought him to the ship, suffering the rest of the people to swim on shore: that Mr. Gore, not sufficiently attending to the order that none of the people should be confined, had sent him to the fort, and Mr. Hicks, the first lieutenant, who commanded there, receiving him in charge from Mr. Gore, did not think himself at liberty to dismiss him. The notion that we intended to put him to death had possessed him so strongly, that he could not be persuaded to the contrary till by my orders he was led out of the fort. The people received him as they would have done a father in the same circumstances, and every one pressed forward to embrace him. Sudden joy is commonly liberal, without a scrupulous regard to merit: and Tootahah, in the first expansion of his heart, upon being unexpectedly restored to liberty and life, insisted upon our receiving a present of two hogs; though, being conscious that upon this occasion we had no claim to favours, we refused them many times.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander attended the next morning in their usual capacity of marketmen, but very few Indians appeared, and those who came brought no provisions. Tootahah, however, sent some of his people for the canoe that had been detained, which they took away. A canoe having also been detained that belonged to Oberea, *TUPIA*, the person who managed her affairs when the *Dolphin* was here, was sent to examine whether anything on board had been taken away: and he was so well satisfied of the contrary, that he left the canoe where he found it, and joined us at the fort, where he spent the day, and slept on board the canoe at night. About noon, some fishing-boats came abreast of the tents, but would part with very little of what they had on board; and we felt the want of cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit very severely. In the course of the day, Mr. Banks walked out into the woods, that by conversing with the people he might recover their confidence and good-will: he found them civil, but they all complained of the ill-treatment of their chief; who, they said, had been beaten and pulled by the hair. Mr. Banks endeavoured to convince them, that he had suffered no personal violence, which to the best of our knowledge was true; yet, perhaps the boatswain had behaved with a brutality which he was afraid or ashamed to acknowledge. The chief himself being probably, upon recollection, of opinion that we had ill deserved the hogs, which he had left with us as a present, sent a messenger in the afternoon to demand an axe, and a shirt, in return: but as I was told that he did not intend to come down to the fort for ten days, I excused myself from giving them till I should see him, hoping that his impatience might induce him to fetch them, and knowing that absence would probably continue the coolness between us, to which the first interview might put an end.

The next day we were still more sensible of the inconvenience we had incurred by giving offence to the people in the person of their chief, for the market was so ill supplied that we were in want of necessaries. Mr. Banks, therefore, went into the woods to *Tubourai Tamaide*, and with some difficulty persuaded him to let us have five baskets of bread-fruit; a very seasonable supply, as they contained above one hundred and twenty. In the afternoon another messenger arrived from Tootahah for the axe and shirt; as it was now become absolutely necessary to recover the friendship of this man, without which it would be scarcely possible to procure provisions, I sent word that Mr. Banks and myself would visit him on the morrow, and bring what he wanted with us. Early the next morning he sent again to remind me of my promise, and his people seemed to wait till we should set out



with great impatience: I therefore ordered the pinnace, in which I embarked with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander about ten o'clock: we took one of Tootahah's people in the boat with us, and in about an hour we arrived at his place of residence, which is called *EPARRÉ*, and is about four miles to the westward of the tents.

We found the people waiting for us in great numbers upon the shore, so that it would have been impossible for us to have proceeded, if way had not been made for us by a tall well-looking man, who had something like a turban about his head, and a long white stick in his hand, with which he laid about him at an unmerciful rate. This man conducted us to the chief, while the people shouted round us, *Taio Tootahah*, "Tootahah is your friend." We found him, like an ancient patriarch, sitting under a tree, with a number of venerable old men standing round him: he made a sign to us to sit down, and immediately asked for his axe. This I presented to him, with an upper garment of broad-cloth, made after the country fashion, and trimmed with tape, to which I also added a shirt. He received them with great satisfaction, and immediately put on the garment; but the shirt he gave to the person who had cleared the way for us upon our landing, who was now seated by us, and of whom he seemed desirous that we should take particular notice. In a short time, Oberea, and several other women whom we knew, came and sat down among us: Tootahah left us several times, but after a short absence returned,—we thought it had been to show himself in his new finery to the people; but we wronged him, for it was to give directions for our refreshment and entertainment. While we were waiting for his return the last time he left us, very impatient to be dismissed, as we were almost suffocated in the crowd, word was brought us that he expected us elsewhere. We found him sitting under the awning of our own boat, and making signs that we should come to him; as many of us, therefore, went on board as the boat would hold, and he then ordered bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts to be brought, of both which we tasted, rather to gratify him than because we had a desire to eat. A message was soon after brought him, upon which he went out of the boat, and we were in a short time desired to follow. We were conducted to a large area or court-yard, which was railed round with bamboos about three feet high, on one side of his house, where an entertainment was provided for us, entirely new: this was a wrestling-match. At the upper end of the area sat the chief, and several of his principal men were ranged on each side of him, so as to form a semicircle; these were the judges, by whom the victor was to be applauded. Seats were also left for us at each end of the line; but we chose rather to be at liberty among the rest of the spectators.

When all was ready, ten or twelve persons, whom we understood to be the combatants, and who were naked, except a cloth that was fastened about the waist, entered the area, and walked slowly round it, in a stooping posture, with their left hands on their right breasts, and their right hands open, with which they frequently struck the left fore-arm so as to produce a quick smart sound. This was a general challenge to the combatants whom they were to engage, or any other person present. After these followed others in the same manner; and then a particular challenge was given, by which each man singled out his antagonist: this was done by joining the finger-ends of both hands, and bringing them to the breast, at the same time moving the elbows up and down with a quick motion. If the person to whom this was addressed accepted the challenge, he repeated the signs, and immediately each put himself into an attitude to engage; the next minute they closed; but, except in first seizing each other, it was a mere contest of strength. Each endeavoured to lay hold of the other, first by the thigh, and, if that failed, by the hand, the hair, the cloth, or elsewhere as he could. When this was done, they grappled, without the least dexterity or skill, till one of them, by having a more advantageous hold, or greater muscular force, threw the other on his back. When the contest was over, the old men gave their plaudits to the victor in a few words, which they repeated together in a kind of tune: his conquest was also generally celebrated by three huzzas. The entertainment was then suspended for a few minutes; after which another couple of wrestlers came forward and engaged in the same manner. If it happened that neither was thrown, after the contest had continued about a minute, they parted, either by consent or the intervention of their friends; and in this case each slapped his arm, as a challenge to a new engagement either with the same antagonist or some other.

While the wrestlers were engaged, another party of men performed a dance, which lasted also about a minute; but neither of these parties took the least notice of each other, their attention being wholly fixed on what they were doing. We observed with pleasure that the conqueror never exulted over the vanquished, and that the vanquished never repined at the success of the conqueror: the whole contest was carried on with perfect good-will and good-humour, though in the presence of at least five hundred spectators, of whom some were women. The number of women, indeed, was comparatively small; none but those of rank were present; and we had reason to believe that they would not have been spectators of this exercise but in compliment to us. This lasted about two hours; during all which time the man who had made way for us when we landed, kept the people at a proper distance by striking those who pressed forward very severely with his stick. Upon inquiry, we learnt that he was an officer belonging to Tootahah, acting as a master of the ceremonies.

It is scarcely possible for those who are acquainted with the athletic sports of very remote antiquity, not to remark a rude resemblance of them in this wrestling-match among the natives of a little island in the midst of the Pacific Ocean; and even our female readers may recollect the account given of them by Fenelon in his *Telemachus*, where, though the events are fictitious, the manners of the age are faithfully transcribed from authors by whom they are supposed to have been truly related.

When the wrestling was over, we were given to understand that two hogs and a large quantity of bread-fruit were preparing for our dinner, which, as our appetites were now keen, was very agreeable intelligence. Our host, however, seemed to repent of his liberality; for, instead of setting his two hogs before us, he ordered one of them to be carried into our boat. At first we were not sorry for this new disposition of matters, thinking that we should dine more comfortably in the boat than on shore, as the crowd would more easily be kept at a distance; but when we came on board, he ordered us to proceed with his hog to the ship. This was mortifying, as we were now to row four miles while our dinner was growing cold; however, we thought fit to comply, and were at last gratified with the cheer that he had provided, of which he and Tubourai Tamaide had a liberal share. Our reconciliation with this man operated upon the people like a charm; for he was no sooner known to be on board, than bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other provisions, were brought to the fort in great plenty.

Affairs now went on in the usual channel; but pork being still a scarce commodity, our master, Mr. Mollineux, and Mr. Green, went in the pinnace to the eastward, on the 8th, early in the morning, to see whether they could procure any hogs or poultry in that part of the country: they proceeded in that direction twenty miles; but though they saw many hogs, and one turtle, they could not purchase either at any price: the people everywhere told them, that they all belonged to Tootahah, and that they could sell none of them without his permission. We now began to think that this man was indeed a great prince; for an influence so extensive and absolute could be acquired by no other. And we afterwards found that he administered the government of this part of the island, as sovereign, for a minor whom we never saw all the time that we were upon it. When Mr. Green returned from this expedition, he said he had seen a tree of a size which he was afraid to relate, it being no less than sixty yards in circumference; but Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander soon explained to him, that it was a species of the fig, the branches of which, bending down, take fresh root in the earth, and thus form a congeries of trunks, which being very close to each other, and all joined by a common vegetation, might easily be mistaken for one.



HEAD OF AN OTAHEITAN.



Though the market at the fort was now tolerably supplied, provisions were brought more slowly ; a sufficient quantity used to be purchased between sunrise and eight o'clock, but it was now become necessary to attend the greatest part of the day. Mr. Banks, therefore, fixed his little boat up before the door of the fort, which was of great use as a place to trade in : hitherto we had purchased cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit for beads ; but the market becoming rather slack in these articles, we were now, for the first time, forced to bring out our nails : one of our smallest size, which was about four inches long, procured us twenty cocoanuts, and bread-fruit in proportion, so that in a short time our first plenty was restored.

On the 9th, soon after breakfast, we received a visit from Oberea, being the first that she had made us after the loss of our quadrant, and the unfortunate confinement of Tootahah ; with her came her present favourite, Obadée, and Tupia : they brought us a hog and some bread-fruit, in return for which we gave her a hatchet. We had now afforded our Indian friends a new and interesting object of curiosity, our forge, which having been set up some time, was almost constantly at work. It was now common for them to bring pieces of iron, which we suppose they must have got from the Dolphin, to be made into tools of various kinds ; and as I was very desirous to gratify them, they were indulged except when the smith's time was too precious to be spared. Oberea having received her hatchet, produced as much old iron as would have made another, with a request that another might be made of it ; in this, however, I could not gratify her, upon which she brought out a broken axe, and desired it might be mended : I was glad of an opportunity to compromise the difference between us : her axe was mended, and she appeared to be content. They went away at night, and took with them the canoe, which had been a considerable time at the point, but promised to return in three days.

On the 10th, I put some seeds of melons and other plants into a spot of ground which had been turned up for the purpose ; they had all been sealed up by the person of whom they were bought, in small bottles with rosin ; but none of them came up except mustard ; even the cucumbers and melons failed, and Mr. Banks is of opinion that they were spoiled by the total exclusion of fresh air.

This day we learnt the Indian name of the island, which is OTAHEITE, and by that name I shall hereafter distinguish it : but after great pains taken we found it utterly impossible to teach the Indians to pronounce our names ; we had, therefore, new names, consisting of such sounds as they produced in the attempt. They called me *Toote* ; Mr. Hicks, *Hute* ; Mollineux they renounced in absolute despair, and called the Master *Boba*, from his Christian name Robert ; Mr. Gore was *Toarro* ; Dr. Solander, *Torano* ; and Mr. Banks, *Tapane* ; Mr. Green, *Eteree* ; Mr. Parkinson, *Patini* ; Mr. Sporing, *Polini* ; Petersgill, *Petrodero* ; and in this manner they had now formed names for almost every man in the ship : in some, however, it was not easy to find any traces of the original, and they were perhaps not mere arbitrary sounds formed upon the occasion, but significant words in their own language. Monkhouse, the midshipman, who commanded the party that killed the man for stealing the musket, they called *Matte* ; not merely by an attempt to imitate in sound the first syllable of Monkhouse, but because *Matte* signifies *dealt* ; and this probably might be the case with others.

CHAPTER XII.—SOME LADIES VISIT THE FORT WITH VERY UNCOMMON CEREMONIES : THE INDIANS ATTEND DIVINE SERVICE, AND IN THE EVENING EXHIBIT A MOST EXTRAORDINARY SPECTACLE : TUBOURAI TAMAIDE FALLS INTO TEMPTATION.

FRIDAY, the 12th of May, was distinguished by a visit from some ladies whom we had never seen before, and who introduced themselves with some very singular ceremonies. Mr. Banks was trading in his boat at the gate of the fort as usual, in company with Tootahah, who had that morning paid him a visit, and some other of the natives ; between nine and ten o'clock, a double canoe came to the landing-place, under the awning of which sat a man and two women : the Indians that were about Mr. Banks made signs that he should go out to meet them, which he hastened to do ; but by the time he could get out of

the boat, they had advanced within ten yards of him ; they then stopped, and made signs that he should do so too, laying down about a dozen young plantain-trees, and some other small plants : he complied, and the people having made a lane between them, the man, who appeared to be a servant, brought six of them to Mr. Banks by one of each at a time, passing and repassing six times, and always pronouncing a short sentence when he delivered them. Tupia, who stood by Mr. Banks, acted as his master of the ceremonies, and receiving the branches as they were brought, laid them down in the boat. When this was done, another man brought a large bundle of cloth, which having opened, he spread piece by piece upon the ground, in the space between Mr. Banks and his visitors ; there were nine pieces, and having laid three pieces one upon another, the foremost of the women, who seemed to be the principal, and who was called OORATTOOA, stepped upon them, and taking up her garments all round her to the waist, turned about, with great composure and deliberation, and with an air of perfect innocence and simplicity, three times ; when this was done, she dropped the veil, and stepping off the cloth, three more pieces were laid on, and she repeated the ceremony, then stepping off as before, the last three were laid on, and the ceremony was repeated in the same manner the third time. Immediately after this the cloth was rolled up, and given to Mr. Banks as a present from the lady, who, with her friend, came up and saluted him. He made such presents to them both, as he thought would be most acceptable, and after having staid about an hour they went away. In the evening the gentlemen at the fort had a visit from Oberea, and her favourite female attendant, whose name was OTHEOTHEA,—an agreeable girl, whom they were the more pleased to see, because, having been some days absent, it had been reported she was either sick or dead.

On the 13th, the market being over about ten o'clock, Mr. Banks walked into the woods with his gun, as he generally did, for the benefit of the shade in the heat of the day : as he was returning back, he met Tubourai Tamaide, near his occasional dwelling, and stopping to spend a little time with him, he suddenly took the gun out of Mr. Banks's hand, cocked it, and, holding it up in the air, drew the trigger : fortunately for him it flashed in the pan : Mr. Banks immediately took it from him, not a little surprised how he had acquired sufficient knowledge of a gun to discharge it, and reproved him with great severity for what he had done. As it was of infinite importance to keep the Indians totally ignorant of the management of fire-arms, he had taken every opportunity of intimating that they could never offend him so highly as by even touching his piece ; it was now proper to enforce this prohibition, and he therefore added threats to his reproof : the Indian bore all patiently ; but the moment Mr. Banks crossed the river, he set off with all his family and furniture for his house at Eparre. This being quickly known from the Indians at the fort, and great inconvenience being apprehended from the displeasure of this man, who upon all occasions had been particularly useful, Mr. Banks determined to follow him without delay, and solicit his return : he set out the same evening accompanied by Mr. Mollineux, and found him sitting in the middle of a large circle of people, to whom he had probably related what had happened, and his fears of the consequences ; he was himself the very picture of grief and dejection, and the same passions were strongly marked in the countenances of all the people that surrounded him. When Mr. Banks and Mr. Mollineux went into the circle, one of the women expressed her trouble, as Terapo had done upon another occasion, and struck a shark's tooth into her head several times, till it was covered with blood. Mr. Banks lost no time in putting an end to this universal distress ; he assured the chief, that everything which had passed should be forgotten, that there was not the least animosity remaining on one side, nor anything to be feared on the other. The chief was soon soothed into confidence and complacency, a double canoe was ordered to be got ready, they all returned together to the fort before supper, and as a pledge of perfect reconciliation, both he and his wife slept all night in Mr. Banks's tent : their presence, however, was no palladium ; for, between eleven and twelve o'clock, one of the natives attempted to get into the fort by scaling the walls, with a design, no doubt, to steal whatever he should happen to find ; he was discovered by the sentinel, who happily did not fire, and he ran away much faster than any of our people could follow him. The iron, and iron-tools, which were in continual use at the armourer's



forge, that was set up within the works, were temptations to theft which none of these people could withstand.

On the 14th, which was Sunday, I directed that divine service should be performed at the fort : we were desirous that some of the principal Indians should be present, but when the hour came, most of them were returned home. Mr. Banks, however, crossed the river, and brought back Tubourai Tamaide and his wife Tomio, hoping that it would give occasion to some inquiries on their part, and some instruction on ours: having seated them, he placed himself between them, and during the whole service, they very attentively observed his behaviour, and very exactly imitated it; standing, sitting, or kneeling, as they saw him do: they were conscious that we were employed about somewhat serious and important, as appeared by their calling to the Indians without the fort to be silent; yet when the service was over, neither of them asked any questions, nor would they attend to any attempt that was made to explain what had been done.

Such were our matins; our Indians thought fit to perform vespers of a very different kind. A young man, near six feet high, performed the rites of Venus with a little girl about eleven or twelve years of age, before several of our people, and a great number of the natives, without the least sense of its being indecent or improper, but, as appeared, in perfect conformity to the custom of the place. Among the spectators were several women of superior rank, particularly Oberea, who may properly be said to have assisted at the ceremony; for they gave instructions to the girl how to perform her part, which, young as she was, she did not seem much to stand in need of.

This incident is not mentioned as an object of idle curiosity, but as it deserves consideration in determining a question which has been long debated in philosophy; Whether the shame attending certain actions, which are allowed on all sides to be in themselves innocent, is implanted in nature, or superinduced by custom? If it has its origin in custom, it will, perhaps, be found difficult to trace that custom, however general, to its source; if in instinct, it will be equally difficult to discover from what cause it is subdued, or at least over-ruled, among these people, in whose manners not the least trace of it is to be found.

On the 14th and 15th, we had another opportunity of observing the general knowledge which these people had of any design that was formed among them. In the night between the 13th and 14th, one of the water-casks was stolen from the outside of the fort: in the morning, there was not an Indian to be seen who did not know that it was gone; yet they appeared not to have been trusted, or not to have been worthy of trust; for they seemed all of them disposed to give intelligence where it might be found. Mr. Banks traced it to a part of the bay where he was told it had been put into a canoe, but as it was not of great consequence he did not complete the discovery. When he returned, he was told by Tubourai Tamaide, that another cask would be stolen before the morning: how he came by this knowledge it is not easy to imagine; that he was not a party in the design is certain, for he came with his wife and his family to the place where the water-casks stood, and placing their beds near them, he said he would himself be a pledge for their safety, in despite of the thief: of this, however, we would not admit; and making them understand that a sentry would be placed to watch the casks till the morning, he removed the beds into Mr. Banks's tent, where he and his family spent the night, making signs to the sentry when he retired that he should keep his eyes open. In the night this intelligence appeared to be true; about twelve o'clock the thief came, but discovering that a watch had been set, he went away without his booty.

Mr. Banks's confidence in Tubourai Tamaide had greatly increased since the affair of the knife; in consequence of which he was at length exposed to temptations which neither his integrity nor his honour was able to resist. They had withstood many allurements, but were at length ensnared by the fascinating charms of a basket of nails: these nails were much larger than any that had yet been brought into trade, and had, with perhaps some degree of criminal negligence, been left in a corner of Mr. Banks's tent, to which the chief had always free access. One of these nails Mr. Banks's servant happened to see in his possession, upon his having inadvertently thrown back that part of his garment under which it was concealed. Mr. Banks being told of this, and knowing that no such thing had been

given him, either as a present or in barter, immediately examined the basket, and discovered that out of seven nails five were missing. He then, though not without great reluctance, charged him with the fact, which he immediately confessed, and however he might suffer, was probably not more hurt than his accuser. A demand was immediately made of restitution; but this he declined, saying that the nails were at Eparre: however, Mr. Banks appearing to be much in earnest, and using some threatening signs, he thought fit to produce one of them. He was then taken to the fort, to receive such judgment as should be given against him by the general voice. After some deliberation, that we might not appear to think too lightly of his offence, he was told that if he would bring the other four nails to the fort, it should be forgotten. To this condition he agreed; but I am sorry to say he did not fulfil it. Instead of fetching the nails, he removed with his family before night, and took all his furniture with him.

As our long-boat had appeared to be leaky, I thought it necessary to examine her bottom, and, to my great surprise, found it so much eaten by the worms, that it was necessary to give her a new one; no such accident had happened to the Dolphin's boats, as I was informed by the officers on board, and therefore it was a misfortune that I did not expect: I feared that the pinnace also might be nearly in the same condition; but, upon examining her, I had the satisfaction to find that not a worm had touched her, though she was built of the same wood, and had been as much in the water: the reason of this difference I imagine to be, that the long-boat was payed with varnish of pine, and the pinnace painted with white lead and oil; the bottoms of all boats, therefore, which are sent into this country, should be painted like that of the pinnace, and the ships should be supplied with a good stock, in order to give them a new coating when it should be found necessary.

Having received repeated messages from Tootahah, that if we would pay him a visit he would acknowledge the favour by a present of four hogs, I sent Mr. Hicks, my first lieutenant, to try if he could not procure the hogs upon easier terms, with orders to show him every civility in his power. Mr. Hicks found that he was removed from Eparre to a place called TETTAHAH, five miles farther to the westward. He was received with great cordiality; one hog was immediately produced, and he was told that the other three, which were at some distance, should be brought in the morning. Mr. Hicks readily consented to stay; but the morning came without the hogs, and it not being convenient to stay longer, he returned in the evening with the one he had got.

On the 25th, Tubourai Tamaide and his wife Tomio made their appearance at the tent, for the first time since he had been detected in stealing the nails; he seemed to be under some discontent and apprehension, yet he did not think fit to purchase our countenance and good-will by restoring the four which he had sent away. As Mr. Banks and the other gentlemen treated him with a coolness and reserve which did not at all tend to restore his peace or good-humour, his stay was short, and his departure abrupt. Mr. Monkhouse, the surgeon, went the next morning in order to effect a reconciliation, by persuading him to bring down the nails, but he could not succeed.

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CHAPTER IX.—ANOTHER VISIT TO TOOTAHAH, WITH VARIOUS ADVENTURES. — EXTRAORDINARY AMUSEMENT OF THE INDIANS, WITH REMARKS UPON IT. — PREPARATIONS TO OBSERVE THE TRANSIT OF VENUS, AND WHAT HAPPENED IN THE MEAN TIME AT THE FORT.

On the 27th, it was determined that we should pay our visit to Tootahah, though we were not very confident that we should receive the hogs for our pains. I therefore set out early in the morning, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and three others, in the pinnace. He was now removed from Tettahah, where Mr. Hicks had seen him, to a place called ATAHOUROU, about six miles farther; and as we could not go above half-way thither in the boat, it was almost evening before we arrived: we found him in his usual state, sitting under a tree, with a great crowd about him. We made our presents in due form, consisting of a yellow stuff petticoat, and some other trifling articles, which were graciously received; a



hog was immediately ordered to be killed and dressed for supper, with a promise of more in the morning: however, as we were less desirous of feasting upon our journey than of carrying back with us provisions, which would be more welcome at the fort, we procured a reprieve for the hog, and supped upon the fruits of the country. As night now came on, and the place was crowded with many more than the houses and canoes would contain, there being Oberea with her attendants, and many other travellers whom we knew, we began to look out for lodgings. Our party consisted of six: Mr. Banks thought himself fortunate in being offered a place by Oberea in her canoe; and wishing his friends a good night, took his leave. He went to rest early, according to the custom of the country, and taking off his clothes, as was his constant practice, the nights being hot, Oberea kindly insisted upon taking them into her own custody, for otherwise she said they would certainly be stolen. Mr. Banks having such a safeguard, resigned himself to sleep with all imaginable tranquillity: but waking about eleven o'clock, and wanting to get up, he searched for his clothes where he had seen them deposited by Oberea when he lay down to sleep, and soon perceived that they were missing. He immediately awakened Oberea, who starting up, and hearing his complaint, ordered lights, and prepared in great haste to recover what he had lost. Tootahah himself slept in the next canoe, and being soon alarmed, he came to them, and set out with Oberea in search of the thief. Mr. Banks was not in a condition to go with them, for of his apparel scarce anything was left him but his breeches; his coat and his waistcoat, with his pistols, powder-horn, and many other things that were in the pockets, were gone. In about half an hour his two noble friends returned, but without having obtained any intelligence of his clothes or of the thief. At first he began to be alarmed; his musket had not indeed been taken away; but he had neglected to load it; where I and Dr. Solander had disposed of ourselves he did not know; and therefore, whatever might happen, he could not have recourse to us for assistance. He thought it best, however, to express neither fear nor suspicion of those about him, and giving his musket to Tupia, who had been waked in the confusion, and stood by him, with a charge not to suffer it to be stolen, he betook himself again to rest, declaring himself perfectly satisfied with the pains that Tootahah and Oberea had taken to recover his things, though they had not been successful. As it cannot be supposed that in such a situation his sleep was very sound, he soon after heard music, and saw lights at a little distance on shore: this was a concert or assembly, which they call a *Heiva*, a common name for every public exhibition; and as it would necessarily bring many people together, and there was a chance of my being among them with his other friends, he rose, and made the best of his way towards it: he was soon led by the lights and the sound to the hut where I lay, with three other gentlemen of our party; and easily distinguishing us from the rest, he made up to us more than half naked, and told us his melancholy story. We gave him such comfort as the unfortunate generally give to each other, by telling him that we were fellow-sufferers; I showed him that I was myself without stockings, they having been stolen from under my head, though I was sure I had never been asleep, and each of my associates convinced him, by his appearance, that he had lost a jacket. We determined, however, to hear out the concert, however deficient we might appear in our dress; it consisted of three drums, four flutes, and several voices: when this entertainment, which lasted about an hour, was over, we retired again to our sleeping places; having agreed that nothing could be done toward the recovery of our things till the morning.

We rose at day-break, according to the custom of the country: the first man that Mr. Banks saw was Tupia, faithfully attending with his musket; and soon after Oberea brought him some of her country clothes, as a succedaneum for his own; so that when he came to us he made a most motley appearance, half Indian and half English. Our party soon got together, except Dr. Solander, whose quarters we did not know, and who had not assisted at the concert: in a short time Tootahah made his appearance, and we pressed him to recover our clothes; but neither he nor Oberea could be persuaded to take any measure for that purpose, so that we began to suspect that they had been parties in the theft. About eight o'clock we were joined by Dr. Solander, who had fallen into honest hands at a house about a mile distant, and had lost nothing. Having given up all hope of recovering our

clothes, which, indeed, were never afterwards heard of, we spent all the morning in soliciting the hogs which we had been promised ; but in this we had no better success : we therefore, in no very good humour, set out for the boat about twelve o'clock, with only that which we had redeemed from the butcher and the cook the night before.

As we were returning to the boat, however, we were entertained with a sight that in some measure compensated for our fatigue and disappointment. In our way we came to one of the few places where access to the island is not guarded by a reef, and, consequently, a high surf breaks upon the shore ; a more dreadful one, indeed, I had seldom seen ; it was impossible for any European boat to have lived in it ; and if the best swimmer in Europe had, by any accident, been exposed to its fury, I am confident that he would not have been able to preserve himself from drowning, especially as the shore was covered with pebbles and large stones ; yet, in the midst of these breakers, were ten or twelve Indians swimming for their amusement : whenever a surf broke near them, they dived under it, and, to all appearance with infinite facility, rose again on the other side. This diversion was greatly improved by the stern of an old canoe, which they happened to find upon the spot : they took this before them, and swam out with it as far as the outermost breach, then two or three of them getting into it, and turning the square end to the breaking wave, were driven in towards the shore with incredible rapidity, sometimes almost to the beach ; but generally the wave broke over them before they got half way, in which case they dived, and rose on the other side with the canoe in their hands : they then swam out with it again, and were again driven back, just as our holiday youth climb the hill in Greenwich-park for the pleasure of rolling down it. At this wonderful scene we stood gazing for more than half an hour, during which time none of the swimmers attempted to come on shore, but seemed to enjoy their sport in the highest degree ; we then proceeded in our journey, and late in the evening got back to the fort.

Upon this occasion it may be observed, that human nature is endued with powers which are only accidentally exerted to the utmost ; and that all men are capable of what no man attains, except he is stimulated to the effort by some uncommon circumstances or situation. These Indians effected what to us appeared to be supernatural, merely by the application of such powers as they possessed in common with us, and all other men who have no particular infirmity or defect. The truth of the observation is also manifest from more familiar instances. The rope-dancer and balance-master owe their art, not to any peculiar liberality of nature, but to an accidental improvement of her common gifts ; and though equal diligence and application would not always produce equal excellence in these, any more than in other arts, yet there is no doubt but that a certain degree of proficiency in them might be universally attained. Another proof of the existence of abilities in mankind, that are almost universally dormant, is furnished by the attainments of blind men. It cannot be supposed that the loss of one sense, like the amputation of a branch from a tree, gives new vigour to those that remain. Every man's hearing and touch, therefore, are capable of the nice distinctions which astonish us in those that have lost their sight, and if they do not give the same intelligence to the mind, it is merely because the same intelligence is not required of them : he that can see may do from choice what the blind do by necessity, and by the same diligent attention to the other senses may receive the same notices from them ; let it, therefore, be remembered, as an encouragement to persevering diligence, and a principle of general use to mankind, that he who does all he can will ever effect much more than is generally thought to be possible.

Among other Indians that had visited us, there were some from a neighbouring island which they called EIMEO or IMAO, the same to which Captain Wallis had given the name of the Duke of York's Island, and they gave us an account of no less than two-and-twenty islands that lay in the neighbourhood of Otaheite.

As the day of observation now approached, I determined, in consequence of some hints which had been given me by Lord Morton, to send out two parties to observe the transit from other situations ; hoping, that if we should fail at Otaheite, they might have better success. We were, therefore, now busily employed in preparing our instruments, and instructing such gentlemen in the use of them as I intended to send out. On Thursday the



1st of June, the Saturday following being the day of the transit, I despatched Mr. Gore in the long-boat to Imao, with Mr. Monkhouse and Mr. Sporing, a gentleman belonging to Mr. Banks, Mr. Green having furnished them with proper instruments. Mr. Banks himself thought fit to go upon this expedition, and several natives, particularly Tubourai Tamaide and Tomio, were also of the party. Very early on the Friday morning, I sent Mr. Hicks, with Mr. Clerk and Mr. Petersgill, the master's mates, and Mr. Saunders, one of the midshipmen, in the pinnace to the eastward, with orders to fix on some convenient spot, at a distance from our principal observatory, where they also might employ the instruments with which they had been furnished for the same purpose.

The long-boat not having been got ready till Thursday in the afternoon, though all possible expedition was used to fit her out; the people on board, after having rowed most part of the night, brought her to a grappling just under the land of Imao. Soon after day-break, they saw an Indian canoe, which they hailed, and the people on board showed them an inlet through the reef into which they pulled, and soon fixed upon a coral rock, which rose out of the water about one hundred and fifty yards from the shore, as a proper situation for their observatory: it was about eighty yards long and twenty broad, and in the middle of it was a bed of white sand, large enough for the tents to stand upon. Mr. Gore and his assistants immediately began to set them up, and make other necessary preparations for the important business of the next day. While this was doing, Mr. Banks, with the Indians of Otaheite, and the people whom they had met in the canoe, went ashore upon the main island, to buy provisions; of which he procured a sufficient supply before night. When he returned to the rock, he found the observatory in order, and the telescopes all fixed and tried. The evening was very fine, yet their solicitude did not permit them to take much rest in the night: one or other of them was up every half hour, who satisfied the impatience of the rest by reporting the changes of the sky, now encouraging their hope, by telling them that it was clear, and now alarming their fears, by an account that it was hazy.

At day-break they got up, and had the satisfaction to see the sun rise without a cloud. Mr. Banks then wishing the observers, Mr. Gore and Mr. Monkhouse, success, repaired again to the island, that he might examine its produce, and get a fresh supply of provisions: he began by trading with the natives, for which purpose he took his station under a tree; and to keep them from pressing upon him in a crowd, he drew a circle round him, which he suffered none of them to enter. About eight o'clock he saw two canoes coming towards the place, and was given to understand by the people about him that they belonged to TARRAO, the king of the island, who was coming to make him a visit. As soon as the canoes came near the shore, the people made a lane from the beach to the trading-place, and his Majesty landed with his sister, whose name was NUNA; as they advanced towards the tree where Mr. Banks stood, he went out to meet them, and, with great formality, introduced them into the circle from which the other natives had been excluded. As it is the custom of these people to sit during all their conferences, Mr. Banks unwrapped a kind of turban of Indian cloth, which he wore upon his head instead of a hat, and spreading it upon the ground, they all sat down upon it together. The royal present was then brought, which consisted of a hog and a dog, some bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other articles of the like kind. Mr. Banks then despatched a canoe to the observatory for his present, and the messengers soon returned with an adze, a shirt, and some beads, which were presented to his Majesty, and received with great satisfaction. By this time Tubourai Tamaide and Tomio joined them, from the observatory. Tomio said, that she was related to Tarrao, and brought him a present of a long nail, at the same time complimenting Nuna with a shirt.

The first internal contact of the planet with the sun being over, Mr. Banks returned to the observatory, taking Tarrao, Nuna, and some of their principal attendants, among whom were three very handsome young women, with him; he showed them the planet upon the sun, and endeavoured to make them understand that he and his companions had come from their own country on purpose to see it. Soon after Mr. Banks returned with them to the island, where he spent the rest of the day in examining its produce, which he found to be much the same with that of Otaheite. The people whom he saw there also exactly resembled the inhabitants of that island, and many of them were persons whom he had seen upon it; so

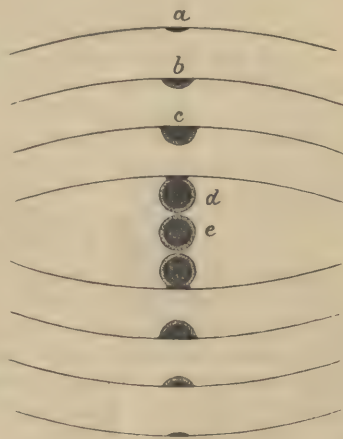
that all those whom he had dealt with knew of what his trading articles consisted, and the value they bore. The next morning, having struck the tents, they set out on their return, and arrived at the fort before night.

The observation was made with equal success by the persons whom I had sent to the eastward; and at the fort, there not being a cloud in the sky from the rising to the setting of the sun, the whole passage of the planet Venus over the sun's disk was observed with great advantage by Mr. Green, Dr. Solander, and myself: Mr. Green's telescope and mine were of the same magnifying power, but that of Dr. Solander was greater. We all saw an atmosphere or dusky cloud round the body of the planet, which very much disturbed the times of contact, especially of the internal ones; and we differed from each other in our accounts of the times of the contacts much more than might have been expected. According to Mr. Green,

	H.	M.	S.	
The first external contact, or first appearance of Venus on the sun, was	9	25	42	} Morning.
The first internal contact, or total emersion, was	9	44	4	
The second internal contact, or beginning of the emersion	3	14	8	} Afternoon.
The second external contact, or total emersion	3	32	10	

The latitude of the observatory was found to be 17° 29' 15", and the longitude 149° 32' 30" W. of Greenwich. A more particular account will appear by the tables, for which the reader is referred to the Transactions of the Royal Society, vol. lxi. part 2, page 397, *et seq.*, where they are illustrated by a cut.

But if we had reason to congratulate ourselves upon the success of our observation, we had scarce less cause to regret the diligence with which that time had been improved by some of our people to another purpose. While the attention of the officers was engrossed by the transit of Venus, some of the ship's company broke into one of the store rooms, and stole a quantity of spike nails, amounting to no less than one hundred-weight; this was a matter of public and serious concern; for these nails, if circulated by the people among the Indians, would do us irreparable injury, by reducing the value of iron, our staple commodity. One of the thieves was detected, but only seven nails were found in his custody. He was punished with two dozen lashes, but would impeach none of his accomplices.



THE TRANSIT OF VENUS.

- a. First contact of the planet with the limb of the sun.  
 b, c, d, e. Successive stages of its passage.  
 Its course on leaving the sun's disk follows.

CHAPTER XIV.—THE CEREMONIES OF AN INDIAN FUNERAL PARTICULARLY DESCRIBED :  
 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE SUBJECT : A CHARACTER FOUND AMONG THE INDIANS  
 TO WHICH THE ANCIENTS PAID GREAT VENERATION : A ROBBERY AT THE FORT, AND  
 ITS CONSEQUENCES : WITH A SPECIMEN OF INDIAN COOKERY, AND VARIOUS INCIDENTS.

On the 5th, we kept his Majesty's birth-day; for though it is the 4th, we were unwilling to celebrate it during the absence of the two parties who had been sent out to observe the transit. We had several of the Indian chiefs at our entertainment, who drank his Majesty's health by the name of Kihargo, which was the nearest imitation they could produce of King George.

About this time died an old woman of some rank, who was related to Tomio, which gave us an opportunity to see how they disposed of the body, and confirmed us in our opinion that these people, contrary to the present custom of all other nations now known, never bury their dead. In the middle of a small square, neatly railed in with bamboo, the awning of a



canoe was raised upon two posts, and under this the body was deposited upon such a frame as has before been described ; it was covered with fine cloth, and near it was placed bread-fruit, fish, and other provisions : we suppose that the food was placed there for the spirit of the deceased, and consequently, that these Indians had some confused notion of a separate state ; but upon our applying for further information to Tubourai Tamaide, he told us, that the food was placed there as an offering to their gods. They do not, however, suppose that the gods eat, any more than the Jews suppose that Jehovah could dwell in a house : the offering is made here upon the same principle as the temple was built at Jerusalem, as an expression of reverence and gratitude, and a solicitation of the more immediate presence of the Deity. In the front of the area was a kind of stile, where the relations of the deceased stood, to pay the tribute of their sorrow ; and under the awning were innumerable small pieces of cloth, on which the tears and blood of the mourners had been shed ; for in their paroxysms of grief it is a universal custom to wound themselves with the shark's tooth. Within a few yards two occasional houses were set up, in one of which some relations of the deceased constantly resided, and in the other the chief mourner, who is always a man, and who keeps there a very singular dress in which a ceremony is performed that will be described in its turn. Near the place where the dead are thus set up to rot, the bones are afterwards buried.

What can have introduced among these people the custom of exposing their dead above ground till the flesh is consumed by putrefaction, and then burying the bones, it is, perhaps, impossible to guess ; but it is remarkable, that Ælian and Apollonius Rhodius impute a similar practice to the ancient inhabitants of Colchis, a country near Pontus, in Asia, now called Mingrelia ; except that among them this manner of disposing of the dead did not extend to both sexes : the women they buried ; but the men they wrapped in a hide, and hung up in the air by a chain. This practice among the Colchians is referred to a religious cause. The principal objects of their worship were the earth and the air ; and it is supposed that, in consequence of some superstitious notion, they devoted their dead to both. Whether the natives of Otaheite had any notion of the same kind, we were never able certainly to determine ; but we soon discovered, that the repositories of their dead were also places of worship. Upon this occasion it may be observed, that nothing can be more absurd than the notion that the happiness or misery of a future life depends, in any degree, upon the disposition of the body when the state of probation is past ; yet that nothing is more general than a solicitude about it. However cheap we may hold any funeral rites which custom has not familiarised, or superstition rendered sacred, most men gravely deliberate how to prevent their body from being broken by the mattock and devoured by the worm, when it is no longer capable of sensation ; and purchase a place for it in holy ground, when they believe the lot of its future existence to be irrevocably determined. So strong is the association of pleasing or painful ideas with certain opinions and actions which affect us while we live, that we involuntarily act as if it was equally certain that they would affect us in the same manner when we are dead, though this is an opinion that nobody will maintain. Thus it happens, that the desire of preserving from reproach even the name that we leave behind us, or of procuring it honour, is one of the most powerful principles of action, among the inhabitants of the most speculative and enlightened nations. Posthumous reputation, upon every principle, must be acknowledged to have no influence upon the dead ; yet the desire of obtaining and securing it, no force of reason, no habits of thinking, can subdue, except in those whom habitual baseness and guilt have rendered indifferent to honour and shame while they lived. This, indeed, seems to be among the happy imperfections of our nature, upon which the general good of society in a certain measure depends ; for as some crimes are supposed to be prevented by hanging the body of the criminal in chains after he is dead, so in consequence of the same association of ideas, much good is procured to society, and much evil prevented, by a desire of preventing disgrace or procuring honour to a name, when nothing but a name remains.

Perhaps no better use can be made of reading an account of manners altogether new, by which the follies and absurdities of mankind are taken out of that particular connexion in which habit has reconciled them to us, than to consider in how many instances they are

essentially the same. When an honest devotee of the church of Rome reads, that there are Indians on the banks of the Ganges who believe that they shall secure the happiness of a future state by dying with a cow's tail in their hands, he laughs at their folly and superstition; and if these Indians were to be told, that there are people upon the continent of Europe, who imagine that they shall derive the same advantage from dying with the slipper of St. Francis upon their foot, they would laugh in their turn. But if, when the Indian heard the account of the catholic, and the catholic that of the Indian, each was to reflect, that there was no difference between the absurdity of the slipper and of the tail, but that the veil of prejudice and custom, which covered it in their own case, was withdrawn in the other, they would turn their knowledge to a profitable purpose.

Having observed that bread-fruit had for some days been brought in less quantities than usual, we inquired the reason; and were told, that there being a great show of fruit upon the trees, they had been thinned all at once, in order to make a kind of sour paste, which the natives call *Mahie*, and which, in consequence of having undergone a fermentation, will keep a considerable time, and supply them with food when no ripe fruit is to be had.

On the 10th the ceremony was to be performed, in honour of the old woman whose sepulchral tabernacle has just been described, by the chief mourner; and Mr. Banks had so great a curiosity to see all the mysteries of the solemnity, that he determined to take a part in it, being told that he could be present upon no other condition. In the evening, therefore, he repaired to the place where the body lay, and was received by the daughter of the deceased, and several other persons, among whom was a boy about fourteen years old, who were to assist in the ceremony. Tubourai Tamaide was to be the principal mourner; and his dress, which was extremely fantastical, though not unbecoming, is represented by a figure in one of the cuts. Mr. Banks was stripped of his European clothes, and a small piece of cloth being tied round his middle, his body was smeared with charcoal and water, as low as the shoulders, till it was as black as that of a negro: the same operation was performed upon several others, among whom were some women, who were reduced to a state as near to nakedness as himself; the boy was blacked all over, and then the procession set forward. Tubourai Tamaide uttered something, which was supposed to be a prayer, near the body; and did the same when he came up to his own house: when this was done, the procession was continued towards the fort, permission having been obtained to approach it upon this occasion. It is the custom of the Indians to fly from these processions with the utmost precipitation, so that as soon as those who were about the fort saw it at a distance they hid themselves in the woods. It proceeded from the fort along the shore, and put to flight another body of Indians, consisting of more than a hundred, every one hiding himself under the first shelter that he could find: it then crossed the river, and entered the woods, passing several houses, all which were deserted, and not a single Indian could be seen during the rest of the procession, which continued more than half an hour. The office that Mr. Banks performed, was called that of the *Nineech*, of which there were two besides himself; and the natives having all disappeared, they came to the chief mourner, and said, *Imatata*, there are no people; after which the company was dismissed to wash themselves in the river, and put on their customary apparel.

On the 12th, complaint being made to me, by some of the natives, that two of the seamen had taken from them several bows and arrows, and some strings of plaited hair, I examined the matter, and finding the charge well supported, I punished each of the criminals with two dozen lashes. Their bows and arrows have not been mentioned before, nor were they often brought down to the fort. This day, however, Tubourai Tamaide brought down his, in consequence of a challenge which he had received from Mr. Gore. The chief supposed it was to try who could send the arrow farthest; Mr. Gore, who best could hit a mark; and as Mr. Gore did not value himself upon shooting to a great distance, nor the chief upon hitting a mark, there was no trial of skill between them. Tubourai Tamaide, however, to show us what he could do, drew his bow, and sent an arrow, none of which are feathered, two hundred and seventy-four yards, which is something more than a seventh, and something less than a sixth part of a mile. Their manner of shooting is somewhat singular; they kneel down, and the moment the arrow is discharged drop the bow.



Mr. Banks, in his morning walk this day, met a number of the natives, whom, upon inquiry, he found to be travelling musicians; and having learnt where they were to be at night, we all repaired to the place. The band consisted of two flutes and three drums, and we found a great number of people assembled upon the occasion. The drummers accompanied the music with their voices, and, to our great surprise, we discovered that we were generally the subject of the song. We did not expect to have found among the uncivilized inhabitants of this sequestered spot a character, which has been the subject of such praise and veneration where genius and knowledge have been most conspicuous; yet these were the bards or minstrels of Otaheite. Their song was unpremeditated, and accompanied with music; they were continually going about from place to place, and they were rewarded by the master of the house, and the audience, with such things as one wanted and the other could spare.

On the 14th, we were brought into new difficulties and inconvenience by another robbery at the fort. In the middle of the night, one of the natives contrived to steal an iron coal-rake, that was made use of for the oven. It happened to be set up against the inside of the wall, so that the top of the handle was visible from without; and we were informed that the thief, who had been seen lurking there in the evening, came secretly about three o'clock in the morning, and, watching his opportunity when the sentinel's back was turned, very dexterously laid hold of it with a long crooked stick, and drew it over the wall. I thought it of some consequence, if possible, to put an end to these practices at once, by doing something that should make it the common interest of the natives themselves to prevent them. I had given strict orders that they should not be fired upon, even when detected in these attempts, for which I had many reasons: the common sentinels were by no means fit to be entrusted with a power of life and death, to be exerted whenever they should think fit; and I had already experienced that they were ready to take away the lives that were in their power upon the slightest occasion; neither, indeed, did I think that the thefts which these people committed against us were, in them, crimes worthy of death: that thieves are hanged in England I thought no reason why they should be shot in Otaheite; because, with respect to the natives, it would have been an execution by a law *ex post facto*. They had no such law among themselves, and it did not appear to me that we had any right to make such a law for them. That they should abstain from theft, or be punished with death, was not one of the conditions under which they claimed the advantages of civil society, as it is among us; and as I was not willing to expose them to fire-arms, loaded with shot, neither could I perfectly approve of firing only with powder. At first, indeed, the noise and the smoke would alarm them, but when they found that no mischief followed, they would be led to despise the weapons themselves, and proceed to insults, which would make it necessary to put them to the test, and from which they would be deterred by the very sight of a gun, if it was never used but with effect. At this time an accident furnished me with what I thought a happy expedient. It happened that above twenty of their sailing canoes were just come in with a supply of fish: upon these I immediately seized, and bringing them into the river behind the fort, gave public notice, that except the rake, and all the rest of the things which from time to time had been stolen, were returned, the canoes should be burnt. This menace I ventured to publish, though I had no design to put it into execution, making no doubt but that it was well known in whose possession the stolen goods were, and that as restitution was thus made a common cause, they would all of them in a short time be brought back. A list of the things was made out, consisting principally of the rake; the musket which had been taken from the marine when the Indian was shot; the pistols which Mr. Banks lost with his clothes at Atahourou; a sword belonging to one of the petty officers, and the water-cask. About noon, the rake was restored, and great solicitation was made for the release of the canoes; but I still insisted upon my original condition. The next day came, and nothing farther was restored, at which I was much surprised, for the people were in the utmost distress for the fish, which in a short time would be spoilt; I was, therefore, reduced to a disagreeable situation, either of releasing the canoes, contrary to what I had solemnly and publicly declared, or to detain them, to the great injury of those who were innocent, without answering any good purpose to ourselves:

as a temporary expedient, I permitted them to take the fish ; but still detained the canoes. This very license, however, was productive of new confusion and injury ; for, it not being easy at once to distinguish to what particular persons the several lots of fish belonged, the canoes were plundered, under favour of this circumstance, by those who had no right to any part of their cargo. Most pressing instances were still made that the canoes might be restored ; and I having now the greatest reason to believe, either that the things for which I detained them were not in the island, or that those who suffered by their detention had not sufficient influence over the thieves to prevail upon them to relinquish their booty, determined at length to give them up, not a little mortified at the bad success of my project.

Another accident also about this time was, notwithstanding all our caution, very near embroiling us with the Indians. I sent the boat on shore with an officer to get ballast for the ship, and not immediately finding stones convenient for the purpose, he began to pull down some part of an enclosure where they deposited the bones of their dead. This the Indians violently opposed, and a messenger came down to the tents to acquaint the officers that they would not suffer it. Mr. Banks immediately repaired to the place, and an amicable end was soon put to the dispute by sending the boat's crew to the river, where stones enough were to be gathered without a possibility of giving offence. It is very remarkable, that these Indians appeared to be much more jealous of what was done to the dead than the living. This was the only measure in which they ventured to oppose us, and the only insult that was offered to any individual among us was upon a similar occasion. Mr. Monkhouse happening one day to pull a flower from a tree which grew in one of their sepulchral enclosures, an Indian, whose jealousy had probably been upon the watch, came suddenly behind him, and struck him. Mr. Monkhouse laid hold of him, but he was instantly rescued by two more, who took hold of Mr. Monkhouse's hair, and forced him to quit his hold of their companion, and then ran away without offering him any farther violence.

In the evening of the 19th, while the canoes were still detained, we received a visit from Oberea, which surprised us not a little, as she brought with her none of the things that had been stolen, and knew that she was suspected of having some of them in her custody. She said, indeed, that her favourite Obadée, whom she had beaten and dismissed, had taken them away ; but she seemed conscious that she had no right to be believed. She discovered the strongest signs of fear ; yet she surmounted it with astonishing resolution, and was very pressing to sleep with her attendants in Mr. Banks's tent. In this, however, she was not gratified ; the affair of the jacket was too recent, and the tent was besides filled with other people. Nobody else seemed willing to entertain her, and she, therefore, with great appearance of mortification and disappointment, spent the night in her canoe.

The next morning early she returned to the fort with her canoe, and everything that it contained, putting herself wholly into our power, with something like greatness of mind, which excited our wonder and admiration. As the most effectual means to bring about a reconciliation, she presented us with a hog, and several other things, among which was a dog. We had lately learnt that these animals were esteemed by the Indians as more delicate food than their pork ; and upon this occasion we determined to try the experiment. The dog, which was very fat, we consigned over to Tupia, who undertook to perform the double office of butcher and cook. He killed him by holding his hands close over his mouth and nose, an operation which continued above a quarter of an hour. While this was doing, a hole was made in the ground about a foot deep, in which a fire was kindled, and some small stones placed in layers alternately with the wood to heat ; the dog was then singed, by holding him over the fire, and, by scraping him with a shell, the hair taken off as clean as if he had been scalded in hot water : he was then cut up with the same instrument, and his entrails being taken out, were sent to the sea, where, being carefully washed, they were put into cocoa-nut shells, with what blood had come from the body. When the hole was sufficiently heated, the fire was taken out, and some of the stones, which were not so hot as to discolour anything that they touched, being placed at the bottom, were covered with green leaves. The dog, with the entrails, was then placed upon the leaves, and other leaves being laid upon them, the whole was covered with the rest of the hot stones, and the mouth of the



hole close stopped with mould. In somewhat less than four hours it was again opened, and the dog taken out excellently baked; and we all agreed that he made a very good dish. The dogs which are here bred to be eaten taste no animal food, but are kept wholly upon bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, yams, and other vegetables of the like kind: all the flesh and fish eaten by the inhabitants is dressed in the same way.

On the 21st we were visited at the fort by a chief, called OAMO, whom we had never seen before, and who was treated by the natives with uncommon respect; he brought with him a boy about seven years old, and a young woman about sixteen: the boy was carried upon a man's back, which we considered as a piece of state, for he was as well able to walk as any present. As soon as they were in sight, Oberea, and several other natives who were in the fort, went out to meet them, having first uncovered their heads and bodies as low as the waist: as they came on, the same ceremony was performed by all the natives who were without the fort. Uncovering the body, therefore, is in this country probably a mark of respect; and as all parts are here exposed with equal indifference, the ceremony of uncovering it from the waist downwards, which was performed by Oorattooa, might be nothing more than a different mode of compliment, adapted to persons of a different rank. The chief came into the tent, but no entreaty could prevail upon the young woman to follow him, though she seemed to refuse contrary to her inclination. The natives without were, indeed, all very solicitous to prevent her, sometimes, when her resolution seemed to fail, almost using force: the boy also they restrained in the same manner; but Dr. Solander happening to meet him at the gate, took him by the hand, and led him in before the people were aware of it. As soon, however, as those that were within saw him, they took care to have him sent out.

These circumstances having strongly excited our curiosity, we inquired who they were, and were informed that Oamo was the husband of Oberea, though they had been a long time separated by mutual consent; and that the young woman and the boy were their children. We learnt also that the boy, whose name was TERRIDIRI, was her heir-apparent to the sovereignty of the island, and that his sister was intended for his wife, the marriage being deferred only till he should arrive at a proper age. The sovereign at this time was a son of WHAPPAL, whose name was OUTOU, and who, as before has been observed, was a minor. Whappai, Oamo, and Tootahah, were brothers: Whappai was the eldest, and Oamo the second; so that, Whappai having no child but Outou, Terridiri, the son of his next brother Oamo, was heir to the sovereignty. It will, perhaps, seem strange that a boy should be sovereign during the life of his father; but, according to the custom of the country, a child succeeds to a father's title and authority as soon as it is born: a regent is then elected, and the father of the new sovereign is generally continued in his authority, under that title, till his child is of age; but at this time the choice had fallen upon Tootahah, the uncle, in consequence of his having distinguished himself in a war. Oamo asked many questions concerning England and its inhabitants, by which he appeared to have great shrewdness and understanding.

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CHAPTER XV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE ISLAND, AND VARIOUS INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED DURING THE EXPEDITION, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF A BURYING-PLACE AND PLACE OF WORSHIP, CALLED A MORAI.

ON Monday the 26th, about three o'clock in the morning, I set out in the pinnace, accompanied by Mr. Banks, to make the circuit of the island, with a view to sketch out the coast and harbours. We took our route to the eastward, and about eight in the forenoon we went on shore, in a district called OAHOUNGE, which is governed by AHIO, a young chief whom we had often seen at the tents, and who favoured us with his company to breakfast. Here also we found two other natives of our old acquaintance, TITUBALO and HOOKA, who carried us to their houses, near which we saw the body of the old woman, at whose funeral

rites Mr. Banks had assisted, and which had been removed hither from the spot where it was first deposited, this place having descended from her by inheritance to Hoona; and it being necessary on that account that it should lie here. We then proceeded on foot, the boat attending within call, to the harbour in which M. Bougainville lay, called OHIDEA, where the natives showed us the ground upon which his people pitched their tent, and the brook at which they watered, though no trace of them remained, except the holes where the poles of the tent had been fixed, and a small piece of potsherd, which Mr. Banks found in looking narrowly about the spot. We met, however, with ORETTE, a chief who was their principal friend, and whose brother OUTORROU went away with them.

This harbour lies on the west side of a great bay, under shelter of a small island called BOOROU, near which is another called TAAWIRRI; the breach in the reefs is here very large, but the shelter for the ships is not the best. Soon after we had examined this place, we took boat, and asked Tituboalo to go with us to the other side of the bay; but he refused, and advised us not to go; for he said the country there was inhabited by people who were not subject to Tootahah, and who would kill both him and us. Upon receiving this intelligence, we did not, as may be imagined, relinquish our enterprise, but we immediately loaded our pieces with ball: this was so well understood by Tituboalo as a precaution which rendered us formidable, that he now consented to be of our party.

Having rowed till it was dark, we reached a low neck of land, or isthmus at the bottom of the bay, that divides the island into two peninsulas, each of which is a district or government wholly independent of the other. From Port-Royal, where the ship was at anchor, the coast trends E. by S. and E.S.E. ten miles, then S. by E. and S. eleven miles to the isthmus. In the first direction the shore is in general open to the sea; but in the last it is covered by reefs of rocks, which form several good harbours, with safe anchorage, in sixteen, eighteen, twenty, and twenty-four fathom of water, with other conveniences. As we had not yet got into our enemy's country, we determined to sleep on shore. We landed, and though we found but few houses, we saw several double canoes, whose owners were well known to us, and who provided us with supper and lodging; of which Mr. Banks was indebted for his share to Ooratoa, the lady who had paid him her compliments in so singular a manner at the fort.

In the morning we looked about the country, and found it to be a marshy flat, about two miles over, across which the natives haul their canoes to the corresponding bay on the other side. We then prepared to continue our route for what Tituboalo called the other kingdom; he said that the name of it was TIARRABOU, or OTAHEITE ETE; and that of the chief who governed it WAHEATUA. Upon this occasion, also, we learnt that the name of the peninsula where we had taken our station was OPOUREONU, or OTAHEITE NUE. Our new associate seemed to be now in better spirits than he had been the day before: the people in Tiarrabou would not kill us, he said; but he assured us that we should be able to procure no victuals among them; and indeed we had seen no bread-fruit since we set out.

After rowing a few miles, we landed in a district, which was the dominion of a chief called MARAITATA, the burying-place of men, whose father's name was PAHAIREDO, the stealer of boats. Though these names seemed to favour the account that had been given by Tituboalo, we soon found that it was not true. Both the father and the son received us with the greatest civility, gave us provisions, and, after some delay, sold us a very large hog for a hatchet. A crowd soon gathered round us, but we saw only two people that we knew; neither did we observe a single bead or ornament among them that had come from our ship, though we saw several things which had been brought from Europe. In one of the houses lay two twelve-pound shot, one of which was marked with the broad arrow of England, though the people said they had them from the ships that lay in Bougainville's harbour.

We proceeded on foot till we came to the district which was immediately under the government of the principal chief, or king of the peninsula, Waheatua. Waheatua had a son, but whether, according to the custom of Opoureonu, he administered the government as regent, or in his own right, is uncertain. This district consists of a large and fertile plain, watered by a river so wide, that we were obliged to ferry over it in a canoe: our Indian



train, however, chose to swim, and took to the water with the same facility as a pack of hounds. In this place we saw no house that appeared to be inhabited, but the ruins of many that had been very large. We proceeded along the shore, which forms a bay, called OAITIPEHA, and at last we found the chief sitting near some pretty canoe awnings, under which, we supposed, he and his attendants slept. He was a thin old man, with a very white head and beard, and had with him a comely woman, about five-and-twenty years old, whose name was TOUDIDDE. We had often heard the name of this woman, and, from report and observation, we had reason to think that she was the OBEREA of this peninsula. From this place, between which and the isthmus there are other harbours, formed by the reefs that lie along the shore, where shipping may lie in perfect security, and from whence the land trends S. S. E. and S. to the S. E. part of the island, we were accompanied by TEAREE, the son of Waheatua, of whom we had purchased a hog, and the country we passed through appeared to be more cultivated than any we had seen in other parts of the island: the brooks were everywhere banked into narrow channels with stone, and the shore had also a facing of stone, where it was washed by the sea. The houses were neither large nor numerous, but the canoes that were hauled up along the shore were almost innumerable, and superior to any that we had seen before both in size and make; they were longer, the sterns were higher, and the



DOUBLE CANOE WITH CANOPY.

awnings were supported by pillars. At almost every point there was a sepulchral building, and there were many of them also inland. They were of the same figure as those in Opoureonu, but they were cleaner and better kept, and decorated with many carved boards, which were set upright, and on the top of which were various figures of birds and men. On one in particular, there was the representation of a cock, which was painted red and yellow, to imitate the feathers of that animal, and rude images of men were, in some of them, placed one upon the head of another. But in this part of the country, however fertile and cultivated, we did not see a single bread-fruit: the trees were entirely bare; and the inhabitants seemed to subsist principally upon nuts, which are not unlike a chesnut, and which they call *Ahee*.

When we had walked till we were weary, we called up the boat, but both our Indians, Tituboalo and Tuahow, were missing: they had, it seems, stayed behind at Waheatua's, expecting us to return thither, in consequence of a promise which had been extorted from us, and which we had it not in our power to fulfil. Tearee, however, and another, embarked with us, and we proceeded till we came abreast of a small island called OTTOOAREITE; it being then dark, we determined to land, and our Indians conducted us to a place where they said we might sleep: it was a deserted house, and near it was a little cove, in which the boat might lie with great safety and convenience. We were, however, in want of provisions, having been very sparingly supplied since we set out; and Mr. Banks immediately went into the woods to see whether any could be procured. As it was dark, he met with no people, and could find but one house that was inhabited: a bread-fruit and a half, a few *ahees*, and some fire, were all that it afforded; upon which, with a duck or two, and a few

curls, we made our supper—which, if not scanty, was disagreeable, by the want of bread, with which we had neglected to furnish ourselves, as we depended upon meeting with bread-fruit—and took up our lodging under the awning of a canoe belonging to Tearee, which followed us.

The next morning, after having spent some time in another fruitless attempt to procure a supply of provisions, we proceeded round the south-east point, part of which is not covered by any reef, but lies open to the sea; and here the hill rises directly from the shore. At the southernmost part of the island, the shore is again covered by a reef, which forms a good harbour; and the land about it is very fertile. We made this route partly on foot, and partly in the boat: when we had walked about three miles, we arrived at a place where we saw several large canoes, and a number of people with them, whom we were agreeably surprised to find were of our intimate acquaintance. Here, with much difficulty, we procured some cocoa-nuts, and then embarked, taking with us Tuahow, one of the Indians who had waited for us at Waheatua's, and had returned the night before, long after it was dark.

When we came abreast of the south-east end of the island, we went ashore, by the advice of our Indian guide, who told us that the country was rich and good. The chief, whose name was MATHIABO, soon came down to us, but seemed to be a total stranger both to us and to our trade: his subjects, however, brought us plenty of cocoa-nuts, and about twenty bread-fruit. The bread-fruit we bought at a very dear rate, but his excellency sold us a pig for a glass-bottle, which he preferred to everything else that we could give him. We found in his possession a goose and a turkey-cock, which, we were informed, had been left upon the island by the Dolphin: they were both enormously fat, and so tame that they followed the Indians, who were fond of them to excess, wherever they went. In a long house in this neighbourhood, we saw what was altogether new to us. At one end of it, fastened to a semicircular board, hung fifteen human jaw-bones: they appeared to be fresh; and there was not one of them that wanted a single tooth. A sight so extraordinary strongly excited our curiosity, and we made many inquiries about it; but at this time could get no information, for the people either could not, or would not, understand us.

When we left this place, the chief, Mathiabo, desired leave to accompany us, which was readily granted. He continued with us the remainder of the day, and proved very useful, by piloting us over the shoals. In the evening, we opened the bay on the north-west side of the island, which answered to that on the south-east, so as at the isthmus, or carrying-place, almost to intersect the island, as I have observed before; and when we had coasted about two-thirds of it, we determined to go on shore for the night. We saw a large house at some distance, which Mathiabo informed us belonged to one of his friends; and soon after several canoes came off to meet us, having on board some very handsome women, who, by their behaviour, seemed to have been sent to entice us on shore. As we had before resolved to take up our residence here for the night, little invitation was necessary. We found that the house belonged to the chief of the district, whose name was WIVEROU: he received us in a very friendly manner, and ordered his people to assist us in dressing our provision, of which we had now got a tolerable stock. When our supper was ready, we were conducted into that part of the house where Wiverou was sitting, in order to eat it: Mathiabo supped with us; and Wiverou calling for his supper at the time, we ate our meal very sociably, and with great good-humour. When it was over, we began to inquire where we were to sleep, and a part of the house was shown us, of which we were told we might take possession for that purpose. We then sent for our cloaks, and Mr. Banks began to undress, as his custom was, and, with a precaution which he had been taught by the loss of the jackets at Atahourou, sent his clothes aboard the boat, proposing to cover himself with a piece of Indian cloth. When Mathiabo perceived what was doing, he also pretended to want a cloak; and, as he had behaved very well, and done us some service, a cloak was ordered for him. We lay down, and observed that Mathiabo was not with us; but we supposed that he was gone to bathe, as the Indians always do before they sleep. We had not waited long, however, when an Indian, who was a stranger to us, came and told Mr. Banks, that the cloak and Mathiabo had disappeared together. This man had so far gained our confidence, that we did not at first believe the report; but it being soon after confirmed by



Tuahow, our own Indian, we knew no time was to be lost. As it was impossible for us to pursue the thief with any hope of success, without the assistance of the people about us, Mr. Banks started up, and telling our case, required them to recover the cloak; and to enforce this requisition, showed one of his pocket-pistols, which he always kept about him. Upon the sight of the pistol, the whole company took the alarm, and, instead of assisting to catch the thief, or recover what had been stolen, began with great precipitation to leave the place: one of them, however, was seized; upon which he immediately offered to direct the chase: I set out, therefore, with Mr. Banks; and though we ran all the way, the alarm had got before us; for in about ten minutes we met a man bringing back the cloak, which the thief had relinquished in great terror; and as we did not then think fit to continue the pursuit, he made his escape. When we returned, we found the house, in which there had been between two and three hundred people, entirely deserted. It being, however, soon known that we had no resentment against any body but Mathiabo, the chief, Wiverou, our host, with his wife, and many others, returned, and took up their lodgings with us for the night. In this place, however, we were destined to more confusion and trouble; for about five o'clock in the morning our sentry alarmed us, with an account that the boat was missing: he had seen her, he said, about half an hour before, at her grappling, which was not above fifty yards from the shore; but, upon hearing the sound of oars, he had looked out again, and could see nothing of her. At this account we started up greatly alarmed, and ran to the water-side: the morning was clear and starlight, so that we could see to a considerable distance, but there was no appearance of the boat. Our situation was now such as might justify the most terrifying apprehensions: as it was a dead calm, and we could not therefore suppose her to have broken from her grappling, we had great reason to fear that the Indians had attacked her, and finding the people asleep, had succeeded in their enterprise: we were but four, with only one musket and two pocket-pistols, without a spare ball or charge of powder for either. In this state of anxiety and distress we remained a considerable time, expecting the Indians every moment to improve their advantage, when, to our unspeakable satisfaction, we saw the boat return, which had been driven from her grappling by the tide; a circumstance to which, in our confusion and surprise, we did not advert.

As soon as the boat returned, we got our breakfast, and were impatient to leave the place lest some other vexatious accident should befall us. It is situated on the north side of Tiarrabou, the south-east peninsula, or division, of the island, and at the distance of about five miles south-east from the isthmus, having a large and commodious harbour, inferior to none in the island; about which the land is very rich in produce. Notwithstanding we had had little communication with this division, the inhabitants everywhere received us in a friendly manner. We found the whole of it fertile and populous, and, to all appearance, in a more flourishing state than Opoureonu, though it is not above one-fourth part as large.

The next district in which we landed was the last in Tiarrabou, and governed by a chief, whose name we understood to be OMOE. Omoe was building a house, and being therefore very desirous of procuring a hatchet, he would have been glad to have purchased one with anything that he had in his possession; it happened, however, rather unfortunately for him and us, that we had not one hatchet left in the boat. We offered to trade with nails, but he would not part with anything in exchange for them; we therefore reimbarbed, and put off our boat, but the chief being unwilling to relinquish all hope of obtaining something from us that would be of use to him, embarked in a canoe, with his wife Whannoouda, and followed us. After some time, we took them into the boat; and when we had rowed about a league, they desired we would put ashore. We immediately complied with his request, and found some of his people, who had brought down a very large hog. We were as unwilling to lose the hog as the chief was to part with us, and it was indeed worth the best axe we had in the ship; we therefore hit upon an expedient, and told him, that if he would bring his hog to the fort at Matavai, the Indian name for Port Royal bay, he should have a large axe, and a nail into the bargain, for his trouble. To this proposal, after having consulted with his wife, he agreed, and gave us a large piece of his country cloth as a pledge that he would perform his agreement, which, however, he never did.

At this place we saw a very singular curiosity : it was the figure of a man, constructed of basket-work, rudely made, but not ill designed. It was something more than seven feet high, and rather too bulky in proportion to its height. The wicker skeleton was completely covered with feathers, which were white where the skin was to appear, and black in the parts which it is their custom to paint or stain, and upon the head, where there was to be a representation of hair. Upon the head also were four protuberances, three in front and one behind, which we should have called horns, but which the Indians dignified with the name of Tate Ete, little men. The image was called Manioe, and was said to be the only one of the kind in Otaheite. They attempted to give us an explanation of its use and design, but we had not then acquired enough of their language to understand them. We learnt, however, afterwards, that it was a representation of Mauwe, one of their Eatuas, or gods of the second class.

After having settled our affairs with Omoe, we proceeded on our return, and soon reached Opoureonu, the north-west peninsula. After rowing a few miles, we went on shore again ; but the only thing we saw worth notice was a repository for the dead, uncommonly decorated. The pavement was extremely neat, and upon it was raised a pyramid, about five feet high, which was entirely covered with the fruits of two plants peculiar to the country. Near the pyramid was a small image of stone, of very rude workmanship, and the first instance of carving in stone that we had seen among these people. They appeared to set a high value upon it, for it was covered from the weather by a shed that had been erected on purpose.

We proceeded in the boat, and passed through the only harbour, on the south side of Opoureonu, that is fit for shipping. It is situated about five miles to the westward of the isthmus, between two small islands that lie near the shore, and about a mile distant from each other, and affords good anchorage in eleven and twelve fathom water. We were now not far from the district called PAPARRA, which belonged to our friends Oamo and Oberea, where we proposed to sleep. We went on shore about an hour before night, and found that they were both absent, having left their habitations to pay us a visit at Matavai : this, however, did not alter our purpose ; we took up our quarters at the house of Oberea, which, though small, was very neat, and at this time had no inhabitant but her father, who received us with looks that bid us welcome. Having taken possession, we were willing to improve the little daylight that was left us, and therefore walked out to a point, upon which we had seen, at a distance, trees that are here called *Etoa*, which generally distinguish the places where these people bury the bones of their dead. Their name for such burying-grounds, which are also places of worship, is MORAI. We were soon struck with the sight of an enormous pile, which we were told was the morai of Oamo and Oberea, and the principal



MORAI OF OAMO AND OBEREA.

piece of Indian architecture in the island. It was a pile of stone-work, raised pyramidically upon an oblong base, or square, two hundred and sixty-seven feet long, and eighty-seven wide. It was built like the small pyramidal mounts upon which we sometimes fix the pillar of a sun-dial, where each side is a flight of steps ; the steps, however, at the sides, were broader than those at the ends, so that it terminated not in a square of the same figure with the base, but in a ridge, like the roof of a house. There were eleven of these steps, each of



which was four feet high, so that the height of the pile was forty-four feet : each step was formed of one course of white coral stone, which was neatly squared and polished ; the rest of the mass, for there was no hollow within, consisted of round pebbles, which, from the regularity of their figure, seemed to have been wrought. Some of the coral stones were very large ; we measured one of them, and found it three feet and a half by two feet and a half. The foundation was of rock stones, which were also squared ; and one of them measured four feet seven inches by two feet four. Such a structure, raised without the assistance of iron tools to shape the stones, or mortar to join them, struck us with astonishment : it seemed to be as compact and firm as it could have been made by any workman in Europe, except that the steps, which range along its greatest length, are not perfectly straight, but sink in a kind of hollow in the middle, so that the whole surface, from end to end, is not a right line, but a curve. The quarry stones, as we saw no quarry in the neighbourhood, must have been brought from a considerable distance ; and there is no method of conveyance here but by hand : the coral must also have been fished from under the water, where, though it may be found in plenty, it lies at a considerable depth, never less than three feet. Both the rock stone and the coral could be squared only by tools made of the same substance, which must have been a work of incredible labour ; but the polishing was more easily effected by means of the sharp coral sand, which is found everywhere upon the sea-shore in great abundance. In the middle of the top stood the image of a bird, carved in wood ; and near it lay the broken one of a fish, carved in stone. The whole of this pyramid made part of one side of a spacious area or square, nearly of equal sides, being three hundred and sixty feet by three hundred and fifty-four, which was walled in with stone, and paved with flat stones in its whole extent ; though there were growing in it, notwithstanding the pavement, several of the trees which they call *Etoa*, and plantains. About an hundred yards to the west of this building was another paved area or court, in which were several small stages raised on wooden pillars, about seven feet high, which are called by the Indians *Ewattas*, and seem to be a kind of altars, as upon these are placed provisions of all kinds as offerings to their gods. We have since seen whole hogs placed upon them ; and we found here the skulls of above fifty, besides the skulls of a great number of dogs.

The principal object of ambition among these people is to have a magnificent morai, and this was a striking memorial of the rank and power of Oberea. It has been remarked that we did not find her invested with the same authority that she exercised when the Dolphin was at this place, and we now learnt the reason of it. Our way from her house to the morai lay along the sea-side, and we observed everywhere under our feet a great number of human bones, chiefly ribs and vertebrae. Upon inquiring into the cause of so singular an appearance, we were told that in the then last month of *Owarahet*, which answered to our December 1768, about four or five months before our arrival, the people of Tiarrabou, the S. E. peninsula which we had just visited, made a descent at this place, and killed a great number of people, whose bones were those that we saw upon the shore : that, upon this occasion, Oberea and Oamo, who then administered the government for his son, had fled to the mountains ; and that the conquerors burnt all the houses, which were very large, and carried away the hogs, and what other animals they found. We learnt also that the turkey and goose, which we had seen when we were with Mathiabo, the stealer of cloaks, were among the spoils : this accounted for their being found among people with whom the Dolphin had little or no communication ; and upon mentioning the jaw-bones, which we had seen hanging from a board in a long house, we were told that they also had been carried away as trophies, the people here carrying away the jaw-bones of their enemies as the Indians of North America do the scalps.

After having thus gratified our curiosity we returned to our quarters, where we passed the night in perfect security and quiet. By the next evening we arrived at Atahourou, the residence of our friend Tootahah, where, the last time we passed the night under his protection, we had been obliged to leave the best part of our clothes behind us. This adventure, however, seemed now to be forgotten on both sides. Our friends received us with great pleasure, and gave us a good supper and a good lodging, where we suffered neither loss nor disturbance.

The next day, Saturday July the 1st, we got back to our fort at Matavai, having found the circuit of the island, including both peninsulas, to be about thirty leagues. Upon our complaining of the want of bread-fruit, we were told that the produce of the last season was nearly exhausted, and that what was seen sprouting upon the trees would not be fit to use in less than three months: this accounted for our having been able to procure so little of it in our route. While the bread-fruit is ripening upon the flats, the inhabitants are supplied in some measure from the trees which they have planted upon the hills to preserve a succession; but the quantity is not sufficient to prevent scarcity: they live, therefore, upon the sour paste, which they call *Mahie*, upon wild plantains and ahee nuts, which at this time are in perfection. How it happened that the Dolphin, which was here at this season, found such plenty of bread-fruit upon the trees I cannot tell, except the season in which they ripen varies.

At our return our Indian friends crowded about us, and none of them came empty-handed. Though I had determined to restore the canoes which had been detained to their owners, it had not yet been done; but I now released them as they were applied for. Upon this occasion I could not but remark with concern that these people were capable of practising petty frauds against each other, with a deliberate dishonesty, which gave me a much worse opinion of them than I had ever entertained from the robberies they committed, under the strong temptation to which a sudden opportunity of enriching themselves with the inestimable metal and manufactures of Europe exposed them. Among others who applied to me for the release of a canoe, was one POTATTOW, a man of some consequence, well known to us all. I consented, supposing the vessel to be his own, or that he applied on the behalf of a friend: he went immediately to the beach, and took possession of one of the boats, which, with the assistance of his people, he began to carry off. Upon this, however, it was eagerly claimed by the right owners, who, supported by the other Indians, clamorously reproached him for invading their property, and prepared to take the canoe from him by force. Upon this he desired to be heard, and told them that the canoe did, indeed, once belong to those who claimed it; but that I, having seized it as a forfeit, had sold it to him for a pig. This silenced the clamour: the owners, knowing that from my power there was no appeal, acquiesced; and Potattow would have carried off his prize, if the dispute had not fortunately been overheard by some of our people, who reported it to me. I gave orders immediately that the Indians should be undeceived; upon which the right owners took possession of their canoe, and Potattow was so conscious of his guilt, that neither he nor his wife, who was privy to his knavery, could look us in the face for some time afterwards.

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CHAPTER XVI.—AN EXPEDITION OF MR. BANKS TO TRACE THE RIVER.—MARKS OF SUBTERRANEAN FIRE.—PREPARATIONS FOR LEAVING THE ISLAND.—AN ACCOUNT OF TUPIA.

On the 3rd Mr. Banks set out early in the morning with some Indian guides, to trace our river up the valley from which it issues, and examine how far its banks were inhabited. For about six miles they met with houses, not far distant from each other, on each side of the river, and the valley was everywhere about four hundred yards wide from the foot of the hill on one side to the foot of that on the other; but they were now shown a house which they were told was the last that they would see. When they came up to it, the master of it offered them refreshments of cocoa-nuts and other fruits, of which they accepted. After a short stay, they walked forward for a considerable time: in bad way it is not easy to compute distances; but they imagined that they had walked about six miles farther, following the course of the river, when they frequently passed under vaults, formed by fragments of the rock, in which they were told people who were benighted frequently passed the night. Soon after they found the river banked by steep rocks, from which a cascade, falling with great violence, formed a pool, so steep, that the Indians said they could not pass it. They seemed, indeed, not much to be acquainted with the valley beyond this place,



their business lying chiefly upon the declivity of the rocks on each side, and the plains which extended on their summits, where they found plenty of wild plantain, which they called *Vae*. The way up these rocks from the banks of the river was in every respect dreadful: the sides were nearly perpendicular, and in some places one hundred feet high: they were also rendered exceedingly slippery by the water of innumerable springs which issued from the fissures on the surface; yet up these precipices a way was to be traced by a succession of long pieces of the bark of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, which served as a rope for the climber to take hold of, and assisted him in scrambling from one ledge to another, though upon these ledges there was footing only for an Indian or a goat. One of these ropes was nearly thirty feet in length, and their guides offered to assist them in mounting this pass, but recommended another at a little distance lower down, as less difficult and dangerous. They took a view of this "better way," but found it so bad that they did not choose to attempt it, as there was nothing at the top to reward their toil and hazard, but a grove of the wild plantain or *vae* tree, which they had often seen before.



MOUNTAIN SCENERY OF OTAHEITE.

During this excursion, Mr. Banks had an excellent opportunity to examine the rocks, which were almost everywhere naked, for minerals; but he found not the least appearance of any. The stones everywhere, like those of Madeira, showed manifest tokens of having been burnt; nor is there a single specimen of any stone, among all those that were collected in the island, upon which there are not manifest and indubitable marks of fire; except, perhaps, some small pieces of the hatchet-stone, and even of that, other fragments were collected which were burnt almost to a pumice. Traces of fire were also manifest in the very clay upon the hills; and it may therefore, not unreasonably be supposed that this and the neighbouring islands are either shattered remains of a continent which some have supposed to be necessary in this part of the globe, to preserve an equilibrium of its parts, which were left behind when the rest sunk by the mining of a subterraneous fire, so as to give a passage to the sea over it; or were torn from rocks, which, from the creation of the world, had been the bed of the sea, and thrown up in heaps to a height which the waters never reach. One or other of these suppositions will perhaps be thought the more probable, as the water does not gradually grow shallow as the shore is approached, and the islands are almost everywhere surrounded by reefs, which appear to be rude and broken, as some

violent concussion would naturally leave the solid substance of the earth. It may also be remarked upon this occasion, that the most probable cause of earthquakes seems to be the sudden rushing in of water upon some vast mass of subterraneous fire, by the instantaneous rarefaction of which into vapour the mine is sprung, and various substances in all stages of vitrification, with shells, and other marine productions that are now found fossil, and the strata that covered the furnace, are thrown up, while those parts of the land which were supported upon the broken shell give way, and sink into the gulf. With this theory the phenomena of all earthquakes seem to agree: pools of water are frequently left where land has subsided; and various substances which manifestly appear to have suffered by the action of fire, are thrown up. It is indeed true that fire cannot subsist without air; but this cannot be urged against there being fire below that part of the earth which forms the bed of the sea; because there may be innumerable fissures by which a communication between those parts and the external air may be kept up, even upon the highest mountains, and at the greatest distance from the sea-shore.

On the 4th, Mr. Banks employed himself in planting a great quantity of the seeds of water-melons, oranges, lemons, limes, and other plants and trees which he had collected at Rio de Janeiro. For these he prepared ground on each side of the fort, with as many varieties of soil as he could choose; and there is little doubt but that they will succeed. He also gave liberally of these seeds to the Indians, and planted many of them in the woods: some of the melon seeds having been planted soon after our arrival, the natives showed him several of the plants, which appeared to be in the most flourishing condition, and were continually asking him for more.

We now began to prepare for our departure, by bending the sails and performing other necessary operations on board the ship, our water being already on board, and the provisions examined. In the mean time we had another visit from Oamo, Oberea, and their son and daughter; the Indians expressing their respect by uncovering the upper parts of their body as they had done before. The daughter, whose name we understood to be TOIMATA, was very desirous to see the fort, but her father would by no means suffer her to come in. Tearee, the son of Waheatua, the sovereign of Tiarrabou, the south-east peninsula, was also with us at this time; and we received intelligence of the landing of another guest, whose company was neither expected nor desired: this was no other than the ingenious gentleman who contrived to steal our quadrant. We were told that he intended to try his fortune again in the night; but the Indians all offered very zealously to assist us against him, desiring that, for this purpose, they might be permitted to lie in the fort. This had so good an effect, that the thief relinquished his enterprise in despair.

On the 7th, the carpenters were employed in taking down the gates and palisadoes of our little fortification, for firewood on board the ship; and one of the Indians had dexterity enough to steal the staple and hook upon which the gate turned; he was immediately pursued, and after a chase of six miles, he appeared to have been passed, having concealed himself among some rushes in the brook; the rushes were searched, and though the thief had escaped, a scraper was found which had been stolen from the ship some time before; and soon after our old friend Tubourai Tamaide brought us the staple. On the 8th and 9th we continued to dismantle our fort, and our friends still flocked about us; some, I believe, sorry at the approach of our departure, and others desirous to make as much as they could of us while we staid.

We were in hopes that we should now leave the island, without giving or receiving any other offence; but it unfortunately happened otherwise. Two foreign seamen having been out with my permission, one of them was robbed of his knife, and endeavouring to recover it, probably with circumstances of great provocation, the Indians attacked him, and dangerously wounded him with a stone; they wounded his companion also slightly in the head, and then fled into the mountains. As I should have been sorry to take any farther notice of the affair, I was not displeased that the offenders had escaped; but I was immediately involved in a quarrel which I very much regretted, and which yet it was not possible to avoid.

In the middle of the night between the 8th and 9th, Clement Webb and Samuel Gibson,



two of the marines, both young men, went privately from the fort, and in the morning were not to be found. As public notice had been given, that all hands were to go on board on the next day, and that the ship would sail on the morrow of that day or the day following, I began to fear that the absentees intended to stay behind. I knew that I could take no effectual steps to recover them, without endangering the harmony and good-will which at present subsisted among us; and therefore determined to wait a day for the chance of their return. On Monday morning the 10th, the marines, to my great concern, not being returned, an inquiry was made after them of the Indians, who frankly told us that they did not intend to return, and had taken refuge in the mountains, where it was impossible for our people to find them. They were then requested to assist in the search, and after some deliberation, two of them undertook to conduct such persons as I should think proper to send after them to the place of their retreat. As they were known to be without arms, I thought two would be sufficient, and accordingly despatched a petty officer, and the corporal of the marines, with the Indian guides, to fetch them back. As the recovery of these men was a matter of great importance, as I had no time to lose, and as the Indians spoke doubtfully of their return, telling us, that they had each of them taken a wife, and were become inhabitants of the country, it was intimated to several of the chiefs who were in the fort with their women, among whom were Tubourai Tamaide, Tomio, and Oberea, that they would not be permitted to leave it till our deserters were brought back. This precaution I thought the more necessary, as, by concealing them a few days, they might compel me to go without them; and I had the pleasure to observe that they received the intimation with very little signs either of fear or discontent; assuring me that my people should be secured and sent back as soon as possible. While this was doing at the fort, I sent Mr. Hicks in the pinnace to fetch Tootahah on board the ship, which he did, without alarming either him or his people. If the Indian guides proved faithful and in earnest, I had reason to expect the return of my people with the deserters before evening. Being disappointed, my suspicions increased; and night coming on, I thought it was not safe to let the people whom I had detained as hostages continue at the fort, and I therefore ordered Tubourai Tamaide, Oberea, and some others, to be taken on board the ship. This spread a general alarm, and several of them, especially the women, expressed their apprehensions with great emotion and many tears when they were put into the boat. I went on board with them, and Mr. Banks remained on shore, with some others whom I thought it of less consequence to secure.

About nine o'clock, Webb was brought back by some of the natives, who declared that Gibson, and the petty officer and corporal, would be detained till Tootahah should be set at liberty. The tables were now turned upon me; but I had proceeded too far to retreat. I immediately despatched Mr. Hicks in the long-boat, with a strong party of men, to rescue the prisoners, and told Tootahah that it behoved him to send some of his people with them, with orders to afford them effectual assistance, and to demand the release of my men in his name, for that I should expect him to answer for the contrary. He readily complied: this party recovered my men without the least opposition; and about seven o'clock in the morning returned with them to the ship, though they had not been able to recover the arms which had been taken from them when they were seized: these, however, were brought on board in less than half an hour, and the chiefs were immediately set at liberty.

When I questioned the petty officer concerning what had happened on shore, he told me, that neither the natives who went with him, nor those whom they met in their way, would give them any intelligence of the deserters; but, on the contrary, became very troublesome: that, as he was returning for further orders to the ship, he and his comrade were suddenly seized by a number of armed men, who having learnt that Tootahah was confined, had concealed themselves in a wood for that purpose, and who, having taken them at a disadvantage, forced their weapons out of their hands, and declared that they would detain them till their chief should be set at liberty. He said, however, that the Indians were not unanimous in this measure; that some were for setting them at liberty, and others for detaining them; that an eager dispute ensued, and that from words they came to blows, but that the party for detaining them at length prevailed; that soon after Webb and Gibson were brought in by a party of the natives, as prisoners, that they also might be secured

as hostages for the chief; but that it was, after some debate, resolved to send Webb to inform me of their resolution, to assure me that his companions were safe, and direct me where I might send my answer. Thus it appears, that, whatever were the disadvantages of seizing the chiefs, I should never have recovered my men by any other method. When the chiefs were set on shore from the ship, those at the fort were also set at liberty, and, after staying with Mr. Banks about an hour, they all went away. Upon this occasion, as they had done upon another of the same kind, they expressed their joy by an undeserved liberality, strongly urging us to accept of four hogs. These we absolutely refused as a present, and they as absolutely refusing to be paid for them, the hogs did not change masters. Upon examining the deserters, we found that the account which the Indians had given of them was true: they had strongly attached themselves to two girls, and it was their intention to conceal themselves till the ship had sailed, and take up their residence upon the island. This night everything was got off from the shore, and everybody slept on board.

Among the natives who were almost constantly with us, was Tupia, whose name has been often mentioned in this narrative. He had been, as I have before observed, the first minister of Oberea, when she was in the height of her power: he was also the chief Tahowa or priest of the island, consequently well acquainted with the religion of the country, as well with respect to its ceremonies as principles. He had also great experience and knowledge in navigation, and was particularly acquainted with the number and situation of the neighbouring islands. This man had often expressed a desire to go with us, and on the 12th in the morning, having, with the other natives, left us the day before, he came on board, with a boy about thirteen years of age, his servant, and urged us to let him proceed with us on our voyage. To have such a person on board was certainly desirable, for many reasons; by learning his language, and teaching him ours, we should be able to acquire a much better knowledge of the customs, policy, and religion of the people, than our short stay among them could give us; I therefore gladly agreed to receive them on board. As we were prevented from sailing to-day, by having found it necessary to make new stocks to our small and best bower anchors, the old ones having been totally destroyed by the worms, Tupia said, he would go once more on shore, and make a signal for the boat to fetch him off in the evening. He went accordingly, and took with him a miniature picture of Mr. Banks, to show his friends, and several little things to give them as parting presents.

After dinner, Mr. Banks being desirous to procure a drawing of the Morai belonging to Tootahah at Eparré, I attended him thither, accompanied by Dr. Solander, in the pinnace. As soon as we landed, many of our friends came to meet us, though some absented themselves in resentment of what had happened the day before. We immediately proceeded to Tootahah's house, where we were joined by Oberea, with several others who had not come out to meet us, and a perfect reconciliation was soon brought about; in consequence of which they promised to visit us early the next day, to take a last farewell of us, as we told them we should certainly set sail in the afternoon. At this place also we found Tupia, who returned with us, and slept this night on board the ship for the first time.

On the next morning, Thursday the 13th of July, the ship was very early crowded with our friends, and surrounded by a multitude of canoes, which were filled with the natives of an inferior class. Between eleven and twelve we weighed anchor, and as soon as the ship was under sail, the Indians on board took their leaves, and wept, with a decent and silent sorrow, in which there was something very striking and tender: the people in the canoes, on the contrary, seemed to vie with each other in the loudness of their lamentations, which we considered rather as affectation than grief. Tupia sustained himself in this scene with a firmness and resolution truly admirable: he wept, indeed, but the effort that he made to conceal his tears concurred with them to do him honour. He sent his last present, a shirt, by Otheothea, to Potomai, Tootahah's favourite mistress, and then went with Mr. Banks to the mast-head, waving to the canoes as long as they continued in sight.

Thus we took leave of Otaheite, and its inhabitants, after a stay of just three months; for much the greater part of the time we lived together in the most cordial friendship, and a perpetual reciprocation of good offices. The accidental differences which now and then happened could not be more sincerely regretted on their part than they were on ours: the



principal causes were such as necessarily resulted from our situation and circumstances, in conjunction with the infirmities of human nature, from our not being able perfectly to understand each other, and from the disposition of the inhabitants to theft, which we could not at all times bear with or prevent. They had not, however, except in one instance, been attended with any fatal consequence; and to that accident were owing the measures that I took to prevent others of the same kind. I hoped, indeed, to have availed myself of the impression which had been made upon them by the lives that had been sacrificed in their contest with the *Dolphin*\*, so as that the intercourse between us should have been carried on wholly without bloodshed; and by this hope all my measures were directed during the whole of my continuance at the island; and I sincerely wish, that whoever shall next visit it may be still more fortunate. Our traffic here was carried on with as much order as in the best regulated market in Europe. It was managed principally by Mr. Banks, who was indefatigable in procuring provisions and refreshments while they were to be had; but during the latter part of our time they became scarce, partly by the increased consumption at the fort and ship, and partly by the coming on of the season in which cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit fail. All kind of fruit we purchased for beads and nails; but no nails less than fortypenny were current: after a very short time we could never get a pig of more than ten or twelve pounds for less than a hatchet; because, though these people set a high value upon spike-nails, yet these being an article with which many people in the ship were provided, the women found a much more easy way of procuring them than by bringing down provisions.

The best articles for traffic here are axes, hatchets, spikes, large nails, looking-glasses, knives, and beads; for some of which, everything that the natives have may be procured. They are indeed fond of fine linen cloth, both white and printed; but an axe worth half-a-crown will fetch more than a piece of cloth worth twenty shillings.

CHAPTER XVII.—A PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND—ITS PRODUCE AND INHABITANTS—THEIR DRESS, HABITATIONS, FOOD, DOMESTIC LIFE, AND AMUSEMENTS.

WE found the longitude of Port-Royal bay, in this island, as settled by Captain Wallis, who discovered it on the 9th of June 1767, to be within half a degree of the truth. We found Point Venus, the northern extremity of the island, and the eastern point of the bay, to lie in the longitude of  $149^{\circ} 13'$ , this being the mean result of a great number of observations made upon the spot. The island is surrounded by a reef of coral rock, which forms several excellent bays and harbours, some of which have been particularly described, where there is room and depth of water for any number of the largest ships. Port-Royal bay, called, by the natives, Matavai, which is not inferior to any in Otaheite, may easily be known by a very high mountain in the middle of the island, which bears due south from Point Venus. To sail into it, either keep the west point of the reef that lies before Point Venus close on board, or give it a berth of near half a mile, in order to avoid a small shoal of coral rocks, on which there is but two fathom and a half of water. The best anchoring is on the eastern side of the bay, where there is sixteen and fourteen fathom upon an oozy bottom. The shore of the bay is a fine sandy beach, behind which runs a river of fresh water, so that any number of ships may water here without incommoding each other; but the only wood for firing, upon the whole island, is that of fruit-trees, which must be purchased of the natives, or all hope of living upon good terms with them given up. There are some harbours to the westward of this bay, which have not been mentioned; but, as they are contiguous to it, and laid down in the map, a description of them is unnecessary.

The face of the country, except that part of it which borders upon the sea, is very uneven; it rises in ridges that run up into the middle of the island, and there form mountains, which may be seen at the distance of sixty miles: between the foot of these ridges

\* This happened on Captain Wallis's arrival, and was attended with considerable loss to the natives, upon whom the ship's guns were repeatedly fired.—Ed.

and the sea is a border of low land, surrounding the whole island, except in a few places where the ridges rise directly from the sea: the border of low land is in different parts of different breadths, but nowhere more than a mile and a half. The soil, except upon the very tops of the ridges, is extremely rich and fertile, watered by a great number of rivulets of excellent water, and covered with fruit-trees of various kinds, some of which are of a stately growth and thick foliage, so as to form one continued wood; and even the tops of the ridges, though in general they are bare, and burnt up by the sun, are, in some parts, not without their produce. The low land that lies between the foot of the ridges and the sea, and some of the valleys, are the only parts of the island that are inhabited, and here it is populous: the houses do not form villages or towns, but are ranged along the whole border at the distance of about fifty yards from each other, with little plantations of plantains, and the tree which furnishes them with cloth. The whole island, according to Tupia's account, who certainly knew, could furnish six thousand seven hundred and eighty fighting men, from which the number of inhabitants may easily be computed.

The produce of this island is bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, bananas, of thirteen sorts, the best we had ever eaten; plantains; a fruit not unlike an apple, which, when ripe, is very pleasant; sweet potatoes, yams, cocoas, a kind of *Arum*; a fruit known here by the name of *Jambu*, and reckoned most delicious; sugar-cane, which the inhabitants eat raw; a root of the salop kind, called by the inhabitants *Pea*; a plant called *Ethee*, of which the root only is eaten; a fruit that grows in a pod, like that of a large kidney-bean, which, when it is roasted, eats very much like a chesnut, by the natives called *Ahee*; a tree called *Wharra*, called in the East Indies *Pandanes*, which produces fruit, something like the pine-apple; a shrub called *Nono*; the *Morinda*, which also produces fruit; a species of fern, of which the root is eaten, and sometimes the leaves; and a plant called *Theve*, of which the root also is eaten: but the fruits of the *Nono*, the fern, and the *Theve*, are eaten only by the inferior people, and in times of scarcity. All these, which serve the inhabitants for food, the earth produces spontaneously, or with so little culture, that they seem to be exempted from the first general curse, that "man should eat his bread in the sweat of his brow." They have also the Chinese paper mulberry, *Morus papyrifera*, which they call *Aouta*; a tree resembling the wild fig-tree of the West Indies; another species of fig, which they call *Matte*; the *Cordia sebestina orientalis*, which they call *Etou*; a kind of Cyperus grass, which they call *Moo*; a species of *Tournefortia*, which they call *Takeinoo*; another of the *Convolvulus poluce*, which they call *Eurhe*; the *Solanum centifolium*, which they call *Ebooa*; the *Calophyllum mophyllum*, which they call *Tamannu*; the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, called *Poerou*, a frutescent nettle; the *Urtica argentea*, called *Erowa*; with many other plants which cannot here be particularly mentioned: those that have been named already will be referred to in the subsequent part of this work. They have no European fruit, garden stuff, pulse, or legumes, nor grain of any kind.

Of tame animals they have only hogs, dogs, and poultry; neither is there a wild animal in the island, except ducks, pigeons, paroquets, with a few other birds, and rats, there being no other quadruped, nor any serpent. But the sea supplies them with great variety of most excellent fish, to eat which is their chief luxury, and to catch it their principal labour.

As to the people, they are of the largest size of Europeans. The men are tall, strong, well-limbed, and finely shaped. The tallest that we saw was a man upon a neighbouring island, called HUAHEINE, who measured six feet three inches and a half. The women of the superior rank are also in general above our middle stature, but those of the inferior class are rather below it, and some of them are very small. This defect in size probably proceeds from their early commerce with men, the only thing in which they differ from their superiors that could possibly affect their growth. Their natural complexion is that kind of clear olive, or *brunette*, which many people in Europe prefer to the finest white and red. In those that are exposed to the wind and sun, it is considerably deepened, but in others that live under shelter, especially the superior class of women, it continues of its native hue, and the skin is most delicately smooth and soft: they have no tint in their cheeks which we distinguish by the name of colour. The shape of the face is comely, the cheek-bones



are not high, neither are the eyes hollow, nor the brow prominent: the only feature that does not correspond with our ideas of beauty is the nose, which, in general, is somewhat flat; but their eyes, especially those of the women, are full of expression, sometimes sparkling with fire, and sometimes melting with softness; their teeth also are, almost without exception, most beautifully even and white, and their breath perfectly without taint.

The hair is almost universally black, and rather coarse: the men have beards, which they wear in many fashions, always, however, plucking out great part of them, and keeping the rest perfectly clean and neat. Both sexes also eradicate every hair from under their arms, and accused us of great uncleanness for not doing the same. In their motions there is at once vigour and ease; their walk is graceful, their deportment liberal, and their behaviour to strangers and to each other affable and courteous. In their dispositions, also, they seemed to be brave, open, and candid, without either suspicion or treachery, cruelty or revenge; so that we placed the same confidence in them as in our best friends, many of us, particularly Mr. Banks, sleeping frequently in their houses in the woods, without a companion, and consequently wholly in their power. They were, however, all thieves;

and when that is allowed, they need not much fear a competition with the people of any other nation upon earth. During our stay in this island, we saw about five or six persons, like one that was met by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander on the 24th of April, in their walk to the eastward, whose skins were of a dead white, like the nose of a white horse; with white hair, beard, brows, and eye-lashes; red, tender eyes; a short sight, and scurfy skins, covered with a kind of white down; but we found that no two of these belonged to the same family, and therefore concluded, that they were not a species, but unhappy individuals, rendered anomalous by disease.

It is a custom in most countries where the inhabitants have long hair, for the men to cut it short, and the women to pride themselves in its length. Here, however, the contrary custom prevails; the women always cut it short round their ears, and the men, except the fishers, who are almost continually in the water, suffer it to flow in large waves over their shoulders, or tie it up in a bunch on the top of their heads. They have a custom, also, of anointing their heads with what they call *Monoe*, an oil expressed from the cocoa-nut, in which some sweet herbs or flowers have been infused: as the oil is generally rancid, the smell is at first very disagreeable to a European; and as they live in a hot country, and have no such thing as a comb, they are not able to keep their heads free from lice, which the children and common people sometimes pick out and eat: a hateful custom, wholly different from their manners in every other particular; for they are delicate and cleanly almost without example; and those to whom we distributed combs soon delivered themselves from vermin, with a diligence which showed that they were not more odious to us than to them.

They have a custom of staining their bodies, nearly in the same manner as is practised in many other parts of the world, which they call *Tattooing*. They prick the skin, so as just not to fetch blood, with a small instrument, something in the form of a hoe; that part which answers to the blade is made of a bone or shell, scraped very thin, and is from a quarter of an inch to an inch and a half wide; the edge is cut into sharp teeth or points, from the number of three to twenty, according to its size: when this is to be used, they dip the teeth into a mixture of a kind of lamp-black, formed of the smoke that rises from an oily nut which they burn instead of candles, and water; the teeth, thus prepared, are

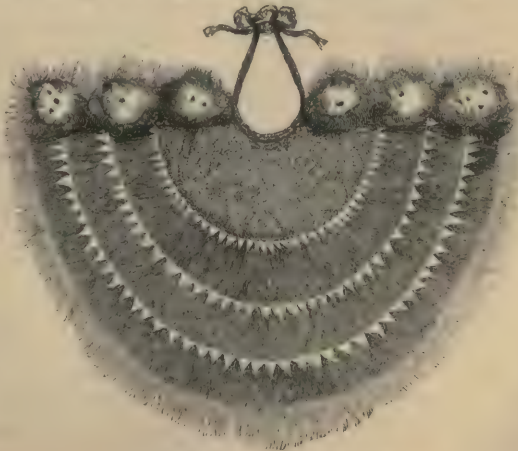


HEAD OF TAHITIEN WOMAN.

placed upon the skin, and the handle to which they are fastened being struck, by quick smart blows, with a stick fitted to the purpose, they pierce it, and at the same time carry into the puncture the black composition, which leaves an indelible stain. The operation is painful, and it is some days before the wounds are healed. It is performed upon the youth of both sexes when they are about twelve or fourteen years of age, on several parts of the body, and in various figures, according to the fancy of the parent, or perhaps the rank of the party. The women are generally marked with this stain, in the form of a Z, on every joint of their fingers and toes, and frequently round the outside of their feet: the men are also marked with the same figure, and both men and women have squares, circles, crescents, and ill-designed representations of men, birds, or dogs, and various other devices impressed upon their legs, and arms, some of which, we are told, had significations, though we could never learn what they were. But the part on which these ornaments are lavished with the greatest profusion is the breech: this, in both sexes, is covered with a deep black; above which, arches are drawn one over another as high as the short ribs. They are often a quarter of an inch broad, and the edges are not straight lines, but indented. These arches are their pride, and are shown both by men and women with a mixture of ostentation and pleasure; whether as an ornament, or a proof of their fortitude and resolution in bearing pain, we could not determine. The face in general is left unmarked: for we saw but one instance to the contrary. Some old men had the greatest part of their bodies covered with large patches of black, deeply indented at the edges, like a rude imitation of flame; but we were told, that they came from a low island, called Noovoora, and were not natives of Otaheite.

Mr. Banks saw the operation of *tattooing* performed upon the backside of a girl about thirteen years old. The instrument used upon this occasion had thirty teeth, and every stroke, of which at least a hundred were made in a minute, drew an ichor or serum a little tinged with blood. The girl bore it with most stoical resolution for about a quarter of an hour; but the pain of so many hundred punctures as she had received in that time then became intolerable: she first complained in murmurs, then wept, and at last burst into loud lamentations, earnestly imploring the operator to desist. He was, however, inexorable; and when she began to struggle, she was held down by two women, who sometimes soothed and sometimes chid her, and now and then, when she was most unruly, gave her a smart blow. Mr. Banks staid in a neighbouring house an hour, and the operation was not over when he went away; yet it was performed but upon one side, the other having been done some time before; and the arches upon the loins, in which they most pride themselves, and which give more pain than all the rest, were still to be done. It is strange that these people should value themselves upon what is no distinction; for I never saw a native of this island, either man or woman, in a state of maturity, in whom these marks were wanting: possibly they may have their rise in superstition, especially as they produce no visible advantage, and are not made without great pain; but though we inquired of many hundreds, we could never get any account of the matter.

Their clothing consists of cloth or matting of different kinds, which will be described among their other manufactures. The cloth which will not bear wetting they wear in dry weather, and the matting when it rains: they are put on in many different ways, just as their fancy leads them; for in their garments nothing is cut into shape, nor are any two pieces sewed together. The dress of the better sort of women consists of three or four pieces: one piece, about two yards wide, and eleven yards long, they wrap several times round their waist, so as to hang down like a petticoat as low as the middle of the leg,



MAT-WORK TIPPET OF A CHIEF.



and this they call *Parou*: two or three other pieces, about two yards and a half long, and one wide, each having a hole cut in the middle, they place one upon another, and then putting the head through the holes, they bring the long ends down before and behind; the others remain open at the sides, and give liberty to the arms: this, which they call the *Tebuta*, is gathered round the waist, and confined with a girdle or sash of thinner cloth, which is long enough to go many times round them, and exactly resembles the garment worn by the inhabitants of Peru and Chili, which the Spaniards call *Poncho*. The dress of the men is the same, except that, instead of suffering the cloth that is wound about the hips to hang down like a petticoat, they bring it between their legs so as to have some resemblance to breeches, and it is then called *Maro*. This is the dress of all ranks of people, and being universally the same as to form, the gentlemen and ladies distinguish themselves from the lower people by the quantity: some of them will wrap round them several pieces of cloth, eight or ten yards long, and two or three broad; and some throw a large piece loosely over their shoulders, in the manner of a cloak; or perhaps two pieces, if they are very great personages, and are desirous to appear in state. The inferior sort, who have only a small allowance of cloth from the tribes or families to which they belong, are obliged to be more thinly clad. In the heat of the day, they appear almost naked, the women having only a scanty petticoat, and the men nothing but the sash that is passed between their legs and fastened round the waist. As finery is always troublesome, and particularly in a hot country, where it consists in putting one covering upon another, the women of rank always uncover themselves as low as the waist in the evening, throwing off all that they wear on the upper part of the body, with the same negligence and ease as our ladies would lay by a cardinal or double handkerchief. And the chiefs, even when they visited us, though they had as much cloth round their middle as would clothe a dozen people, had frequently the rest of the body quite naked.



SPECIMENS OF CAPS.

Upon their legs and feet, they wear no covering; but they shade their faces from the sun with little bonnets, either of matting or of cocoa-nut leaves, which they make occasionally in a few minutes. This, however, is not all their head-dress; the women sometimes wear little turbans, and sometimes a dress which they value much more, and which, indeed, is much more becoming, called *tomou*: the *tomou* consists of human hair, plaited in threads, scarcely thicker than sewing-silk. Mr. Banks has pieces of it above a mile in length, without a knot. These they wind round the head in such a manner as produces a very pretty effect, and in a very great quantity; for I have seen five or six such pieces wound about the head of one woman: among these threads they stick flowers of various kinds, particularly the Cape-jessamine, of which they have great plenty, as it is always planted near their houses. The men sometimes stick the tail-feather of the tropic-bird upright in their hair, which, as I have observed before, is often tied in a bunch upon the top of their heads: sometimes they wear a kind of whimsical garland, made of flowers of various kinds, stuck into a piece of the rind of a plantain; or of scarlet peas, stuck with gum upon a piece

of wood : and sometimes they wear a kind of wig, made of the hair of men or dogs, or perhaps of cocoa-nut strings, woven upon one thread, which is tied under their hair, so that these artificial honours of their head may hang down behind. Their personal ornaments, besides flowers, are few ; both sexes wear ear-rings, but they are placed only on one side : when we came they consisted of small pieces of shell, stone, berries, red peas, or some small pearls, three in a string ; but our beads very soon supplanted them all. The children go quite naked : the girls till they are three or four years old ; and the boys till they are six or seven.

The houses, or rather dwellings, of these people have been occasionally mentioned before : they are all built in the wood between the sea and the mountains, and no more ground is cleared for each house than just sufficient to prevent the dropping of the branches from rotting the thatch with which they are covered ; from the house, therefore, the inhabitant steps immediately under the shade, which is the most delightful that can be imagined. It consists of groves of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, without underwood, which are intersected, in all directions, by the paths that lead from one house to the other. Nothing can be more grateful than this shade in so warm a climate, nor anything more beautiful than these walks. As there is no underwood, the shade cools without impeding the air ; and the houses having no walls, receive the gale from whatever point it blows. I shall now give a particular description of a house of a middling size, from which, as the structure is universally the same, a perfect idea may be formed both of those that are bigger and those that are less.

The ground which it covers is an oblong square, four-and-twenty feet long, and eleven wide ; over this a roof is raised upon three rows of pillars or posts, parallel to each other, one on each side, and the other in the middle. This roof consists of two flat sides inclining to each other, and terminating in a ridge, exactly like the roofs of our thatched houses in England. The utmost height within is about nine feet, and the eaves on each side reach to within about three feet and a half of the ground : below this, and through the whole height, at each end, it is open, no part of it being inclosed with a wall. The roof is thatched with palm-leaves, and the floor is covered, some inches deep, with soft hay : over this are laid mats, so that the whole is one cushion, upon which they sit in the day and sleep in the night. In some houses, however, there is one stool, which is wholly appropriated to the master of the family ; besides this, they have no furniture, except a few little blocks of wood, the upper side of which is hollowed into a curve, and which serves them for pillows.

The house is indeed principally used as a dormitory ; for, except it rains, they eat in the open air, under the shade of the next tree. The clothes that they wear in the day serve them for covering in the night : the floor is the common bed of the whole household, and is not divided by any partition. The master of the house and his wife sleep in the middle, next to them the married people, next to them the unmarried women, and next to them, at a little distance, the unmarried men : the servants, or *toutous*, as they are called, sleep in the open air, except it rains ; and in that case they come just within the shade.

There are, however, houses of another kind belonging to the chiefs, in which there is some degree of privacy. These are much smaller, and so constructed as to be carried about in their canoes from place to place, and set up occasionally like a tent : they are inclosed on the sides with cocoa-nut leaves, but not so close as to exclude the air ; and the chief and his wife sleep in them alone. There are houses also of a much larger size, not built either for the accommodation of a single chief or a single family ; but as common receptacles for all



MANTLE OF A CHIEF.



the people of a district. Some of them are two hundred feet long, thirty broad, and, under the ridge, twenty feet high : these are built and maintained at the common expense of the district, for the accommodation of which they are intended ; and have on one side of them a large area, inclosed with low palisadoes.



INTERIOR OF A POLYNESIAN HOUSE.

These houses, like those of separate families, have no walls. Privacy, indeed, is little wanted among people who have not even the idea of indecency, and who gratify every appetite and passion before witnesses with no more sense of impropriety than we feel when we satisfy our hunger at a social board with our family or friends. These who have no idea of indecency with respect to actions, can have none with respect to words ; it is, therefore, scarcely necessary to observe that in the conversation of these people, that which is the principal source of their pleasure is always the principal topic ; and that everything is mentioned without any restraint or emotion, and in the most direct terms, by both sexes.

Of the food eaten here the greater part is vegetable. Here are no tame animals except hogs, dogs, and poultry, as I have observed before, and these are by no means plenty. When a chief kills a hog, it is almost equally divided among his dependants ; and, as they are very numerous, the share of each individual at these feasts, which are not frequent, must necessarily be small. Dogs and fowls fall somewhat more frequently to the share of the common people. I cannot much commend the flavour of their fowls ; but we all agreed that a South-sea dog was little inferior to an English lamb : their excellence is probably owing to their being kept up, and fed wholly upon vegetables. The sea affords them a great variety of fish. The smaller fish, when they catch any, are generally eaten raw, as we eat oysters ; and nothing that the sea produces comes amiss to them : they are fond of lobsters, crabs, and other shell-fish, which are found upon the coast ; and they will eat not only sea-insects, but what the seamen call *blubbers*, though some of them are so tough, that they are obliged to suffer them to become putrid before they can be chewed. Of the many vegetables that have been mentioned already as serving them for food, the principal is the bread-fruit, to procure which costs them no trouble or labour but climbing a tree : the tree which produces it does

not indeed shoot up spontaneously ; but if a man plants ten of them in his lifetime, which he may do in about an hour, he will as completely fulfil his duty to his own and future generations as the natives of our less temperate climate can do by ploughing in the cold of winter, and reaping in the summer's heat, as often as these seasons return ; even if, after he has procured bread for his present household, he should convert a surplus into money, and lay it up for his children. It is true, indeed, that the bread-fruit is not always in season ; but cocoa-nuts, bananas, plantains, and a great variety of other fruits, supply the deficiency.

It may well be supposed that cookery is but little studied by these people as an art ; and indeed they have but two ways of applying fire to dress their food,—broiling and baking. The operation of broiling is so simple, that it requires no description ; and their baking has been described already (page 65), in the account of an entertainment prepared for us by Tupia. Hogs and large fish are extremely well dressed in the same manner ; and, in our opinion, were more juicy and more equally done than by any art of cookery now practised in Europe. Bread-fruit is also cooked in an oven of the same kind, which renders it soft, and something like a boiled potato ; not quite so farinaceous as a good one, but more so than those of the middling sort. Of the bread-fruit they also make three dishes, by putting either water or the milk of the cocoa-nut to it, then beating it to a paste with a stone pestle, and afterwards mixing it with ripe plantains, bananas, or the sour paste which they call *Mahie*.

The mahie, which has been mentioned as a succedaneum for ripe bread-fruit, before the season for gathering a fresh crop comes on, is thus made :—The fruit is gathered just before it is perfectly ripe, and being laid in heaps, is closely covered with leaves ; in this state it undergoes a fermentation, and becomes disagreeably sweet : the core is then taken out entire, which is done by gently pulling the stalk, and the rest of the fruit is thrown into a hole which is dug for that purpose, generally in the houses, and neatly lined in the bottom and sides with grass ; the whole is then covered with leaves, and heavy stones laid upon them : in this state it undergoes a second fermentation, and becomes sour, after which it will suffer no change for many months : it is taken out of the hole as it is wanted for use, and being made into balls, it is wrapped up in leaves and baked ; after it is dressed, it will keep five or six weeks. It is eaten both cold and hot, and the natives seldom make a meal without it, though to us the taste was as disagreeable as that of a pickled olive generally is the first time it is eaten.

As the making of this mahie depends, like brewing, upon fermentation, so, like brewing, it sometimes fails, without their being able to ascertain the cause ; it is very natural, therefore, that the making it should be connected with superstitious notions and ceremonies. It generally falls to the lot of the old women, who will suffer no creature to touch anything belonging to it, but those whom they employ as assistants, nor even to go into that part of the house where the operation is carrying on. Mr. Banks happened to spoil a large quantity of it only by inadvertently touching a leaf which lay upon it. The old woman who then presided over these mysteries told him that the process would fail, and immediately uncovered the hole in a fit of vexation and despair. Mr. Banks regretted the mischief he had done, but was somewhat consoled by the opportunity which it gave him of examining the preparation, which perhaps, but for such an accident, would never have offered.

Such is their food, to which salt-water is the universal sauce, no meal being eaten without it : those who live near the sea have it fetched as it is wanted ; those who live at some distance keep it in large bamboos, which are set up in their houses for use. Salt-water, however, is not their only sauce ; they make another of the kernels of cocoa-nuts, which being fermented till they dissolve into a paste somewhat resembling butter, are beaten up with salt-water. The flavour of this is very strong, and was, when we first tasted it, exceedingly nauseous ; a little use, however, reconciled some of our people to it so much, that they preferred it to our own sauces, especially with fish. The natives seemed to consider it as a dainty, and do not use it at their common meals ; possibly, because they think it ill management to use cocoa-nuts so lavishly, or perhaps, when we were at the island, they were scarcely ripe enough for the purpose.



For drink, they have in general nothing but water, or the juice of the cocoa-nut ; the art of producing liquors that intoxicate, by fermentation, being happily unknown among them ; neither have they any narcotic which they chew, as the natives of some other countries do opium, betel-root, and tobacco. Some of them drank freely of our liquors, and in a few instances became very drunk ; but the persons to whom this happened were so far from desiring to repeat the debauch, that they would never touch any of our liquors afterwards. We were, however, informed, that they became drunk by drinking a juice that is expressed from the leaves of a plant which they call *Ara Ara*. This plant was not in season when we were there, so that we saw no instances of its effects ; and as they considered drunkenness as a disgrace, they probably would have concealed from us any instances which might have happened during our stay. This vice is almost peculiar to the chiefs and considerable persons, who vie with each other in drinking the greatest number of draughts, each draught being about a pint. They keep this intoxicating juice with great care from their women.

Table they have none ; but their apparatus for eating is set out with great neatness, though the articles are too simple and too few to allow anything for show ; and they commonly eat alone ; but when a stranger happens to visit them, he sometimes makes a second in their mess. Of the meal of one of their principal people I shall give a particular description. He sits down under the shade of the next tree, or on the shady side of his house, and a large quantity of leaves, either of the bread-fruit or banana, are neatly spread before him upon the ground as a table-cloth ; a basket is then set by him that contains his provision, which, if fish or flesh, is ready dressed, and wrapped up in leaves, and two cocoa-nut shells, one full of salt water, and the other of fresh : his attendants, which are not few, seat themselves round him, and when all is ready, he begins by washing his hands and his mouth thoroughly with the fresh water, and this he repeats almost continually throughout the whole meal ; he then takes part of his provision out of the basket, which generally consists of a small fish or two, two or three bread-fruits, fourteen or fifteen ripe bananas, or six or seven apples ; he first takes half a bread-fruit, peels off the rind, and takes out the core with his nails ; of this he puts as much into his mouth as it can hold, and while he chews it, takes the fish out of the leaves, and breaks one of them into the salt water, placing the other, and what remains of the bread-fruit, upon the leaves that have been spread before him. When this is done, he takes up a small piece of the fish that has been broken into the salt water, with all the fingers of one hand, and sucks it into his mouth, so as to get with it as much of the salt water as possible : in the same manner he takes the rest by different morsels, and between each, at least very frequently, takes a small sup of the salt water, either out of the cocoa-nut shell, or the palm of his hand : in the mean time one of his attendants has prepared a young cocoa-nut, by peeling off the outer rind with his teeth, an operation which to a European appears very surprising ; but it depends so much upon sleight, that many of us were able to do it before we left the island, and some that could scarcely crack a filbert : the master, when he chooses to drink, takes the cocoa-nut thus prepared, and boring a hole through the shell with his finger, or breaking it with a stone, he sucks out the liquor. When he has eaten his bread-fruit and fish, he begins with his plantains, one of which makes but a mouthful, though it be as big as a black-pudding ; if, instead of plantains, he has apples, he never tastes them till they have been pared ; to do this a shell is picked up from the ground, where they are always in plenty, and tossed to him by an attendant : he immediately begins to cut or scrape off the rind, but so awkwardly that great part of the fruit is wasted. If, instead of fish, he has flesh, he must have some succedaneum for a knife to divide it ; and for this purpose a piece of bamboo is tossed to him, of which he makes the necessary implement by splitting it transversely with his nail. While all this has been doing, some of his attendants have been employed in beating bread-fruit with a stone pestle upon a block of wood ; by being beaten in this manner, and sprinkled from time to time with water, it is reduced to the consistence of a soft paste, and is then put into a vessel somewhat like a butcher's tray, and either made up alone, or mixed with banana or mahie, according to the taste of the master, by pouring water upon it by degrees and squeezing it often through the hand : under this operation it acquires the consistence of a thick custard, and a large cocoa-nut shell full of it being set before him, he sips it as we should do a jelly

if we had no spoon to take it from the glass : the meal is then finished by again washing his hands and his mouth. After which the cocoa-nut shells are cleaned, and everything that is left is replaced in the basket.

The quantity of food which these people eat at a meal is prodigious : I have seen one man devour two or three fishes as big as a perch ; three bread-fruits, each bigger than two fists ; fourteen or fifteen plantains or bananas, each of them six or seven inches long, and four or five round ; and near a quart of the pounded bread-fruit, which is as substantial as the thickest unbaked custard. This is so extraordinary that I scarcely expect to be believed ; and I would not have related it upon my own single testimony ; but Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and most of the other gentlemen, have had ocular demonstration of its truth, and know that I mention them upon the occasion.

It is very wonderful that these people, who are remarkably fond of society, and particularly that of their women, should exclude its pleasures from the table, where among all other nations, whether civil or savage, they have been principally enjoyed. How a meal, which everywhere else brings families and friends together, came to separate them here, we often inquired, but could never learn. They ate alone, they said, because it was right ; but why it was right to eat alone they never attempted to tell us : such, however, was the force of habit, that they expressed the strongest dislike, and even disgust, at our eating in society, especially with our women, and of the same victuals. At first, we thought this strange singularity arose from some superstitious opinion ; but they constantly affirmed the contrary. We observed also some caprices in the custom, for which we could as little account as for the custom itself. We could never prevail with any of the women to partake of the victuals at our table when we were dining in company ; yet they would go, five or six together, into the servants' apartments, and there eat very heartily of whatever they could find, of which I have before given a particular instance ; nor were they in the least disconcerted if we came in while they were doing it. When any of us have been alone with a woman, she has sometimes eaten in our company ; but then she has expressed the greatest unwillingness that it should be known, and always extorted the strongest promises of secrecy.

Among themselves, even two brothers and two sisters have each their separate baskets with provision and the apparatus of their meal. When they first visited us at our tents, each brought his basket with him ; and when we sat down to table, they would go out, sit down upon the ground, at two or three yards' distance from each other, and turning their faces different ways, take their repast without interchanging a single word. The women not only abstain from eating with the men, and of the same victuals, but even have their victuals separately prepared by boys kept for that purpose, who deposit it in a separate shed, and attend them with it at their meals. But though they would not eat with us or with each other, they have often asked us to eat with them, when we have visited those with whom we were particularly acquainted at their houses ; and we have often upon such occasions eaten out of the same basket, and drunk out of the same cup. The elder women, however, always appeared to be offended at this liberty ; and if we happened to touch their victuals, or even the basket that contained it, would throw it away.

After meals, and in the heat of the day, the middle-aged people of the better sort generally sleep : they are, indeed, extremely indolent ; and sleeping and eating is almost all that they do. Those that are older are less drowsy, and the boys and girls are kept awake by the natural activity and sprightliness of their age.

Their amusements have occasionally been mentioned in my account of the incidents that happened during our residence in this island, particularly music, dancing, wrestling, and shooting with the bow ; they also sometimes vie with each other in throwing a lance. As shooting is not at a mark, but for distance ; throwing the lance is not for distance, but at a mark : the weapon is about nine feet long, the mark is the bole of a plantain, and the distance about twenty yards. Their only musical instruments are flutes and drums ; the flutes are made of a hollow bamboo about a foot long, and, as has been observed before, have only two stops, and consequently but four notes, out of which they seem hitherto to have formed but one tune : to these stops they apply the fore finger of the left hand and the middle finger of the right.





FLUTE AND DRUM PLAYERS.

scarcely make them either metre or rhyme. The reader will easily perceive that they are of a very different structure.

Tede pahai de parow-a  
Ha maru no mina.

E pahai Tayo malama tai ya  
No Tabane tonatou whannomi ya.

E Turi cattu terara patee whennua toai  
Ino o miao Pretane to whennuaia no Tute.

Of these verses our knowledge of the language is too imperfect to attempt a translation. They frequently amuse themselves by singing such couplets as these when they are alone, or with their families, especially after it is dark; for though they need no fires, they are not without the comfort of artificial light between sunset and bedtime. Their candles are made of the kernels of a kind of oily nut, which they stick one over another upon a skewer that is thrust through the middle of them; the upper one being lighted, burns down to the second, at the same time consuming that part of the skewer which goes through it; the second taking fire, burns in the same manner down to the third, and so of the rest: some of these candles will burn a considerable time, and they give a very tolerable light. They do not often sit up above an hour after it is dark; but when they have strangers who sleep in the house, they generally keep a light burning all night, possibly as a check upon such of the women as they wish not to honour them with their favours. Of their itinerary concerts I need add nothing to what has been said already; especially as I shall have occasion more particularly to mention them when I relate our adventures upon another island.

In other countries the girls and unmarried women are supposed to be wholly ignorant of what others upon some occasions may appear to know; and their conduct and conversation are consequently restrained within narrower bounds, and kept at a more remote distance from whatever relates to a connexion with the other sex; but here it is just contrary. Among other diversions, there is a dance, called *timorodee*, which is performed by young girls, whenever eight or ten of them can be collected together, consisting of motions and gestures beyond imagination wanton, in the practice of which they are brought up from their earliest childhood, accompanied by words which, if it were possible, would more

explicitly convey the same ideas. In these dances they keep time with an exactness which is scarcely excelled by the best performers upon the stages of Europe. But the practice which is allowed to the virgin is prohibited to the woman from the moment that she has put these hopeful lessons in practice, and realized the symbols of the dance.

It cannot be supposed that, among these people, chastity is held in much estimation. It might be expected that sisters and daughters would be offered to strangers, either as a courtesy or for reward; and that breaches of conjugal fidelity, even in the wife, should not be otherwise punished than by a few hard words, or perhaps a slight beating, as indeed is the case; but there is a scale in dissolute sensuality, which these people have ascended, wholly unknown to every other nation whose manners have been recorded from the beginning of the world to the present hour, and which no imagination could possibly conceive.

A very considerable number of the principal people of Otaheite, of both sexes, have formed themselves into a society, in which every woman is common to every man; thus securing a perpetual variety as often as their inclination prompts them to seek it, which is so frequent, that the same man and woman seldom cohabit together more than two or three days. These societies are distinguished by the name of *Arreoy*; and the members have meetings, at which no other is present, where the men amuse themselves by wrestling, and the women, notwithstanding their occasional connexion with different men, dance the timorodee in all its latitude, as an incitement to desires which it is said are frequently gratified upon the spot. This, however, is comparatively nothing. If any of the women happen to be with child, which in this manner of life happens less frequently than if they were to cohabit only with one man, the poor infant is smothered the moment it is born, that it may be no incumbrance to the father, nor interrupt the mother in the pleasures of her diabolical prostitution. It sometimes indeed happens, that the passion which prompts a woman to enter into this society is surmounted when she becomes a mother, by that instinctive affection which nature has given to all creatures for the preservation of their offspring; but even in this case she is not permitted to spare the life of her infant, except she can find a man who will patronise it as his child; if this can be done the murder is prevented; but both the man and woman, being deemed by this act to have appropriated each other, are ejected from the community, and forfeit all claim to the privileges and pleasures of the *Arreoy* for the future; the woman from that time being distinguished by the term *Whannownow*, "bearer of children," which is here a term of reproach; though none can be more honourable in the estimation of wisdom and humanity, of right reason, and every passion that distinguishes the man from the brute. It is not fit that a practice so horrid and so strange should be imputed to human beings upon slight evidence, but I have such as abundantly justifies me in the account I have given. The people themselves are so far from concealing their connexion with such a society as a disgrace, that they boast of it as a privilege; and both myself and Mr. Banks, when particular persons have been pointed out to us as members of the *Arreoy*, have questioned them about it, and received the account that has been here given from their own lips. They have acknowledged that they had long been of this accursed society, that they belonged to it at that time, and that several of their children had been put to death.

But I must not conclude my account of the domestic life of these people without mentioning their personal cleanliness. If that which lessens the good of life and increases the evil is vice, surely cleanliness is a virtue: the want of it tends to destroy both beauty and health, and mingles disgust with our best pleasures. The natives of Otaheite, both men and women, constantly wash their whole bodies in running water three times every day; once as soon as they rise in the morning, once at noon, and again before they sleep at night, whether the sea or river is near them or at a distance. I have already observed that they wash not only the mouth but the hands at their meals, almost between every morsel; and their clothes, as well as their persons, are kept without spot or stain; so that in a large company of these people nothing is suffered but heat, which, perhaps, is more than can be said of the politest assembly in Europe.



## CHAPTER XVIII.—OF THE MANUFACTURES, BOATS, AND NAVIGATION OF OTAHEITE.

If necessity is the mother of invention, it cannot be supposed to have been much exerted where the liberality of Nature has rendered the diligence of Art almost superfluous; yet there are many instances both of ingenuity and labour among these people, which, considering the want of metal for tools, do honour to both. Their principal manufacture is their cloth, in the making and dyeing of which I think there are some particulars which may instruct even the artificers of Great Britain, and for that reason my description will be more minute.

Their cloth is of three kinds; and it is made of the bark of three different trees, the Chinese paper mulberry, the bread-fruit tree, and the tree which resembles the wild fig-tree of the West Indies. The finest and whitest is made of the paper mulberry, *Aouta*; this is worn chiefly by the principal people, and when it is dyed red takes a better colour. A second sort, inferior in whiteness and softness, is made of the bread-fruit tree, *Ooroo*, and worn chiefly by the inferior people; and a third, of the tree that resembles the fig, which is coarse and harsh, and of the colour of the darkest brown paper; this, though it is less pleasing both to the eye and the touch, is the most valuable, because it resists water, which the other two sorts will not. Of this, which is the most rare as well as the most useful, the greater part is perfumed, and worn by the chiefs as a morning dress.

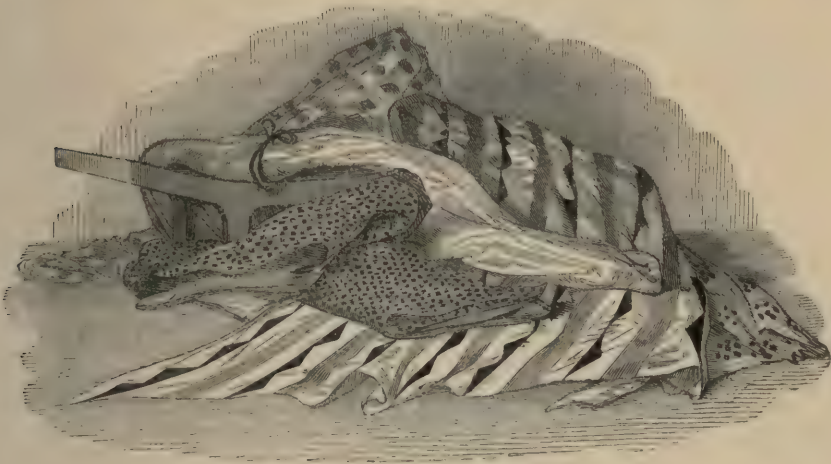
All these trees are propagated with great care, particularly the mulberry, which covers the largest part of the cultivated land, and is not fit for use after two or three years' growth, when it is about six or eight feet high, and somewhat thicker than a man's thumb; its excellence is to be thin, straight, tall, and without branches: the lower leaves, therefore, are carefully plucked off, with their germs, as often as there is any appearance of their producing a branch.

But though the cloth made of these three trees is different, it is all manufactured in the same manner; I shall, therefore, describe the process only in the fine sort, that is made of the mulberry. When the trees are of a proper size, they are drawn up, and stripped of their branches, after which the roots and tops are cut off; the bark of these rods being then slit up longitudinally, is easily drawn off, and when a proper quantity has been procured, it is carried down to some running water, in which it is deposited to soak, and secured from floating away by heavy stones: when it is supposed to be sufficiently softened, the women servants go down to the brook, and stripping themselves, sit down in the water, to separate the inner bark from the green part on the outside; to do this they place the under side upon a flat smooth board, and with the shell, which our dealers call tiger's tongue, *Tellina gargadia*, scrape it very carefully, dipping it continually in the water till nothing remains but the fine fibres of the inner coat. Being thus prepared in the afternoon, they are spread out upon plantain leaves in the evening; and in this part of the work there appears to be some difficulty, as the mistress of the family always superintends the doing of it: they are placed in lengths of about eleven or twelve yards, one by the side of another, till they are about a foot broad, and two or three layers are also laid one upon the other: care is taken that the cloth shall be in all parts of an equal thickness, so that if the bark happens to be thinner in any particular part of one layer than the rest, a piece that is somewhat thicker is picked out to be laid over it in the next. In this state it remains till the morning, when great part of the water which it contained when it was laid out, is either drained off or evaporated, and the several fibres adhere together, so as that the whole may be raised from the ground in one piece.



CLOTH-BEATING Mallet.

It is then taken away, and laid upon the smooth side of a long piece of wood prepared for the purpose, and beaten by the women servants with instruments about a foot long and three inches thick, made of a hard wood which they call Etoa. The shape of this instrument is not unlike a square razor-strop, only that the handle is longer, and each of its four sides or faces is marked, lengthways, with small grooves or furrows, of different degrees of fineness; those on one side being of a width and depth sufficient to receive a small packthread, and the others finer in a regular gradation, so that the last are not more than equal to sewing-silk. They beat it first with the coarsest side of this mallet, keeping time like our smiths; it spreads very fast under the strokes, chiefly, however, in the breadth, and the grooves in the mallet mark it with the appearance of threads; it is successively beaten with the other sides, last with the finest, and is then fit for use. Sometimes, however, it is made still thinner, by beating it with the finest side of the mallet, after it has been several times doubled; it is then called Hoboo, and is almost as thin as a muslin. It becomes very white by being bleached in the air, but is made still whiter and softer by being washed and beaten again after it has been worn.



SPECIMENS OF CLOTH.

Of this cloth there are several sorts, of different degrees of fineness, in proportion as it is more or less beaten without being doubled. The other cloth also differs in proportion as it is beaten; but they differ from each other in consequence of the different materials of which they are made. The bark of the bread-fruit is not taken till the trees are considerably longer and thicker than those of the fig; the process afterwards is the same.

When cloth is to be washed after it has been worn, it is taken down to the brook, and left to soak, being kept fast to the bottom, as at first, by a stone; it is then gently wrung or squeezed; and sometimes several pieces of it are laid one upon another, and beaten together with the coarsest side of the mallet, and they are then equal in thickness to broad-cloth, and much more soft and agreeable to the touch after they have been a little while in use, though when they come immediately from the mallet they feel as if they had been starched. This cloth sometimes breaks in the beating, but is easily repaired by pasting on a patch with a gluten that is prepared from the root of the *Pea*, which is done so nicely that it cannot be discovered. The women also employ themselves in removing blemishes of every kind, as our ladies do in needlework or knotting; sometimes, when their work is intended to be very fine, they will paste an entire covering of hoboo over the whole. The principal excellences of this cloth are its coolness and softness; and its imperfections, its being pervious to water like paper, and almost as easily torn.

The colours with which they dye this cloth are principally red and yellow. The red is exceedingly beautiful, and I may venture to say a brighter and more delicate colour than



any we have in Europe; that which approaches nearest is our full scarlet; and the best imitation which Mr. Banks's natural-history painter could produce, was by a mixture of vermilion and carmine. The yellow is also a bright colour, but we have many as good. The red colour is produced by the mixture of the juices of two vegetables, neither of which separately has the least tendency to that hue. One is a species of fig, called here *matte*, and the other the *Cordia Sebestina*, or *etou*; of the fig the fruit is used, and of the *Cordia*, the leaves.

The fruit of the fig is about as big as a Rounceval pea, or very small gooseberry; and each of them, upon breaking off the stalk very close, produces one drop of a milky liquor, resembling the juice of our figs, of which the tree is indeed a species. This liquor the women collect into a small quantity of cocoa-nut water: to prepare a gill of cocoa-nut water will require between three and four quarts of these little figs. When a sufficient quantity is prepared, the leaves of the *Etou* are well wetted in it, and then laid upon a plantain-leaf, where they are turned about till they become more and more flaccid; and then they are gently squeezed, gradually increasing the pressure, but so as not to break them. As the flaccidity increases, and they become spongy, they are supplied with more of the liquor; in about five minutes the colour begins to appear upon the veins of the leaves; and in about ten, or a little more, they are perfectly saturated with it. They are then squeezed with as much force as can be applied, and the liquor strained at the same time that it is expressed.

For this purpose, the boys prepare a large quantity of the *Moo*, by drawing it between their teeth, or two little sticks, till it is freed from the green bark and the branny substance that lies under it, and a thin web of the fibres only remains; in this the leaves of the *etou* are enveloped, and through these the juice which they contain is strained as it is forced out. As the leaves are not succulent, little more juice is pressed out of them than they have imbibed: when they have been once emptied, they are filled again, and again pressed, till the quality which tinctures the liquor as it passes through them is exhausted; they are then thrown away; but the *Moo*, being deeply stained with the colour, is preserved as a brush to lay the dye upon the cloth. The expressed liquor is always received into small cups made of the plantain leaf; whether from a notion that it has any quality favourable to the colour, or from the facility with which it is procured, and the convenience of small vessels to distribute it among the artificers, I do not know.

Of the thin cloth they seldom dye more than the edges, but the thick cloth is coloured through the whole surface; the liquor is, indeed, used rather as a pigment than a dye, for a coat of it is laid upon one side only with the fibres of the *Moo*; and though I have seen of the thin cloth that has appeared to have been soaked in the liquor, the colour has not had the same richness and lustre as when it has been applied in the other manner.

Though the leaf of the *Etou* is generally used in this process, and probably produces the finest colour, yet the juice of the figs will produce a red by a mixture with the species of *Tournefortia*, which they call *Tahainoo*, the *Pohuc*, the *Eurhe*, or *Convolvulus brasiliensis*, and a species of *Solanum*, called *Ebooa*; from the use of these different plants, or from different proportions of the materials, many varieties are observable in the colours of their cloth, some of which are conspicuously superior to others. The beauty, however, of the best is not permanent; but it is probable that some method might be found to fix it, if proper experiments were made; and, perhaps, to search for latent qualities, which may be brought out by the mixture of one vegetable juice with another, would not be an unprofitable employment. Our present most valuable dyes afford sufficient encouragement to the attempt; for by the mere inspection of indigo, woad, dyer's-weed, and most of the leaves which are used for the like purposes, the colours which they yield could never be discovered. Of this Indian red I shall only add, that the women who have been employed in preparing or using it, carefully preserve the colour upon their fingers and nails, where it appears in its utmost beauty as a great ornament.

The yellow is made of the bark of the root of the *Morinda citrifolia*, called *Nono*, by scraping and infusing it in water; after standing some time, the water is strained and used as a dye, the cloth being dipped into it. The *Morinda*, of which this is a species, seems

to be a good subject for examination with a view to dyeing. Brown, in his History of Jamaica, mentions three species of it, which he says are used to dye brown; and Rumphius says of the *Bancuda angustifolia*, which is nearly allied to our Nono, that it is used by the inhabitants of the East Indian islands as a fixing drug for red colours, with which it particularly agrees. The inhabitants of this island also dye yellow with the fruit of the Tamanu, but how the colour is extracted we had no opportunity to discover. They have also a preparation with which they dye brown and black; but these colours are so indifferent, that the method of preparing them did not excite our curiosity.

Another considerable manufacture is matting of various kinds; some of which is finer and better, in every respect, than any we have in Europe: the coarser sort serves them to sleep upon, and the finer to wear in wet weather. With the fine, of which there are also two sorts, much pains is taken, especially with that made of the bark of the Poerou, the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* of Linnæus, some of which is as fine as a coarse cloth; the other sort, which is still more beautiful, they call *vanne*; it is white, glossy, and shining, and is made of the leaves of their *wharrou*, a species of the *Pandanus*, of which we had no opportunity to see either the flowers or fruit: they have other mats,—or as they call them, *moeas*,—to sit or to sleep upon, which are formed of a great variety of rushes and grass, and which they make, as they do everything else that is plaited, with amazing facility and despatch.

They are also very dexterous in making basket and wicker work; their baskets are of a thousand different patterns, many of them exceedingly neat; and the making them is an art that every one practises, both men and women: they make occasional baskets and panniers of the cocoa-nut leaf in a few minutes; and the women who visited us early in a morning used to send, as soon as the sun was high, for a few of the leaves, of which they made little bonnets to shade their faces, at so small an expense of time and trouble, that when the sun was again low in the evening, they used to throw them away. These bonnets, however, did not cover the head, but consisted only of a band that went round it, and a shade that projected from the forehead.



SPECIMENS OF BASKET-WORK.

Of the bark of the Poerou they make ropes and lines, from the thickness of an inch to the size of a small packthread: with these they make nets for fishing: of the fibres of the cocoa-nut they make thread for fastening together the several parts of their canoes, and belts, either round or flat, twisted or plaited; and of the bark of the *Erowa*, a kind of nettle which grows in the mountains, and is therefore rather scarce, they make the best fishing-lines in the world: with these they hold the strongest and most active fish, such as bonetas and albicores, which would snap our strongest silk lines in a minute, though they are twice as thick. They make also a kind of seine, of a coarse broad grass, the blades of which are like flags; these they twist and tie together in a loose manner, till the net, which is about as wide as a large sack, is from sixty to eighty fathoms long: this they haul in shoal smooth water, and its own weight keeps it so close to the ground, that scarcely a single fish can escape.

In every expedient, indeed, for taking fish, they are exceedingly ingenious; they make harpoons of cane, and point them with hard wood, which in their hands strike fish more effectually than those which are headed with iron can do in ours, setting aside the advantage of ours being fastened to a line, so that the fish is secured if the hook takes place, though it does not mortally wound him.



Of fish-hooks they have two sorts, admirably adapted in their construction as well to the purpose they are to answer as to the materials of which they are made. One of these, which they call *wittee-wittee*, is used for towing. The shank is made of mother-of-pearl, the most glossy that can be got : the inside, which is naturally the brightest, is put behind. To these hooks a tuft of white dog's or hog's hair is fixed, so as somewhat to resemble the tail of a fish ; these implements, therefore, are both hook and bait, and are used with a rod of bamboo, and line of *erowa*. The fisher, to secure his success, watches the flight of the birds which constantly attend the bonetas when they swim in shoals, by which he directs his canoe, and when he has the advantage of these guides, he seldom returns without a prize.

The other kind of hook is also made of mother-of-pearl, or some other hard shell : they cannot make them bearded like our hooks ; but to effect the same purpose, they make the point turn inwards. These are made of all sizes, and used to catch various kinds of fish with great success. The manner of making them is very simple, and every fisherman is his own artificer : the shell is first cut into square pieces by the edge of another shell, and wrought into a form corresponding with the outline of the hook by pieces of coral, which are sufficiently rough to perform the office of a file ; a hole is then bored in the middle ; the drill being no other than the first stone they pick up that has a sharp corner : this they fix into the end of a piece of bamboo, and turn it between the hands like a chocolate-mill ; when the shell is perforated and the hole sufficiently wide, a small file of coral is introduced, by the application of which the hook is in a short time completed, few costing the artificer more time than a quarter of an hour.



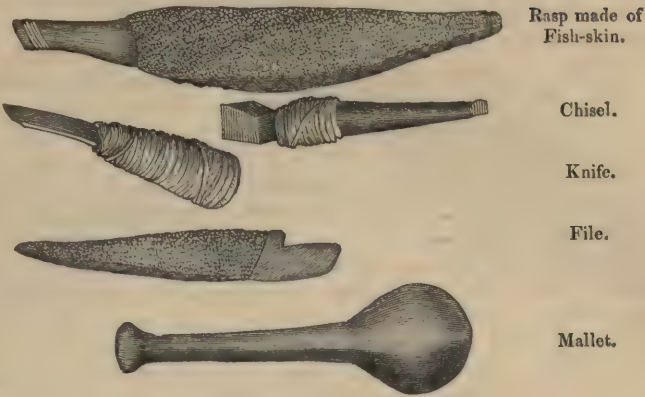
FISHING-HOOKS, NET, AND HARPOONS.

Of their masonry, carving, and architecture, the reader has already formed some idea from the account that has been given of the Morais, or repositories of the dead ; the other most important article of building and carving is their boats ; and, perhaps, to fabricate one of their principal vessels with their tools is as great a work as to build a British man-of-war with ours. They have an adze of stone ; a chisel or gouge of bone, generally that of a man's arm between the wrist and elbow ; a rasp of coral ; and the skin of a sting-ray, with coral sand, as a file or polisher. This is a complete catalogue of their tools ; and with these they build houses, construct canoes, hew stone, and fell, cleave, carve, and polish timber.

The stone which makes the blade of their adzes is a kind of basalt, of a blackish or grey colour, not very hard, but of considerable toughness : they are formed of different

sizes: some, that are intended for felling, weigh from six to eight pounds; others, that are used for carving, not more than so many ounces; but it is necessary to sharpen both almost every minute; for which purpose a stone and a cocoa-nut shell full of water are always at hand.

Their greatest exploit, to which these tools are less equal than to any other, is felling a tree: this requires many hands, and the constant labour of several days. When it is down, they split it with the grain into planks from three to four inches thick, the whole length and breadth of the tree, many of which are eight feet in the girth, and forty to the branches, nearly of the same thickness throughout. The tree generally used is, in their language, called *avie*, the stem of which is tall and straight; though some of the smaller boats are made of the bread-fruit tree, which is a light, spongy wood, and easily wrought. They smooth the plank very expeditiously and dexterously with their adzes, and can take off a thin coat from a whole plank without missing a stroke. As they have not the art of warping a plank, every part of the canoe, whether hollow or flat, is shaped by hand.



TOOLS.



ADZES.

The canoes, or boats, which are used by the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring islands, may be divided into two general classes; one of which they call *irahaks*, the other *pahies*. The Ivahah is used for short excursions to sea, and is wall-sided and flat-bottomed; the Pahie, for longer voyages, and is bow-sided and sharp-bottomed. The Ivahas are all of the



same figure, but of different sizes, and used for different purposes: their length is from seventy-two feet to ten, but the breadth is by no means in proportion; for those of ten feet are about a foot wide, and those of more than seventy are scarcely two. There is the fighting Ivahah, the fishing Ivahah, and the travelling Ivahah—for some of these go from one island to another. The fighting Ivahah is by far the longest, and the head and stern are considerably raised above the body, in a semicircular form; particularly the stern, which is sometimes seventeen or eighteen feet high, though the boat itself is scarcely three. These never go to sea single, but are fastened together, side by side, at the distance of about three feet, by strong poles of wood, which are laid across them and lashed to the gunwales. Upon these, in the fore part, a stage or platform is raised, about ten or twelve feet long, and somewhat wider than the boats, which is supported by pillars about six feet high: upon this stage stand the fighting men, whose missile weapons are slings and spears; for, among other singularities in the manners of these people, their bows and arrows are used only for diversion, as we throw quoits: below these stages sit the rowers, who receive from them those that are wounded, and furnish fresh men to ascend in their room. Some of these have a platform of bamboos, or other light wood, through their whole length, and considerably broader, by means of which they will carry a great number of men; but we saw only one fitted in this manner.

The fishing Ivahahs vary in length from about forty feet to the smallest size, which is about ten; all that are of the length of twenty-five feet and upwards, of whatever sort, occasionally carry sail. The travelling Ivahah is always double, and furnished with a small neat house, about five or six feet broad, and six or seven feet long, which is fastened upon the fore-part for the convenience of the principal people, who sit in them by day, and sleep in them at night. The fishing Ivahahs are sometimes joined together, and have a house on board; but this is not common. Those which are shorter than five-and-twenty feet seldom or never carry sail; and though the stern rises about four or five feet, have a flat head and a board that projects forward about four feet.

The Pahie is also of different sizes, from sixty to thirty feet long; but, like the Ivahah, is very narrow. One that I measured was fifty-one feet long, and only one foot and a half wide at the top. In the widest part it was about three feet; and this is the general proportion. It does not, however, widen by a gradual swell; but the sides being straight and parallel for a little way below the gunwale, it swells abruptly, and draws to a ridge at the bottom; so that a transverse section of it has somewhat the appearance of the mark upon cards called a spade, the whole being much wider in proportion to its length. These, like the largest Ivahahs, are used for fighting, but principally for long voyages. The fighting Pahie, which is the largest, is fitted with the stage or platform, which is proportionably larger than those of the Ivahah, as their form enables them to sustain a much greater weight. Those that are used for sailing are generally double; and the middle size are said to be the best sea-boats. They are sometimes out a month together, going from island to island; and sometimes, as we were credibly informed, they are a fortnight or twenty days at sea, and could keep it longer if they had more stowage for provisions, and conveniences to hold fresh water.

When any of these boats carry sail single, they make use of a log of wood, which is fastened to the end of two poles that lie across the vessel, and project from six to ten feet, according to the size of the vessel, beyond its side; somewhat like what is used by the flying proa of the Ladrone Islands, and called, in the account of Lord Anson's Voyage, an outrigger. To this outrigger the shrouds are fastened, and it is essentially necessary in trimming the boat when it blows fresh.

Some of them have one mast, and some two; they are made of a single stick, and when the length of a canoe is thirty feet, that of the mast is somewhat less than five-and-twenty; it is fixed to a frame that is above the canoe, and receives a sail of matting about one-third longer than itself: the sail is pointed at the top, square at the bottom, and curved at the side; somewhat resembling what we call a shoulder-of-mutton sail, and used for boats

belonging to men of war : it is placed in a frame of wood, which surrounds it on every side, and has no contrivance either for reefing or furling ; so that, if either should become necessary, it must be cut away, which, however, in these equal climates, can seldom happen. At the top of the mast are fastened ornaments of feathers, which are placed inclining obliquely forwards. The oars or paddles that are used with these boats, have a long handle and a flat blade, not unlike a baker's peel. Of these every person in the boat has one, except those that sit under the awning ; and they push her forward with them at a good rate. These boats, however, admit so much water at the seams, that one person at least is continually employed in throwing it out. The only thing in which they excel is landing, and putting off from the shore in a surf ; by their great length and high sterns they land dry, when our boats could scarcely land at all ; and have the same advantages in putting off by the height of the head.

The Ivalahs are the only boats that are used by the inhabitants of Otaheite ; but we saw several Pahies that came from other islands. Of one of these I shall give the exact dimensions from a careful admeasurement, and then particularly describe the manner in which they are built.

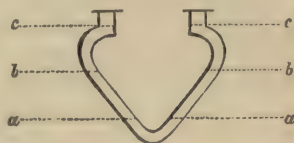
	Ft.	In.
Extreme length from stem to stern, not reckoning the bending up of either . . . . .	51	0
Breadth in the clear of the top forward . . . . .	1	2
Breadth in the midships . . . . .	1	6
Breadth aft . . . . .	1	3
In the bilge forward . . . . .	2	8
In the midships . . . . .	2	11
Aft . . . . .	2	9
Depth in the midships . . . . .	3	4
Height from the ground on which she stood . . . . .	3	6
Height of her head from the ground, without the figure . . . . .	4	4
Height of the figure . . . . .	0	11
Height of the stern from the ground . . . . .	8	9
Height of the figure . . . . .	2	0

To illustrate my description of the manner in which these vessels are built, it will be necessary to refer to the figure ; in which *a a* is the first seam, *b b* the second, and *c c* the third.

The first stage or keel, under *a a*, is made of a tree hollowed out like a trough ; for which the longest trees are chosen that can be got, so that there are never more than three in the whole length : the next stage under *b b*, is formed of straight plank, about four feet long, fifteen inches broad, and two inches thick : the third stage under *c c*, is, like the bottom, made of trunks, hollowed into its bilging form ; the last is also cut out of trunks, so that the moulding is of one piece with the upright. To form these parts separately, without saw, plane, chisel, or any other iron tool, may well be thought no easy task ; but the great difficulty is to join them together. When all the parts are prepared the keel is laid upon blocks, and the planks, being supported by stanchions, are sewed or clamped together with strong thongs of plaiting, which are passed several times through holes that are bored with a gouge or auger of bone, that has been described already ; and the nicety with which this is done may be inferred from their being sufficiently water-tight for use without caulking. As the plaiting soon rots in the water, it is renewed at least once a year ; in order to which the vessel is taken entirely to pieces. The head and stern are rude with respect to the design ; but very neatly finished, and polished to the highest degree.

These Pahies are kept with great care in a kind of house built on purpose for their reception ; the houses are formed of poles set upright in the ground, the tops of which are drawn towards each other, and fastened together with their strongest cord, so as to form a kind of Gothic arch, which is completely thatched quite to the ground, being open only at the ends ; they are sometimes fifty or sixty paces long.

As connected with the navigation of these people, I shall mention their wonderful sagacity in foretelling the weather, at least the quarter from which the wind shall blow at a future





time ; they have several ways of doing this, of which however I know but one. They say that the Milky-way is always curved laterally, but sometimes in one direction and sometimes in another ; and that this curvature is the effect of its being already acted upon by the wind, and its hollow part therefore towards it ; so that if the same curvature continues a night, a corresponding wind certainly blows the next day. Of their rules I shall not pretend to judge ; but I know that, by whatever means, they can predict the weather, at least the wind, with much greater certainty than we can. In their longer voyages they steer by the sun in the day, and in the night by the stars ; all of which they distinguish separately by names, and know in what part of the heavens they will appear in any of the months during which they are visible in their horizon ; they also know the time of their annual appearing and disappearing with more precision than will easily be believed by a European astronomer.

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CHAPTER XIX.—OF THE DIVISION OF TIME IN OTAHEITE—NUMERATION, COMPUTATION OF DISTANCE, LANGUAGE, DISEASES, DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD, RELIGION, WAR, WEAPONS, AND GOVERNMENT—WITH SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS FOR THE USE OF FUTURE NAVIGATORS.

WE were not able to acquire a perfect idea of their method of dividing time ; but observed, that in speaking of it, either past or to come, they never used any term but *Malama*, which signifies moon. Of these moons they count thirteen, and then begin again ; which is a demonstration that they have a notion of the solar year : but how they compute their months so that thirteen of them shall be commensurate with the year, we could not discover ; for they say that each month has twenty-nine days, including one in which the moon is not visible. They have names for them separately, and have frequently told us the fruits that would be in season, and the weather that would prevail, in each of them ; and they have, indeed, a name for them collectively, though they use it only when they speak of the mysteries of their religion. Every day is subdivided into twelve parts, each of two hours, of which six belong to the day, and six to the night. At these divisions they guess pretty nearly by the height of the sun while he is above the horizon ; but there are few of them that can guess at them, when he is below it, by the stars.

In numeration they proceed from one to ten, the number of fingers on both hands ; and though they have for each number a different name, they generally take hold of their fingers one by one, shifting from one hand to the other till they come to the number they want to express. And in other instances, we observed that, when they were conversing with each other, they joined signs to their words, which were so expressive that a stranger might easily apprehend their meaning.

In counting from ten they repeat the name of that number, and add the word *more* ; ten, and one more, is eleven ; ten, and two more, twelve : and so of the rest, as we say one-and-twenty, two-and-twenty. When they come to ten and ten more, they have a new denomination, as we say a score ; and by these scores they count till they get ten of them, when they have a denomination for two hundred ; and we never could discover that they had any denomination to express a greater number : neither, indeed, do they seem to want any ; for ten of these amount to two thousand, a greater number than they can ever apply.

In measuring distance they are much more deficient than in computing numbers, having but one term, which answers to fathom ; when they speak of distances from place to place, they express it, like the Asiatics, by the time that is required to pass it.

Their language is soft and melodious ; it abounds with vowels, and we easily learnt to pronounce it : but found it exceedingly difficult to teach them to pronounce a single word of ours ; probably not only from its abounding in consonants, but from some peculiarity in its structure ; for Spanish and Italian words, if ending in a vowel, they pronounced with great facility. Whether it is copious, we were not sufficiently acquainted with it to know ; but it is certainly very imperfect, for it is almost totally without inflexion, both of nouns and verbs. Few of the nouns have more than one case, and few of the verbs more than

one tense; yet we found no great difficulty in making ourselves mutually understood, however strange it may appear in speculation\*.

They have, however, certain *affixa*, which, though but few in number, are very useful to them, and puzzled us extremely. One asks another, *Harre hea?* Where are you going?" The other answers, *Ivahinera*, "To my wives;" upon which the first, repeating the answer interrogatively, "To your wives?" is answered, *Ivahinereira*; "Yes, I am going to my wives." Here the suffixa *era* and *eira* save several words to both parties.

I have inserted a few of their words, from which, perhaps, some idea may be formed of the language.

Pupo . . . . .	the head.	Touhe . . . . .	the buttocks.
Ahewh . . . . .	the nose.	Hooulah . . . . .	the thighs.
Roourou . . . . .	the hair.	Avia . . . . .	the legs.
Ontou . . . . .	the mouth.	Tapoa . . . . .	the feet.
Niheo . . . . .	the teeth.	Booa . . . . .	a hog.
Arvero . . . . .	the tongue.	Moa . . . . .	a fowl.
Men-eumi . . . . .	the beard.	Euree . . . . .	a dog.
Tiarraboa . . . . .	the throat.	Eure-eure . . . . .	iron.
Tuamo . . . . .	the shoulders.	Ooroo . . . . .	bread-fruit.
Tuah . . . . .	the back.	Hearee . . . . .	cocoa-nuts.
Oama . . . . .	the breast.	Mia . . . . .	bananas.
Eu . . . . .	the nipples.	Poe . . . . .	beads.
Oboo . . . . .	the belly.	Poe matawewe . . . . .	pearl.
Rema . . . . .	the arm.	Ahou . . . . .	a garment.
Vae . . . . .	wild plantains.	Avee . . . . .	a fruit like apples.
Oporema . . . . .	the hand.	Ahee . . . . .	another like chestnuts.
Manneow . . . . .	the fingers.	Ewharre . . . . .	a house.
Mieu . . . . .	the nails.	Whennua . . . . .	a high island.

\* The numerous islands of the Pacific are inhabited by two distinct races of men; the one with bright and glossy hair, skin of a light copper colour, and the countenance resembling that of the Malays, with whom they are, by most modern inquirers, supposed to be allied:—the other of an herculean frame, black skin, and woolly or rather crisped hair, whose origin is supposed to be the same with that of the Papuan or Negro tribes who are found scattered in most of the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, whatever that may be, a point much in debate among the inquirers into the nature of the varieties of the human species.

The Negro and the Malay races are not, however, found dwelling together in the South-Sea Islands. Mr. Williams ("Missionary Enterprises in the South-Sea Islands," p. 501) says that the copper-coloured people "inhabit Eastern Polynesia, which includes the *Sandwich*, the *Marquesan*, the *Paumotu*, the *Tahitian*, the *Society*, the *Austral*, the *Hervey*, the *Navigator's*, the *Friendly Islands*, *New Zealand*, and all the smaller islands in their respective vicinities; while the Polynesian negro is found from the Fijis to the coast of New Holland, a space, which, for the sake of distinction, may be called Western Polynesia."

Missionary enterprise has hitherto been chiefly confined to the copper-coloured natives, and comparatively little is known of the character or language of the Polynesian negroes. Mr. Williams considers the language of all the islands of Eastern Polynesia to be the same, in which he distinguishes eight distinct dialects, of which he gives various specimens.

The language is much more complete than it appeared to Captain Cook and his companions. Mr. Williams remarks, "that a language spoken by savages should be supposed to be defective in many respects, could not create surprise; but the fact is, contrary to all we might have anticipated, that the Polynesian dialects are remarkably rich, admit of a great variety of phraseology, abound in terms of peculiar nicety, and are spoken with strict conformity to the most precise grammatical principles. \* \* \*

The Polynesians employ three numbers, the singular, the dual, and the plural, with which the inflections of their verbs agree. Their pronouns are beautifully complete, having several remarkable and valuable distinctions unknown to us. An instance is found in what we may term the inclusive and exclusive pronouns: for example, in English we say, 'It is time for us to go;' and the expression may or may not include the person addressed. Now, in the Polynesian dialects, there are two pronouns which mark this difference, *maton* and *taton*. If the person spoken to is one of the party going, the *taton* would be used; if not, the *maton*. \* \* \* There is likewise a causative verb, as *matau*, fear; *haa matau*, to make afraid; *matau hia*, to be feared; *haa matau hia*, to cause to be feared. The distinction of sounds, also, is very delicate, and has occasionally placed the missionary in rather awkward circumstances. On one occasion an excellent brother was preaching for me, and happening to aspirate a word which ought not to be aspirated, he addressed the people as beloved *savages*, instead of beloved *brethren*. Notwithstanding this, no person speaks incorrectly, and we never hear such violations of grammar and pronunciation as are common in England. There are but fourteen or fifteen letters in any of the dialects of this language; and as we spell the word precisely as it is pronounced, no difficulty is experienced in teaching the children spelling. All we have to do is to instruct them in the sound of the letters, and when these are acquired, they spell the longest words with ease."

The present is not the place, even did space permit, for an inquiry into the origin of the South-sea Islanders, or an examination of the evidence tending to confirm their Malay extraction. On these points we would refer our readers to Williams's "Missionary Enterprises," chap. 29; "Ellis's Polynesian Researches," vol. ii., chap. 2; and generally to the remarks on the same subject scattered throughout the "Surveying Voyages of the *Adventure* and the *Beagle*;" and particularly the 27th chapter of the second volume, where may be found Captain Fitzroy's remarks on the "migrations of the human race."—Ed.



Motu . . . . .	a low island.	Whettu-euphe . . . . .	a comet.
Toto . . . . .	blood.	Erai . . . . .	the sky.
Aevo . . . . .	bone.	Eatta . . . . .	a cloud.
Aeo . . . . .	flesh.	Miti . . . . .	good.
Mae . . . . .	fat.	Eno . . . . .	bad.
Tuca . . . . .	lean.	A . . . . .	yes.
Huru-huru . . . . .	hair.	Ima . . . . .	no.
Eraow . . . . .	a tree.	Parce . . . . .	ugly.
Ama . . . . .	a branch.	Paroree . . . . .	hungry.
Tiale . . . . .	a flower.	Pia . . . . .	full.
Huero . . . . .	fruit.	Timahah . . . . .	heavy.
Etummoo . . . . .	the stem.	Mama . . . . .	light.
Aaa . . . . .	the root.	Poto . . . . .	short.
Eiherre . . . . .	herbaceous plants.	Roa . . . . .	tall.
Oopa . . . . .	a pigeon.	Nehenne . . . . .	sweet.
Avigne . . . . .	a parouet.	Mala-mala . . . . .	bitter.
A-a . . . . .	another species.	Whanno . . . . .	to go far.
Mannu . . . . .	a bird.	Harre . . . . .	to go.
Mora . . . . .	a duck.	Arrea . . . . .	to stay.
Mattow . . . . .	a fish-hook.	Enoho . . . . .	to remain.
Toura . . . . .	a rope.	Rohe rohe . . . . .	to be tired.
Mow . . . . .	a shark.	Maa . . . . .	to eat.
Mahi-mahi . . . . .	a dolphin.	Inoo . . . . .	to drink.
Mattera . . . . .	a fishing-rod.	Eto . . . . .	to understand.
Eupea . . . . .	a net.	Warrido . . . . .	to steal.
Mahanna . . . . .	the sun.	Worridde . . . . .	to be angry.
Malama . . . . .	the moon.	Teparahi . . . . .	to beat.
Whettu . . . . .	a star.		

Among people whose food is so simple, and who in general are seldom drunk, it is scarcely necessary to say, that there are but few diseases; we saw no critical disease during our stay upon the island, and but few instances of sickness, which were accidental fits of the colic. The natives, however, are afflicted with erysipelas and cutaneous eruptions of the scaly kind, very nearly approaching to a leprosy. Those in whom this distemper was far advanced lived in a state of seclusion from all society, each in a small house built upon some unfrequented spot, where they were supplied with provisions: but whether they had any hope of relief, or languished out the remainder of their lives in solitude and despair, we could not learn. We observed also a few who had ulcers upon different parts of their bodies, some of which had a very virulent appearance; yet they seemed not much to be regarded by those who were afflicted with them, for they were left entirely without application even to keep off the flies.

Where intemperance produces no diseases, there will be no physicians by profession; yet yet where there is sufferance, there will always be attempts to relieve; and where the cause of the mischief and the remedy are alike unknown, these will naturally be directed by superstition; thus it happens, that in this country, and in all others which are not further injured by luxury, or improved by knowledge, the management of the sick falls to the lot of the priest. The method of cure that is practised by the priests of Otaheite consists chiefly of prayers and ceremonies. When he visits his patient he repeats certain sentences, which appear to be set forms contrived for the occasion, and at the same time plaits the leaves of the cocoa-nut into different figures very neatly; some of these he fastens to the fingers and toes of the sick, and often leaves behind him a few branches of the *Theopelia populnea*, which they call *E'midho*: these ceremonies are repeated till the patient recovers or dies. If he recovers, they say the remedies cured him; if he dies, they say the disease was incurable; in which perhaps they do not much differ from the custom of other countries.

If we had judged of their skill in surgery from the dreadful scars which we sometimes saw, we should have supposed it to be much superior to the art, not only of their physicians, but of ours. We saw one man whose face was almost entirely destroyed, his nose, including the bone, was perfectly flat, and one cheek and one eye were so beaten in, that the hollow would almost receive a man's fist, yet no ulcer remained; and our companion, Tupia, had been pierced quite through his body by a spear, headed with the bone of the sting-ray, the weapon having entered his back, and come out just under his breast; but except in reducing

dislocations and fractures, the best surgeon can contribute very little to the cure of a wound ; the blood itself is the best vulnerary balsam, and when the juices of the body are pure, and the patient is temperate, nothing more is necessary as an aid to nature in the cure of the worst wound, than the keeping it clean.

Their commerce with the inhabitants of Europe has, however, already entailed upon them that dreadful curse which avenged the inhumanities committed by the Spaniards in America, the venereal disease. As it is certain that no European vessel besides our own, except the *Dolphin*, and the two that were under the command of Mons. Bougainville, ever visited this island, it must have been brought either by one of them or by us. That it was not brought by the *Dolphin*, Captain Wallis has demonstrated in the account of her voyage (vol. i., p. 323, 324), and nothing is more certain than that when we arrived, it had made most dreadful ravages in the island. One of our people contracted it within five days after we went on shore, and by the inquiries among the natives, which this occasioned, we learnt, when we came to understand a little of their language, that it had been brought by the vessels which had been there about fifteen months before us, and had lain on the east side of the island. They distinguished it by a name of the same import with *rottenness*, but of a more extensive signification, and described, in the most pathetic terms, the sufferings of the first victims to its rage, and told us that it caused the hair and the nails to fall off, and the flesh to rot from the bones : that it spread a universal terror and consternation among them, so that the sick were abandoned by their nearest relations, lest the calamity should spread by contagion, and left to perish alone in such misery as till then had never been known among them. We had some reason, however, to hope that they had found out a specific to cure it : during our stay upon the island we saw none in whom it had made a great progress, and one who went from us infected returned after a short time in perfect health ; and by this it appeared either that the disease had cured itself, or that they were not unacquainted with the virtues of simples, nor implicit dupes to the superstitious follies of their priests. We endeavoured to learn the medical qualities which they imputed to their plants, but our knowledge of their language was too imperfect for us to succeed. If we could have learnt their specific for the venereal disease, if such they have, it would have been of great advantage to us, for when we left the island it had been contracted by more than half the people on board the ship.

It is impossible but that, in relating incidents, many particulars with respect to the customs, opinions, and works of these people should be anticipated ; to avoid repetition, therefore, I shall only supply deficiencies. Of the manner of disposing of their dead, much has been said already. I must more explicitly observe, that there are two places in which the dead are deposited ; one a kind of shed, where the flesh is suffered to putrify ; the other an enclosure, with erections of stone, where the bones are afterwards buried. The sheds are called *TUPAPOW*, and the enclosures, *MORAI*. The *Morais* are also places of worship.

As soon as a native of *Otaheite* is known to be dead, the house is filled with relations, who deplore their loss, some by loud lamentations, and some by less clamorous but more genuine expressions of grief. Those who are in the nearest degree of kindred, and are really affected by the event, are silent ; the rest are one moment uttering passionate exclamations in a chorus, and the next laughing and talking without the least appearance of concern. In this manner the remainder of the day on which they assemble is spent, and all the succeeding night. On the next morning the body is shrouded in their cloth, and conveyed to the sea-side upon a bier, which the bearers support upon their shoulders, attended by the priest, who, having prayed over the body, repeats his sentences during the procession. When it arrives at the water's-edge, it is set down upon the beach ; the priest renews his prayers, and taking up some of the water in his hands, sprinkles it towards the body, but not upon it. It is then carried back forty or fifty yards, and soon after brought again to the beach, where the prayers and sprinkling are repeated. It is thus removed backwards and forwards several times ; and while these ceremonies have been performing, a house has been built, and a small space of ground railed in. In the centre of this house, or *Tupapow*, posts are set up to support the bier, which is at length conveyed thither, and placed upon it ; and here the body remains to putrify till the flesh is wholly wasted from the bones.



These houses of corruption are of a size proportioned to the rank of the person whose body they are to contain; those allotted to the lower class are just sufficient to cover the bier, and have no railing round them. The largest we ever saw was eleven yards long, and such as these are ornamented according to the abilities and inclination of the surviving kindred, who never fail to lay a profusion of good cloth about the body, and sometimes



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almost cover the outside of the house. Garlands of the fruit of the palm-nut, or *pandanus*, and cocoa-leaves, twisted by the priests in mysterious knots, with a plant called by them *Ethee no Morai*, which is particularly consecrated to funeral solemnities, are deposited about the place; provision and water are also left at a little distance; of which, and of other decorations, a more particular description has been given already.

As soon as the body is deposited in the Tupapow, the mourning is renewed. The women assemble, and are led to the door by the nearest relation, who strikes a shark's tooth several times into the crown of her head: the blood copiously follows, and is carefully received upon pieces of linen, which are thrown under the bier. The rest of the women follow this example, and the ceremony is repeated at the interval of two or three days, as long as the zeal and sorrow of the parties hold out. The tears also which are shed upon these occasions are received upon pieces of cloth, and offered as oblations to the dead: some of the younger people cut off their hair, and that is thrown under the bier with the other offerings. This custom is founded upon a notion that the soul of the deceased, which they believe to exist in a separate state, is hovering about the place where the body is deposited; that it observes the actions of the survivors, and is gratified by such testimonies of their affection and grief. Two or three days after these ceremonies have been commenced by the women, during which the men seem to be wholly insensible of their loss, they also begin to perform their part.



FUNERAL-DRESS OF THE NEAREST RELATIVE OF THE DECEASED PERSON.

The nearest relations take it in turn to assume the dress, and perform the office, which have already been particularly described in the account of Tubourai Tamaide's having acted as chief mourner to an old woman, his relation, who died while we were in the island. One part of the ceremony, however, which accounts for the running away of the people as soon as this procession is in sight, has not been mentioned. The chief mourner carries in his hand a long flat stick, the edge of which is set with shark's teeth, and in a frenzy, which his grief is supposed to have inspired, he runs at all he sees; and if any of them happen to be overtaken, he strikes them most unmercifully with this indented cudgel, which cannot fail to wound them in a dangerous manner.

These processions continue at certain intervals for five moons; but are less and less frequent, by a gradual diminution, as the end of that time approaches. When it is expired, what remains of the body is taken down from the bier, and the bones, having been scraped and washed very clean, are buried, according to the rank of the person, either within or without a Morai. If the deceased was an Earee, or chief, his skull is not buried with the rest of the bones, but is wrapped up in fine cloth, and put in a kind of box made for that purpose, which is also placed in the Morai. This coffer is called *Eucharre no te Orometua*, the house of a teacher or master. After this the mourning ceases, except some of the women continue to be really afflicted for the loss; and, in that case, they will sometimes suddenly wound themselves with the shark's tooth wherever they happen to be. This, perhaps, will account for the passion of grief in which Terapo wounded herself at the fort: some accidental circumstance might forcibly revive the remembrance of a friend or relation whom she had lost, with a pungency of regret and tenderness which forced a vent by tears, and prompted her to a repetition of the funeral rite.

The ceremonies, however, do not cease with the mourning; prayers are still said by the priest, who is well paid by the surviving relations, and offerings made at the Morai. Some of the things which from time to time are deposited there are emblematical: a young plantain represents the deceased, and the bunch of feathers the deity who is invoked. The priest places himself over against the symbol of the god, accompanied by some of the relations, who are furnished with a small offering, and repeats his orison in a set form, consisting of separate sentences; at the same time weaving the leaves of the cocoa-nut into different forms, which he afterwards deposits upon the ground where the bones have been interred; the deity is then addressed by a shrill screech, which is used only upon that occasion. When the priest retires, the tuft of feathers is removed, and the provisions left to putrify or be devoured by the rats.

Of the religion of these people, we were not able to acquire any clear and consistent knowledge: we found it, like the religion of most other countries, involved in mystery, and perplexed with apparent inconsistencies. The religious language is also here, as it is in China, different from that which is used in common; so that Tupia, who took great pains to instruct us, having no words to express his meaning which we understood, gave us lectures to very little purpose. What we learnt, however, I will relate with as much perspicuity as I can.

Nothing is more obvious to a rational being, however ignorant and stupid, than that the universe and its various parts, as far as they fall under his notice, were produced by some agent inconceivably more powerful than himself; and nothing is more difficult to be conceived, even by the most sagacious and knowing, than the production of them from nothing, which among us is expressed by the word *Creation*. It is natural, therefore, as no Being apparently capable of producing the universe is to be seen, that he should be supposed to reside in some distant part of it, or to be in his nature invisible, and that he should have originally produced all that now exists in a manner similar to that in which nature is renovated by the succession of one generation to another; but the idea of procreation includes in it that of two persons; and from the conjunction of two persons these people imagine everything in the universe, either originally or derivatively, to proceed.

The Supreme Deity, one of these two first beings, they call TAROATAIHE TOOMOO, and the other, whom they suppose to have been a rock, TEPAFA. A daughter of these was TETROW-MATATAYO, the year, or thirteen months collectively, which they never name but upon



this occasion, and she, by the common father, produced the months, and the months, by conjunction with each other, the days; the stars they suppose partly to be the immediate offspring of the first pair, and partly to have increased among themselves; and they have the same notion with respect to the different species of plants. Among other progeny of Taroataihetoomoo and Tepapa, they suppose an inferior race of deities, whom they call EATUAS. Two of these Eatuas, they say, at some remote period of time, inhabited the earth, and were the parents of the first man. When this man, their common ancestor, was born, they say that he was round like a ball, but that his mother, with great care, drew out his limbs, and having at length moulded him into his present form, she called him EOTHE, which signifies *finished*. That being prompted by the universal instinct to propagate his kind, and being able to find no female but his mother, he begot upon her a daughter, and upon the daughter other daughters for several generations, before there was a son; a son, however, being at length born, he, by the assistance of his sisters, peopled the world.

Besides their daughter Tettowmatatayo, the first progenitors of nature had a son, whom they called TANE. Taroataihetoomoo, the supreme deity, they emphatically style the causer of earthquakes; but their prayers are more generally addressed to Tane, whom they suppose to take a greater part in the affairs of mankind.

Their subordinate deities, or Eatuas, which are numerous, are of both sexes: the male are worshipped by the men, and the female by the women; and each have Morais to which the other sex is not admitted, though they have also Morais common to both. Men perform the office of priest to both sexes, but each sex has its priests, for those who officiate for one sex do not officiate for the other. They believe the immortality of the soul, at least its existence in a separate state, and that there are two situations of different degrees of happiness, somewhat analogous to our heaven and hell: the superior situation they call *Tavirua Ueraï*, the other *Tiahoboo*. They do not, however, consider them as places of reward and punishment, but as receptacles for different classes; the first for their chiefs and principal people, the other for those of inferior rank, for they do not suppose that their actions here in the least influence their future state, or indeed that they come under the cognizance of their deities at all. Their religion, therefore, if it has no influence upon their morals, is at least disinterested; and their expressions of adoration and reverence, whether by words or actions, arise only from a humble sense of their own inferiority, and the ineffable excellence of divine perfection.

The character of the priest or Tahowa is hereditary; the class is numerous, and consists of all ranks of people; the chief, however, is generally the younger brother of a good family, and is respected in a degree next to their kings. Of the little knowledge that is possessed in this country, the priests have the greatest share; but it consists principally in an acquaintance with the names and ranks of the different Eatuas or subordinate divinities, and the opinions concerning the origin of things, which have been traditionally preserved among the order in detached sentences, of which some will repeat an incredible number, though but very few of the words that are used in their common dialect occur in them. The priests, however, are superior to the rest of the people in the knowledge of navigation and astronomy; and, indeed, the name of Tahowa signifies nothing more than a man of knowledge. As there are priests of every class, they officiate only among that class to which they belong: the priest of the inferior class is never called upon by those of superior rank, nor will the priest of the superior rank officiate for any of the inferior class.

Marriage in this island, as appeared to us, is nothing more than an agreement between the man and woman, with which the priest has no concern. Where it is contracted, it appears to be pretty well kept, though sometimes the parties separate by mutual consent, and in that case a divorce takes place with as little trouble as the marriage.

But though the priesthood has laid the people under no tax for a nuptial benediction, there are two operations which it has appropriated, and from which it derives considerable advantages. One is *tattooing*, and the other circumcision, though neither of them have any connexion with religion. The tattooing has been described already. Circumcision has been adopted merely from motives of cleanliness; it cannot indeed properly be called circumcision, because the *prepuce* is not mutilated by a circular wound, but only slit through

the upper part to prevent its contracting over the *glans*. As neither of these can be performed by any but a priest, and as to be without either is the greatest disgrace, they may be considered as a claim to surplice fees like our marriages and christenings, which are cheerfully and liberally paid, not according to any settled stipend, but the rank and abilities of the parties or their friends.



SPECIMEN OF TATTOWING.

The Morai, as has already been observed, is at once a burying-ground and a place of worship, and in this particular our churches too much resemble it. The Indian, however, approaches his Morai with a reverence and humility that disgrace the Christian, not because he holds anything sacred that is there, but because he there worships an invisible divinity, for whom, though he neither hopes for reward nor fears punishment at his hand, he always expresses the profoundest homage and most humble adoration. I have already given a very particular description both of the Morais and the altars that are placed near them. When an Indian is about to worship at the Morai, or brings his offering to the altar, he always uncovers his body to the waist, and his looks and attitude are such as sufficiently express a corresponding disposition of mind.

It did not appear to us that these people are, in any instance, guilty of idolatry; at least they do not worship anything that is the work of their hands, nor any visible part of the creation. This island, indeed, and the rest that lie near it, have a particular bird, some a heron, and others a kingfisher, to which they pay a peculiar regard, and concerning which they have some superstitious notions with respect to good and bad fortune, as we have of the swallow and robin-redbreast, giving them the name of *EATUA*, and by no means killing or molesting them; yet they never address a petition to them, or approach them with any act of adoration.

Though I dare not assert that these people, to whom the art of writing, and consequently the recording of laws, are utterly unknown, live under a regular form of government; yet a subordination is established among them, that greatly resembles the early state of every nation in Europe under the feudal system, which secured liberty in the most licentious excess to a few and entailed the most abject slavery upon the rest. Their orders are *Earee rahie*, which answers to king; *Earee*, baron; *Manahouni*, vassal; and *Toutou*, villain. The *Earee rahie*, of which there are two in this island, one being the sovereign of each of the peninsulas of which it consists, is treated with great respect by all ranks, but did not appear to us to be invested with so much power as was exercised by the *Earees* in their own districts; nor indeed



did we, as I have before observed, once see the sovereign of Obereonoo while we were in the island. The Earees are lords of one or more of the districts into which each of the peninsulas is divided, of which there may be about one hundred in the whole island; and they parcel out their territories to the Manahounies, who cultivate each his part which he holds under the baron. The lowest class, called Toutous, seem to be nearly under the same circumstances as the villains in feudal governments; these do all the laborious work; they cultivate the land under the Manahounies, who are only nominal cultivators for the lord, they fetch wood and water, and, under the direction of the mistress of the family, dress the victuals: they also catch the fish\*.

Each of the Earees keeps a kind of court, and has a great number of attendants, chiefly the younger brothers of their own tribe; and among these some hold particular offices, but of what nature exactly we could not tell. One was called the *Eouca no l'Earee*, and another the *Whanno no l'Earee*, and these were frequently despatched to us with messages. Of all the courts of these Earees, that of Tootahah was the most splendid, as indeed might reasonably be expected, because he administered the government for Ontou, his nephew, who was Earee rahie of Obereonoo, and lived upon his estate. The child of the baron or Earee, as well as of the sovereign or Earee rahie, succeeds to the title and honours of the father as soon as it is born; so that a baron who was yesterday called Earee, and was approached with the ceremony of lowering the garments, so as to uncover the upper part of the body, is to-day, if his wife was last night delivered of a child, reduced to the rank of a private man, all marks of respect being transferred to the child, if it is suffered to live, though the father still continues possessor and administrator of his estate: probably this custom has its share, among other inducements, in forming the societies called Arreoy.

If a general attack happens to be made upon the island, every district under the command of an Earee is obliged to furnish its proportion of soldiers for the common defence. The number furnished by the principal districts, which Tupia recollected, when added together, amounted, as I have observed before, to six thousand six hundred and eighty. Upon such occasions the united force of the whole island is commanded in chief by the Earee rahie. Private differences between two Earees are decided by their own people, without at all disturbing the general tranquillity.

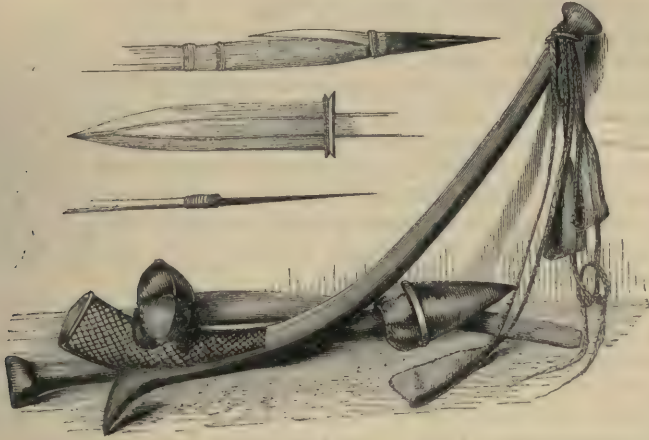
Their weapons are slings, which they use with great dexterity, pikes headed with the stings of sting-rays, and clubs, of about six or seven feet long, made of a very hard heavy wood. Thus armed, they are said to fight with great obstinacy, which is the more likely

\* This account of the social condition of the inhabitants of Tahiti is in the main correct, but differs in some particulars from that given by Mr. Ellis, in his *Polynesian Researches*, vol. ii. p. 340, et seq. He describes the various classes as consisting, first, of the *Hui arii*, or Royal family (including the Sovereign) and Nobility. "This class, though not numerous, was considered the most influential in the state. Being the highest in dignity and rank, its elevation in the estimation of the people was guarded with extreme care; and the individuals of whom it was composed were exceedingly pertinacious of their distinction, and jealous of the least degradation by the admission of inferiors to their dignity." This, however, might be effected, but appears to have seldom if ever taken place, except on occasion of a marriage between a member of the *Hui arii* and one of a lower class, when "by a variety of ceremonies performed at the temple, the inferiority was supposed to be removed;" but unless this was done, all the offspring of such a marriage were invariably destroyed. The second rank, the *Bue Raatira*, formed the middle class in society; being the most important body in times of peace, and furnishing the strength of their armies in periods of war. The Raatiras were all landed proprietors, their consequence depending much upon the extent of their possessions, which they held not from the king but from their ancestors. The petty raatiras "possessed from twenty to one hundred acres, and generally had more than their necessities required. They resided on their own

lands, and inclosed so much as was necessary for their support. They were the most industrious class of the community, working their own plantations, building their own houses, manufacturing their own cloth and mats, besides furnishing their articles for the king. The higher class among the Raatiras were those who possessed large tracts of land in one place, or a number of smaller sections in different parts. Some of them owned perhaps many hundred acres, parts of which were cultivated by those who lived in a state of dependence upon them, or by those petty Raatiras who occupied their plantations on condition of rendering military service to the proprietors and a portion of the produce. These individuals were a valuable class in the community, and constituted the aristocracy of the country."

The next class was the *Manahune*, comprising all who possessed no land. This class included independent fishermen and artisans; but since the population has been so greatly diminished as it is at the present day, few of these find it difficult to procure at least the occupancy of a piece of land, and raise himself to the rank of a Raatira. The *Teu-teu*, or servants of the chiefs, men reduced from poverty or want of skill in mechanical arts, which are respected among them, formed a second rank of *Manahune*; and the lowest class of all, the *Ti-ti*, or slaves taken in battle, or seized as the spoil of the vanquished, were also included under the same denomination.—Ed.

to be true, as it is certain that they give no quarter to either man, woman, or child, who is so unfortunate as to fall into their hands during the battle, or for some hours afterwards, till their passion, which is always violent, though not lasting, has subsided.



WEAPONS, PIKE HEADS, &amp;c.

The Earee rahie of Obereonoo, while we were here, was in perfect amity with the Eareo rahie of Tiarreboo, the other peninsula, though he took himself the title of king of the whole island: this, however, produced no more jealousy in the other sovereign, than the title of king of France, assumed by our sovereign, does in his Most Christian Majesty.

In a government so rude, it cannot be expected that distributive justice should be regularly administered, and indeed, where there is so little opposition of interest, in consequence of the facility with which every appetite and passion is gratified, there can be but few crimes. There is nothing like money, the common medium by which every want and every wish is supposed to be gratified by those who do not possess it; there is no apparently permanent good which either fraud or force can unlawfully obtain; and when all the crimes that are committed by the inhabitants of civilized countries, to get money, are set out of the account, not many will remain: add to this, that where the commerce with women is restrained by no law, men will seldom be under any temptation to commit adultery, especially as one woman is always less preferred to another, where they are less distinguished by personal decorations, and the adventitious circumstances which are produced by the varieties of art, and the refinements of sentiment. That they are thieves is true; but as among these people no man can be much injured or benefited by theft, it is not necessary to restrain it by such punishments, as in other countries are absolutely necessary to the very existence of civil society. Tupia, however, tells us, that adultery is sometimes committed as well as theft. In all cases where an injury has been committed, the punishment of the offender lies with the sufferer: adultery, if the parties are caught in the fact, is sometimes punished with death in the first ardour of resentment; but without circumstances of immediate provocation, the female sinner seldom suffers more than a beating. As punishment, however, is enforced by no law, nor taken into the hand of any magistrate, it is not often inflicted, except the injured party is the strongest; though the chiefs do sometimes punish their immediate dependants, for faults committed against each other, and even the dependants of others, if they are accused of any offence committed in their district.

Having now given the best description that I can of the island in its present state, and of the people, with their customs and manners, language and arts, I shall only add a few general observations, which may be of use to future navigators, if any of the ships of Great Britain should receive orders to visit it. As it produces nothing that appears to be convertible into an article of trade, and can be used only by affording refreshments to shipping



in their passage through these seas, it might be made to answer this purpose in a much greater degree, by transporting thither sheep, goats, and horned cattle, with European garden-stuff, and other useful vegetables, which there is the greatest reason to suppose will flourish in so fine a climate, and so rich a soil.

Though this and the neighbouring islands lie within the tropic of Capricorn, yet the heat is not troublesome, nor did the winds blow constantly from the east. We had frequently a fresh gale from the S. W. for two or three days, and sometimes, though very seldom, from the N. W. Tupia reported, that south-westerly winds prevail in October, November, and December, and we have no doubt of the fact. When the winds are variable, they are always accompanied by a swell from the S. W. or W. S. W.; there is also a swell from the same points when it is calm, and the atmosphere loaded with clouds, which is a sure indication that the winds are variable, or westerly out at sea, for with the settled trade-wind the weather is clear. The meeting with westerly winds, within the general limits of the eastern trade, has induced some navigators to suppose that they were near some large tract of land, of which, however, I think they are no indication.

It has been found, both by us and the Dolphin, that the trade-wind, in these parts, does not extend farther to the south than twenty degrees, beyond which, we generally found a gale from the westward; and it is reasonable to suppose, that when these winds blow strong, they will drive back the easterly wind, and consequently encroach upon the limits within which they constantly blow, and thus necessarily produce variable winds, as either happens to prevail, and a south-westerly swell. This supposition is the more probable, as it is well known that the trade-winds blow but faintly for some distance within their limits, and therefore may be more easily stopped or repelled by a wind in the contrary direction: it is also well known, that the limits of the trade-winds vary not only at different seasons of the year, but sometimes at the same season, in different years. There is therefore no reason to suppose that south-westerly winds, within these limits, are caused by the vicinity of large tracts of land, especially as they are always accompanied with a large swell, in the same direction in which they blow; and we find a much greater surf beating upon the shores of the south-west side of the islands that are situated just within the limits of the trade-wind, than upon any other part of them.

The tides about these islands are perhaps as inconsiderable as in any part of the world. A south or S. by W. moon, makes high water in the bay of Matavai at Otaheite; but the water very seldom rises perpendicularly above ten or twelve inches. The variation of the compass I found to be  $4^{\circ} 46'$  easterly, this being the result of a great number of trials made with four of Dr. Knight's needles, adapted to azimuth compasses. These compasses I thought the best that could be procured, yet when applied to the meridian line, I found them to differ, not only one from another, sometimes a degree and a half, but the same needle, half a degree from itself in different trials made on the same day; and I do not remember that I have ever found two needles which exactly agreed at the same time and place, though I have often found the same needle agree with itself, in several trials made one after the other. This imperfection of the needle, however, is of no consequence to navigation, as the variation can always be found to a degree of accuracy, more than sufficient for all nautical purposes.

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CHAPTER XX.—A DESCRIPTION OF SEVERAL OTHER ISLANDS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF OTAHEITE, WITH VARIOUS INCIDENTS; A DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENT; AND MANY PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THE INHABITANTS.

AFTER parting with our friends, we made an easy sail, with gentle breezes and clear weather, and were informed by Tupia, that four of the neighbouring islands, which he distinguished by the names of HUAHEINE, ULIETEA, OTAHA, and BOLABOLA,\* lay at the

\* Called Borabora by the missionaries. The *l* is substituted for the *r*, in several instances in the vocabularies given by Cook.—Ed.

distance of between one and two days' sail from Otaheite; and that hogs, fowls, and other refreshments, with which we had of late been but sparingly supplied, were there to be procured in great plenty; but having discovered from the hills of Otaheite an island lying to the northward, which he called TETHUROA, I determined first to stand that way, to take a nearer view of it. It lies N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. distant eight leagues from the northern extremity of Otaheite, upon which we had observed the transit, and to which we had, for that reason, given the name of POINT VENUS. We found it to be a small low island, and were told by Tupia that it had no settled inhabitants, but was occasionally visited by the inhabitants of Otaheite, who sometimes went thither for a few days to fish; we therefore determined to spend no more time in a further examination of it, but to go in search of Huaheine and Ulietea, which he described to be well peopled, and as large as Otaheite.

At six o'clock in the morning of the 14th, the westernmost part of Eimeo, or York Island, bore S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. and the body of Otaheite E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. At noon, the body of York Island bore E. by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S.; and Port Royal bay, at Otaheite, S.  $70^{\circ} 45'$  E. distant 61 miles; and an island, which we took to be Saunders's Island, called by the natives TAPOAMANAO, bore S.S.W. We also saw land bearing N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. which Tupia said was Huaheine.

On the 15th, it was hazy, with light breezes and calms succeeding each other, so that we could see no land, and made but little way. Our Indian, Tupia, often prayed for a wind to his god Tane, and as often boasted of his success, which indeed he took a very effectual method to secure, for he never began his address to Tane, till he saw a breeze so near that he knew it must reach the ship before his orison was well over. On the 16th, we had a gentle breeze; and in the morning about eight o'clock, being close in with the north-west part of the island Huaheine, we sounded, but had no bottom with 80 fathom. Some canoes very soon came off, but the people seemed afraid, and kept at a distance till they discovered Tupia, and then they ventured nearer. In one of the canoes that came up to the ship's side, was the king of the island and his wife. Upon assurances of friendship, frequently and earnestly repeated, their majesties and some others came on board. At first they were struck with astonishment, and wondered at every thing that was shown them; yet they made no inquiries, and seeming to be satisfied with what was offered to their notice, they made no search after other objects of curiosity, with which it was natural to suppose a building of such novelty and magnitude as the ship must abound. After some time, they became more familiar. I was given to understand, that the name of the king was OREE, and he proposed, as a mark of amity, that we should exchange names. To this I readily consented; and he was Cookee, for so he pronounced my name, and I was Oree, for the rest of the time we were together. We found these people to be very nearly the same with those of Otaheite, in person, dress, language, and every other circumstance, except, if Tupia might be believed, that they would not steal.

Soon after dinner we came to an anchor in a small but excellent harbour on the west side of the island, which the natives call OWHARRE, in eighteen fathom water, clear ground, and secure from all winds. I went immediately ashore, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Mr. Monkhouse, Tupia, King Cookee, and some other of the natives who had been on board ever since the morning. The moment we landed, Tupia stripped himself as low as the waist, and desired Mr. Monkhouse to do the same: he then sat down before a great number of the natives, who were collected together in a large house or shed; for here, as well as at Otaheite, a house consists only of a roof supported upon poles; the rest of us, by his desire, standing behind. He then began a speech or prayer, which lasted about a quarter of an hour, the king, who stood over against him, every now and then answering in what appeared to be set responses. In the course of this harangue, he delivered, at different times, two handkerchiefs, a black silk neckcloth, some beads, two small bunches of feathers, and some plantains, as presents to their Eatua, or God. In return for these he received for our Eatua, a hog, some young plantains, and two small bunches of feathers, which he ordered to be carried on board the ship. After these ceremonies, which we supposed to be the ratification of a treaty between us, every one was dismissed to go whither he pleased; and Tupia immediately repaired to offer his oblations at one of the Morais.

The next morning we went on shore again, and walked up the hills, where the productions



were exactly the same as those of Otaheite, except that the rocks and clay appeared to be more burnt. The houses were neat, and the boat-houses remarkably large; one that we measured was fifty paces long, ten broad, and twenty-four feet high; the whole formed a pointed arch, like those of our old cathedrals, which was supported on one side by twenty-six, and on the other by thirty pillars, or rather posts, about two feet high and one thick, upon most of which were rudely carved the heads of men, and several fanciful devices, not altogether unlike those which we sometimes see printed from wooden blocks at the beginning and end of old books. The plains, or flat part of the country, abounded in bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees; in some places, however, there were salt swamps and lagoons, which would produce neither.

We went again ashore on the 18th, and would have taken the advantage of Tupia's company in our perambulation, but he was too much engaged with his friends; we took, however, his boy, whose name was TAYETO, and Mr. Banks went to take a farther view of what had much engaged his attention before; it was a kind of chest or ark, the lid of which was nicely sewed on, and thatched very neatly with palm-nut leaves; it was fixed upon two poles, and supported on little arches of wood, very neatly carved; the use of the poles seemed to be to remove it from place to place, in the manner of our sedan-chairs; in one end of it was a square hole, in the middle of which was a ring touching the sides, and leaving the angles open, so as to form a round hole within a square one. The first time Mr. Banks saw this coffer, the aperture at the end was stopped with a piece of cloth, which, lest he should give offence, he left untouched; probably there was then something within, but now the cloth was taken away, and, upon looking into it, it was found empty. The general resemblance between this repository and the Ark of the Lord among the Jews is remarkable; but it is still more remarkable, that upon inquiring of the boy what it was called, he said, *Eucharre no Eatau*, the house of the God: he could however give no account of its signification or use.



ARK OF HUAHEINE.

We had commenced a kind of trade with the natives, but it went on slowly; for when anything was offered, not one of them would take it upon his own judgment, but collected the opinions of twenty or thirty people, which could not be done without great loss of time. We got, however, eleven pigs, and determined to try for more the next day.

The next day, therefore, we brought out some hatchets, for which we hoped we should have had no occasion, upon an island which no European had ever visited before. These procured us three very large hogs; and as we proposed to sail in the afternoon, King Oree and several others came on board to take their leave. To the king I gave a small plate of pewter, on which was stamped this inscription, "His Britannic Majesty's ship Endeavour, Lieutenant Cook, Commander, 16th July, 1769, Huahaine." I gave him also some medals or counters, resembling the coin of England, struck in the year 1761, with some other presents; and he promised that with none of these, particularly the plate, he would ever part. I thought it as lasting a testimony of our having first discovered this island as any

we could leave behind ; and having dismissed our visitors well satisfied and in great good-humour, we set sail, about half an hour after two in the afternoon.

The island of Huaheine, or Huahene, is situated in the latitude of  $16^{\circ} 43'$  S. and longitude  $152^{\circ} 52'$  W. from Greenwich ; it is distant from Otaheite about thirty-one leagues, in the direction of N. 58 W. and is about seven leagues in compass. Its surface is hilly and uneven, and it has a safe and commodious harbour. The harbour, which is called by the natives OWALLE, or OWHARRE, lies on the west side, under the northernmost high land, and within the north end of the reef, which lies along that side of the island ; there are two inlets or openings, by which it may be entered through the reef, about a mile and a half distant from each other ; the southernmost is the widest, and on the south side of it lies a very small sandy island. Huaheine seems to be a month forwarder in its productions than Otaheite, as we found the cocoa-nuts full of kernel, and some of the new bread-fruit fit to eat. Of the cocoa-nuts the inhabitants make a food which they call *Poe*, by mixing them with yams ; they scrape both fine, and having incorporated the powder, they put it into a wooden trough with a number of hot stones, by which an oily kind of hasty-pudding is made, that our people relished very well, especially when it was fried. Mr. Banks found not more than eleven or twelve new plants ; but he observed some insects, and a species of scorpion which he had not seen before.

The inhabitants seem to be larger made and more stout than those of Otaheite. Mr. Banks measured one of the men, and found him to be six feet three inches and a half high ; yet they are so lazy that he could not persuade any of them to go up the hills with him : they said, if they were to attempt it, the fatigue would kill them. The women were very fair, more so than those of Otaheite ; and in general we thought them more handsome, though none that were equal to some individuals. Both sexes seemed to be less timid and less curious : it has been observed that they made no inquiries on board the ship, and when we fired a gun they were frightened indeed, but they did not fall down as our friends at Otaheite constantly did when we first came among them. For this difference, however, we can easily account upon other principles : the people at Huaheine had not seen the Dolphin, those at Otaheite had. In one, the report of a gun was connected with the idea of instant destruction ; to the other, there was nothing dreadful in it but the appearance and the sound, as they had never experienced its power of dispensing death.

While we were on shore, we found that Tupia had commended them beyond their merit when he said that they would not steal, for one of them was detected in the fact. But when he was seized by the hair, the rest, instead of running away, as the people at Otaheite would have done, gathered round, and inquired what provocation had been given : but this also may be accounted for without giving them credit for superior courage ; they had no experience of the consequences of European resentment, which the people at Otaheite had in many instances purchased with life. It must, however, be acknowledged to their honour, that when they understood what had happened they showed strong signs of disapprobation, and prescribed a good beating for the thief, which was immediately administered.

We now made sail for the island of ULIETEA, which lies S.W. by W., distant seven or eight leagues from Huaheine, and at half an hour after six in the evening we were within three leagues of the shore, on the eastern side. We stood off and on all night, and when the day broke the next morning we stood in for the shore : we soon after discovered an opening in the reef which lies before the island, within which Tupia told us there was a good harbour. I did not, however, implicitly take his word, but sent the master out in the pinnace to examine it ; he soon made the signal for the ship to follow ; we accordingly stood in and anchored in two-and-twenty fathom, with soft ground. The natives soon came off to us in two canoes, each of which brought a woman and a pig. The woman we supposed was a mark of confidence, and the pig was a present ; we received both with proper acknowledgments, and complimented each of the ladies with a spike-nail and some beads, much to their satisfaction. We were told by Tupia, who had always expressed much fear of the men of Bolabola that they had made a conquest of this island ; and that, if we remained here,



they would certainly come down to-morrow and fight us. We determined, therefore, to go on shore without delay, while the day was our own.

I landed in company with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and the other gentlemen, Tupia being also of the party. He introduced us by repeating the ceremonies which he had performed at Huaheine, after which I hoisted an English jack, and took possession of this and the three neighbouring islands, Huaheine, Otaha, and Bolabola, which were all in sight, in the name of his Britannic Majesty. After this we took a walk to a great Morai, called Tapodeboatea. We found it very different from those of Otaheite, for it consisted only of four walls, about eight feet high, of coral stones, some of which were of an immense size, inclosing an area of about five-and-twenty yards square, which was filled up with smaller stones; upon the top of it many planks were set up on end, which were carved in their whole length: at a little distance we found an altar, or Ewhatta, upon which lay the last oblation or sacrifice, a hog of about eighty pounds weight, which had been offered whole, and very nicely roasted. Here were also four or five Ewharreno-Eatua, or houses of God, to which carriage-poles were fitted like that which we had seen at Huaheine. One of these Mr. Banks examined by putting his hand into it, and found a parcel about five feet long and one thick, wrapped up in mats: he broke a way through several of these mats with his fingers, but at length came to one which was made of the fibres of the cocca-nut, so firmly plaited together that he found it impossible to tear it, and therefore was forced to desist, especially as he perceived that what he had done already gave great offence to our new friends. From hence we went to a long house, not far distant, where, among rolls of cloth and several other things, we saw the model of a canoe, about three feet long, to which were tied eight human jaw-bones: we had already learnt that these, like scalps among the Indians of North America, were trophies of war. Tupia affirmed that they were the jaw-bones of the natives of this island; if so they might have been hung up, with the model of a canoe, as a symbol of invasion, by the warriors of Bolabola, as a memorial of their conquest. Night now came on apace, but Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander continued their walk along the shore, and at a little distance saw another Ewharre-no-Eatua, and a tree of the fig kind, the same as that which Mr. Green had seen at Otaheite, in great perfection, the trunk, or rather congeries of the roots, of which was forty-two paces in circumference.

On the 21st, having despatched the master in the long-boat to examine the coast of the south part of the island, and one of the mates in the yawl, to sound the harbour where the ship lay, I went myself in the pinnace to survey that part of the island which lies to the north. Mr. Banks and the gentlemen were again on shore, trading with the natives, and examining the products and curiosities of the country; they saw nothing, however, worthy notice, but some more jaw-bones, of which they made no doubt but that the account they had heard was true.

On the 22nd and 23rd, having strong gales and hazy weather, I did not think it safe to put to sea; but on the 24th, though the wind was still variable, I got under sail, and plied to the northward within the reef, with a view to go out at a wider opening than that by which I had entered; in doing this, however, I was unexpectedly in the most imminent danger of striking on the rock: the master, whom I had ordered to keep continually sounding in the chains, suddenly called out "two fathom." This alarmed me, for though I knew the ship drew at least fourteen feet, and that therefore it was impossible such a shoal should be under her keel; yet the master was either mistaken, or she went along the edge of a coral rock, many of which, in the neighbourhood of these islands are as steep as a wall.

This harbour, or bay, is called by the natives OROOA, and taken in its greatest extent, it is capable of holding any number of shipping. It extends almost the whole length of the east side of the island, and is defended from the sea by a reef of coral rocks: the southernmost opening in this reef, or channel into the harbour, by which we entered, is little more than a cable's length wide; it lies off the easternmost part of the island, and may be known by another small woody island, which lies a little to the south-east of it, called by the people here OATARA. Between three and four miles north-west from this island, lie two other islets in the same direction as the reef of which

they are a part, called OPURURU and TAMOU; between these lies the other channel into the harbour, through which I went out, and which is a full quarter of a mile wide. Still farther to the north-west are some other small islands, near which I am told there is another small channel into the harbour; but this I know only by report. The principal refreshments that are to be procured at this part of the island are, plantains, cocoa-nuts, yams, hogs, and fowls; the hogs and fowls, however, are scarce; and the country, where we saw it, is neither so populous nor so rich in produce as Otaheite, or even Huaheine. Wood and water may also be procured here; but the water cannot conveniently be got at.

We were now again at sea, without having received any interruption from the hostile inhabitants of Bolabola, whom, notwithstanding the fears of Tupia, we intended to visit. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th, we were within a league of Otaha, which bore N. 77 W. To the northward of the south end of that island, on the east side of it, and something more than a mile from the shore, lie two small islands, called TOAHOUTU and WHENUAIA; between which, Tupia says, there is a channel into a very good harbour, which lies within the reef, and appearances confirmed his report. As I discovered a broad channel between Otaha and Bolabola, I determined rather to go through it, than run to the northward of all; but the wind being right ahead, I got no ground.

Between five and six in the evening of the 26th, as I was standing to the northward, I discovered a small low island, lying N. by W. or N.N.W. distant four or five leagues from Bolabola. We were told by Tupia that the name of this island is TUBAI; that it produces nothing but cocoa-nuts, and is inhabited only by three families; though it is visited by the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, who resort thither to catch fish, with which the coast abounds.

On the 27th, about noon, the peak of Bolabola bore N. 25 W., and the north end of Otaha, N. 80 W., distant three leagues. The wind continued contrary all this day and the night following. On the 28th, at six in the morning, we were near the entrance of the harbour on the east side of OTAHA, which has been just mentioned; and finding that it might be examined without losing time, I sent away the master in the long-boat, with orders to sound it; and if the wind did not shift in our favour, to land upon the island, and traffic with the natives for such refreshments as were to be had. In this boat went Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, who landed upon the island, and before night purchased three hogs, twenty-one fowls, and as many yams and plantains as the boat would hold. Plantains we thought a more useful refreshment even than pork; for they were boiled and served to the ship's company as bread, and were now the more acceptable as our bread was so full of vermin, that notwithstanding all possible care, we had sometimes twenty of them in our mouths at a time, every one of which tasted as hot as mustard. The island seemed to be more barren than Ulitea, but the produce was of the same kind. The people also exactly resembled those that we had seen at the other islands; they were not numerous, but they flocked about the boat wherever she went from all quarters, bringing with them whatever they had to sell. They paid the strangers, of whom they had received an account from Tupia, the same compliment which they used towards their own kings, uncovering their shoulders, and wrapping their garments round their breasts; and were so solicitous to prevent its being neglected by any of their people, that a man was sent with them, who called out to every one they met, telling him what they were, and what he was to do. In the mean time, I kept plying off and on, waiting for the boat's return; at half an hour after five, not seeing anything of her, I fired a gun, and after it was dark hoisted a light; at half an hour after eight, we heard the report of a musket, which we answered with a gun, and soon after the boat came on board. The master reported that the harbour was safe and commodious, with good anchorage from twenty-five to sixteen fathom water, clear ground.

As soon as the boat was hoisted in, I made sail to the northward, and at eight o'clock in the morning of the 29th, we were close under the Peak of Bolabola, which was high, rude, and craggy. As the island was altogether inaccessible in this part, and we found it impossible to weather it, we tacked and stood off, then tacked again, and after many trips did not weather the south end of it till twelve o'clock at night. At eight o'clock the next morning, we discovered an island, which bore from us N. 63° W. distant about eight leagues;



at the same time the Peak of Bolabola bore N.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E., distant three or four leagues. This island Tupia called MAURUA, and said that it was small, wholly surrounded by a reef, and without any harbour for shipping; but inhabited, and bearing the same produce as the neighbouring islands: the middle of it rises in a high round hill, that may be seen at the distance of ten leagues.

When we were off Bolabola, we saw but few people on the shore, and were told by Tupia that many of the inhabitants were gone to Ulietea. In the afternoon we found ourselves nearly the length of the south end of Ulietea, and to windward of some harbours that lay on the west side of this island. Into one of these harbours, though we had before been ashore on the other side of the island, I intended to put, in order to stop a leak which we had sprung in the powder-room, and to take in more ballast, as I found the ship too light to carry sail upon a wind. As the wind was right against us, we plied off one of the harbours, and about three o'clock in the afternoon, on the 1st of August, we came to an anchor in the entrance of the channel leading into it, in fourteen fathom water, being prevented from working in, by a tide which set very strong out. We then carried out the kedge-anchor, in order to warp into the harbour; but when this was done, we could not trip the bower-anchor with all the purchase we could make; we were therefore obliged to lie still all night, and in the morning, when the tide turned, the ship going over the anchor, it tripped of itself, and we warped the ship into a proper berth with ease, and moored in twenty-eight fathom, with a sandy bottom. While this was doing, many of the natives came off to us with hogs, fowls, and plantains, which they parted with at an easy rate. When the ship was secured, I went on shore to look for a proper place to get ballast and water, both which I found in a very convenient situation.

This day Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander spent on shore, very much to their satisfaction: every body seemed to fear and respect them, placing in them at the same time the utmost confidence, behaving as if conscious that they possessed the power of doing them mischief, without any propensity to make use of it. Men, women, and children, crowded round them, and followed them wherever they went; but none of them were guilty of the least incivility: on the contrary, whenever there happened to be dirt or water in the way, the men vied with each other to carry them over on their backs. They were conducted to the houses of the principal people, and were received in a manner altogether new: the people who followed them while they were in their way, rushed forward as soon as they came to a house, and went hastily in before them, leaving, however, a lane sufficiently wide for them to pass. When they entered, they found those who had preceded them ranged on each side of a long mat, which was spread upon the ground, and at the farther end of which sat the family: in the first house they entered, they found some very young women or children, dressed with the utmost neatness, who kept their station, expecting the strangers to come up to them and make them presents, which they did with the greatest pleasure; for prettier children, or better dressed, they had never seen. One of them was a girl about six years old; her gown or upper garment was red; a large quantity of plaited hair was wound round her head, the ornament to which they give the name of Tamou, and which they value more than anything they possess. She sat at the upper end of a mat thirty feet long, upon which none of the spectators presumed to set a foot, notwithstanding the crowd; and she leaned upon the arm of a well-looking woman about thirty, who was probably her nurse. Our gentlemen walked up to her, and as soon as they approached, she stretched out her hand to receive the beads which they offered her, and no princess in Europe could have done it with a better grace.

The people were so much gratified by the presents which were made to these girls, that when Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander returned, they seemed attentive to nothing but how to oblige them: and in one of the houses, they were, by order of the master, entertained with a dance different from any that they had seen. It was performed by one man, who put upon his head a large cylindrical piece of wicker-work, or basket, about four feet long and eight inches in diameter, which was faced with feathers, placed perpendicularly, with the tops bending forwards, and edged round with sharks' teeth, and the tail-feathers of tropic birds: when he had put on this head-dress, which is called a *Whow*, he began to dance,

moving slowly, and often turning his head so as that the top of his high wicker-cap described a circle, and sometimes throwing it so near the faces of the spectators as to make them start back: this was held among them as a very good joke, and never failed to produce a peal of laughter, especially when it was played off upon one of the strangers.

On the 3rd, we went along the shore to the northward, which was in a direction opposite to that of the route Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander had taken the day before, with a design to purchase stock, which we always found the people more ready to part with, and at a more easy price, at their houses than at the market. In the course of our walk we met with a company of dancers, who detained us two hours, and during all that time afforded us great entertainment. The company consisted of two women dancers and six men, with three drums. We were informed by Tupia that they were some of the most considerable people of the island, and that, though they were continually going from place to place, they did not, like the little strolling companies of Otaheite, take any gratuity from the spectators. The women had upon their heads a considerable quantity of Tamou, or plaited hair, which was brought several times round the head, and adorned in many parts with the flowers of the cape-jessamine, which were stuck in with much taste, and made a head-dress truly elegant. Their necks, shoulders, and arms were naked; so were the breasts also, as low as the parting of the arm; below that they were covered with black cloth, which set close to the body. At the side of each breast, next the arm, was placed a small plume of black feathers, much in the same manner as our ladies now wear their nosegays or *bouquets*. Upon their hips rested a quantity of cloth plaited very full, which reached up to the breast, and fell down below into long petticoats, which quite concealed their feet, and which they managed with as much dexterity as our opera-dancers could have done. The plaits above the waist were brown and white alternately; the petticoats below were all white.

In this dress they advanced sideways in a measured step, keeping excellent time to the drums, which beat briskly and loud; soon after they began to shake their hips, giving the folds of cloth that lay upon them a very quick motion, which was in some degree continued through the whole dance, though the body was thrown into various postures, sometimes standing, sometimes sitting, and sometimes resting on their knees and elbows, the fingers also being moved at the same time with a quickness scarcely to be imagined. Much of the dexterity of the dancers, however, and the entertainment of the spectators, consisted in the wantonness of their attitudes and gestures, which was indeed such as exceeds all description.

One of these girls had in her ear three pearls; one of them was very large, but so foul that it was of little value; the other two were as big as a middling pea; these were clear, and of a good colour and shape, though spoiled by the drilling. Mr. Banks would fain have purchased them, and offered the owner anything she would ask for them, but she could not be persuaded to part with them at any price. He tempted her with the value of four hogs, and whatever else she should choose, but without success; and indeed they set a value upon their pearls very nearly equal to what they would fetch among us, except they could be procured before they are drilled.

Between the dances of the women, the men performed a kind of dramatic interlude, in which there was dialogue as well as dancing; but we were not sufficiently acquainted with their language to understand the subject. On the 4th, some of our gentlemen saw a much more regular entertainment of the dramatic kind, which was divided into four acts.

Tupia had often told us that he had large possessions in this island, which had been taken away from him by the inhabitants of Bolabola, and he now pointed them out in the very bay where the ship was at anchor. Upon our going on shore this was confirmed by the inhabitants, who showed us several districts, or Whennuas, which they acknowledged to be his right.

On the 5th, I received a present of three hogs, some fowls, several pieces of cloth,—the largest we had seen, being fifty yards long, which they unfolded and displayed so as to make the greatest show possible,—and a considerable quantity of plantains, cocoa-nuts, and other refreshments, from Opoony, the formidable king, or, in the language of the country, Earee rahie, of Bolabolo, with a message that he was at this time upon the island, and that the next day he intended to pay me a visit.

In the mean time Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went upon the hills, accompanied by



several of the Indians, who conducted them by excellent paths to such a height that they plainly saw the other side of the island, and the passage through which the ship had passed the reef between the little islands of Opururu and Tamou, when we landed upon it the first time. As they were returning, they saw the Indians exercising themselves at what they call *Erouhau*, which is nothing more than pitching a kind of light lance, headed with hard wood, at a mark. In this amusement, though they seem very fond of it, they do not excel; for not above one in twelve struck the mark, which was the bole of a plantain-tree, at about twenty yards distance.

On the 6th, we all staid at home, expecting the visit of the great king, but we were disappointed; we had, however, much more agreeable company, for he sent three very pretty girls to demand something in return for his present: perhaps he was unwilling to trust himself on board the ship, or perhaps he thought his messengers would procure a more valuable return for his hogs and poultry than he could himself; be that as it may, we did not regret his absence, nor his messengers their visit. In the afternoon, as the great king would not come to us, we determined to go to the great king. As he was lord of the Bola-bola men, the conquerors of this, and the terror of all the other islands, we expected to see a chief young and vigorous, with an intelligent countenance, and an enterprising spirit. We found, however, a poor feeble wretch, withered and decrepit, half blind with age, and so sluggish and stupid, that he appeared scarcely to have understanding enough left to know that it was probable we should be gratified either by hogs or women. He did not receive us sitting, or with any state or formality as the other chiefs had done. We made him our present, which he accepted, and gave a hog in return. We had learnt that his principal residence was at Otaha; and upon our telling him that we intended to go thither in our boats the next morning, and that we should be glad to have him along with us, he promised to be of the party.

Early in the morning, therefore, I set out, both with the pinnace and long-boat, for Otaha, having some of the gentlemen with me; and in our way we called upon Opoony, who was in his canoe ready to join us. As soon as we landed at Otaha, I made him a present of an axe, which I thought might induce him to encourage his subjects to bring us such provisions as we wanted, but in this we found ourselves sadly disappointed; for after staying with him till noon, we left him without being able to procure a single article. I then proceeded to the north point of the island in the pinnace, having sent the long-boat another way. As I went along, I picked up half-a-dozen hogs, as many fowls, and some plantains and yams. Having viewed and sketched the harbour on this side of the island, I made the best of my way back with the long-boat, which joined me soon after it was dark; and about ten o'clock at night we got on board the ship.

In this excursion Mr. Banks was not with us: he spent the morning on board the ship, trading with the natives, who came off in their canoes, for provisions and curiosities; and, in the afternoon, he went on shore with his draughtsmen, to sketch the dresses of the dancers which he had seen a day or two before. He found the company exactly the same, except that another woman had been added to it: the dancing also of the women was the same, but the interludes of the men were somewhat varied; he saw five or six performed, which were different from each other, and very much resembled the drama of our stage dances. The next day, he went ashore again, with Dr. Solander, and they directed their course towards the dancing company, which, from the time of our second landing, had gradually moved about two leagues in their course round the island. They saw more dancing, and more interludes, the interludes still varying from each other: in one of them the performers, who were all men, were divided into two parties, which were distinguished from each other by the colour of their clothes, one being brown, and the other white. The brown party represented a master and servants, and the white party a company of thieves: the master gave a basket of meat to the rest of his party, with a charge to take care of it: the dance of the white party consisted of several expedients to steal it, and that of the brown party in preventing their success. After some time, those who had charge of the basket placed themselves round it upon the ground, and, leaning upon it, appeared to go to sleep; the others, improving this opportunity, came gently upon them, and lifting them up from the basket, carried off their

prize: the sleepers, soon after awaking, missed their basket, but presently fell a dancing, without any farther regarding their loss; so that the dramatic action of this dance was, according to the severest laws of criticism, one, and our lovers of simplicity would here have been gratified with an entertainment perfectly suited to the chastity of their taste.

On the 9th, having spent the morning in trading with the canoes, we took the opportunity of a breeze, which sprung up at east, and having stopped our leak, and got the fresh stock which we had purchased on board, we sailed out of the harbour. When we were sailing away, Tupia strongly urged me to fire a shot towards Bolabola, possibly as a mark of his resentment, and to show the power of his new allies: in this I thought proper to gratify him, though we were seven leagues distant.

While we were about these islands, we expended very little of the ship's provisions, and were very plentifully supplied with hogs, fowls, plantains and yams, which we hoped would have been of great use to us in our course to the southward; but the hogs would not eat European grain of any kind, pulse, or bread-dust, so that we could not preserve them alive; and the fowls were all very soon seized with a disease that affected the head so, that they continued to hold it down between their legs till they died: much dependence, therefore, must not be placed in live stock taken on board at these places, at least not till a discovery is made of some food that the hogs will eat, and some remedy for the disease of the poultry. Having been necessarily detained at Ulitea so long, by the carpenters, in stopping our leak, we determined to give up our design of going on shore at Bolabola, especially as it appeared to be difficult of access.

To these six islands, Ulitea, Otaha, Bolabola, Huaheine, Tubai, and Maurua, as they lie contiguous to each other, I gave the names of SOCIETY ISLANDS, but did not think it proper to distinguish them separately by any other names than those by which they were known to the natives. They are situated between the latitude of  $16^{\circ} 10'$  and  $16^{\circ} 55'$  S., and between the longitude of  $150^{\circ} 57'$  and  $152^{\circ}$  W. from the meridian of Greenwich. Ulitea and Otaha lie within about two miles of each other, and are both inclosed within one reef of coral rocks, so that there is no passage for shipping between them. This reef forms several excellent harbours; the entrances into them, indeed, are but narrow, yet when a ship is once in, nothing can hurt her. The harbours on the east side have been described already; and on the west side of Ulitea, which is the largest of the two, there are three. The northernmost, in which we lay, is called OHAMANENO: the channel leading into it is about a quarter of a mile wide, and lies between two low sandy islands, which are the northernmost on this side; between, or just within the two islands, there is good anchorage in twenty-eight fathom, soft ground. This harbour, though small, is preferable to the others, because it is situated in the most fertile part of the island, and where fresh water is easily to be got. The other two harbours lie to the southward of this, and not far from the south end of the island: in both of them there is good anchorage, with ten, twelve, and fourteen fathom. They are easily known by three small woody islands at their entrance. The southernmost of these two harbours lies within, and to the southward of the southernmost of these islands, and the other lies between the two northernmost. I was told that there were more harbours at the south end of this island, but I did not examine whether the report was true.

Otaha affords two very good harbours, one on the east side, and the other on the west. That on the east side is called Ohamene, and has been mentioned already; the other is called OHERURUA, and lies about the middle of the south-west side of the island; it is pretty large, and affords good anchorage in twenty and twenty-five fathom, nor is there any want of fresh water. The breach in the reef, that forms a channel into this harbour, is about a quarter of a mile broad, and, like all the rest, is very steep on both sides: in general there is no danger here but what is visible.

The island of Bolabola lies N.W. and by W. from Otaha, distant about four leagues; it is surrounded by a reef of rocks, and several small islands, in compass together about eight leagues. I was told, that, on the south-west side of the island, there is a channel through the reef into a very good harbour, but I did not think it worth while to examine it, for the reasons that have been just assigned. This island is rendered very remarkable by a high craggy hill, which appears to be almost perpendicular, and terminates at the top in two



peaks, one higher than the other. The land of Ulietea and Otaha is hilly, broken, and irregular, except on the sea-coast, yet the hills look green and pleasant, and are, in many places, clothed with wood. The several particulars in which these islands, and their inhabitants, differ from what we had observed, at Otaheite, have been mentioned in the course of the narrative.

We pursued our course without any event worthy of note till the 13th, about noon, when we saw land bearing S.E., which Tupia told us was an island called OHETEROA. About six in the evening, we were within two or three leagues of it, upon which I shortened sail, and stood off and on all night; the next morning stood in for the land. We ran to leeward of the island, keeping close in shore, and saw several of the natives, though in no great numbers, upon the beach. At nine o'clock I sent Mr. Gore, one of my lieutenants, in the pinnace, to endeavour to land upon the island, and learn from the natives whether there was anchorage in a bay then in sight, and what land lay farther to the southward. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander accompanied Mr. Gore in this expedition, and as they thought Tupia might be useful, they took him with them. As the boat approached the shore, those on board perceived the natives to be armed with long lances: as they did not intend to land till they got round a point which runs out at a little distance, they stood along the coast, and the natives, therefore, very probably thought they were afraid of them. They had now got together to the number of about sixty, and all of them sat down upon the shore, except two, who were despatched forward to observe the motions of those in the boat. These men, after walking abreast of her some time, at length leaped into the water, and swam towards her, but were soon left behind; two more then appeared, and attempted to board her in the same manner, but they also were soon left behind; a fifth man then ran forward alone, and having got a good way a-head of the boat before he took to the water, easily reached her. Mr. Banks urged the officer to take him in, thinking it a good opportunity to get the confidence and good-will of a people, who then certainly looked upon them as enemies, but he obstinately refused; this man, therefore, was left behind like the others, and so was a sixth, who followed him.

When the boat had got round the point, she perceived that all her followers had desisted from the pursuit: she now opened a large bay, at the bottom of which appeared another body of men, armed with long lances like the first. Here our people prepared to land, and pushed towards the shore, a canoe at the same time putting off to meet them. As soon as it came near them, they lay upon their oars, and calling out to them, told them that they were friends, and, that if they would come up, they would give them nails, which were held up for them to see: after some hesitation they came up to the boat's stern, and took some nails that were offered them with great seeming satisfaction; but in less than a minute they appeared to have formed a design of boarding the boat, and making her their prize: three of them suddenly leaped into it, and the others brought up the canoe, which the motion in quitting her had thrown off a little, manifestly with a design to follow their associates, and support them in their attempt. The first that boarded the boat, entered close to Mr. Banks, and instantly snatched his powder-horn out of his pocket: Mr. Banks seized it, and with some difficulty wrenched it out of his hand, at the same time pressing against his breast in order to force him overboard, but he was too strong for him, and kept his place. The officer then snapped his piece, but it missed fire, upon which he ordered some of the people to fire over their heads; two pieces were accordingly discharged, upon which they all instantly leaped into the water: one of the people, either from cowardice or cruelty, or both, levelled a third piece at one of them as he was swimming away, and the ball grazed his forehead; happily, however, the wound was very slight, for he recovered the canoe, and stood up in her as active and vigorous as the rest. The canoe immediately stood in for the shore, where a great number of people, not less than two hundred, were now assembled. The boat also pushed in, but found the land guarded all round with a shoal, upon which the sea broke with a considerable surf; it was, therefore, thought advisable by the officer to proceed along shore in search of a more convenient landing-place: in the mean time, the people on board saw the canoe go on shore, and the natives gather eagerly round her to inquire the particulars of what had happened. Soon after, a single man ran along the shore, armed with his

lance, and when he came abreast of the boat, he began to dance, brandish his weapon, and call out in a very shrill tone, which Tupia said was a defiance from the people. The boat continued to row along the shore, and the champion followed it, repeating his defiance by his voice and his gestures; but no better landing-place being found than that where the canoe had put the natives on shore, the officer turned back with a view to attempt it there, hoping, that if it should not be practicable, the people would come to a conference either on the shoals or in their canoes, and that a treaty of peace might be concluded with them.

As the boat rowed slowly along the shore back again, another champion came down, shouting defiance, and brandishing his lance. His appearance was more formidable than that of the other, for he wore a large cap made of the tail feathers of the tropic bird, and his body was covered with stripes of different coloured cloth, yellow, red, and brown. This gentleman also danced, but with much more nimbleness and dexterity than the first; our people, therefore, considering his agility and his dress, distinguished him by the name of HARLEQUIN. Soon after, a more grave and elderly man came down to the beach, and, hailing the people in the boat, inquired who they were, and from whence they came. Tupia answered in their own language, from Otaheite; the three natives then walked peaceably along the shore till they came to a shoal, upon which a few people were collected. Here they stopped, and, after a short conference, they all began to pray very loud: Tupia made his responses, but continued to tell us that they were not our friends. When their prayer, or, as they call it, their *Poorah*, was over, our people entered into a parley with them, telling them, that if they would lay by their lances and clubs,—for some had one, and some the other,—they would come on shore, and trade with them for whatever they would bring: they agreed, but it was only upon condition that we would leave behind us our muskets. This was a condition which, however equitable it might appear, could not be complied with, nor, indeed, would it have put the two parties upon an equality, except their numbers had been equal. Here, then, the negotiation seemed to be at an end; but in a little time they ventured to come nearer to the boat, and at last came near enough to trade, which they did very fairly, for a small quantity of their cloth and some of their weapons. But as they gave our people no hope of provisions, nor indeed anything else, except they would venture through a narrow channel to the shore, which, all circumstances considered, they did not think it prudent to do, they put off the boat and left them.

With the ship and the boat we had now made the circuit of the island; and finding that there was neither harbour nor anchorage about it, and that the hostile disposition of the people would render landing impracticable without bloodshed, I determined not to attempt it, having no motive that could justify the risk of life. The bay, which the boat entered, lies on the west side of the island; the bottom was foul and rocky, but the water so clear that it could plainly be seen at the depth of five-and-twenty fathom, which is one hundred and fifty feet.

This island is situated in the latitude of  $22^{\circ} 27' S.$ , and in the longitude of  $150^{\circ} 47' W.$  from the meridian of Greenwich. It is thirteen miles in circuit, and rather high than low, but neither populous nor fertile in proportion to the other islands that we had seen in these seas. The chief produce seems to be the tree of which they make their weapons, called, in their language, *Etoa*; many plantations of it were seen along the shore, which is not surrounded, like the neighbouring islands, by a reef.

The people seemed to be lusty and well made, rather browner than those we had left: under their armpits they had black marks about as broad as the hand, the edges of which formed not a straight but an indented line: they had also circles of the same colour, but not so broad, round their arms and legs, but were not marked on any other part of the body. Their dress was very different from any that we had seen before, as well as the cloth of which it was made. The cloth was of the same materials as that which is worn in the other islands, and most of that which was seen by our people was dyed of a bright but deep yellow, and covered on the outside with a composition like varnish, which was either red, or of a dark lead-colour; over this ground it was again painted in stripes of many different patterns, with wonderful regularity, in the manner of our striped silks in England: the cloth that was painted red was striped with black, and that which was painted lead-colour with



white. Their habit was a short jacket of this cloth, which reached about as low as their knees; it was of one piece, and had no other making than a hole in the middle of it, stitched round with long stitches, in which it differed from all that we had seen before: through this hole the head was put, and what hung down was confined to their bodies by a piece of yellow cloth or sash, which, passing round the neck behind, was crossed upon the breast, and then collected round the waist like a belt, which passed over another belt of red cloth, so that they made a very gay and warlike appearance; some had caps of the feathers of the tropic bird, which have been before described, and some had a piece of white or lead-coloured cloth wound about the head like a small turban, which our people thought more becoming.

Their arms were long lances, made of the Etoa, the wood of which is very hard; they



NATIVE OF OHTEROA WITH HIS ETOA LANCE.

were well polished and sharpened at one end: some were near twenty feet long, though not more than three fingers thick: they had also a weapon, which was both club and pike, made of the same wood, about seven feet long; this also was well polished and sharpened at one end into a broad point. As a guard against these weapons, when they attack each other, they have mats folded up many times, which they place under their clothes from the neck to the waist: the weapons themselves, indeed, are capable of much less mischief than those of the same kind which we saw at the other islands, for the lances were there pointed with the sharp bone of the sting-ray that is called the sting, and the pikes were of much greater weight. The other things that we saw here were all superior in their kind to any we had seen before; the cloth was of a better colour in the dye, and painted with greater neatness and taste; the clubs were better cut and polished, and the canoe, though a small one, was very rich in ornament, and the carving was executed in a better manner: among other decorations peculiar to this canoe, was a line of small white feathers, which hung from the head and stern on the outside, and which, when, we saw them, were thoroughly wetted by the spray.

Tupia told us, that there were several islands lying at different distances, and in different directions from this, between the south and the north-west; and that, at the distance of three days' sail to the north-east, there was an island called MANUA, Bird Island: he seemed, however, most desirous that we should sail to the westward, and described several islands in that direction which he said he had visited: he told us that he had been ten or twelve days in going thither, and thirty in coming back, and that the *Pahie* in which he had made the voyage sailed much faster than the ship: reckoning his *Pahie* therefore to go at the rate of forty leagues a day, which, from my own observation, I have great reason to think these boats will do, it would make four hundred leagues in ten days, which I compute to be the distance of Boscawen and Keppel's Islands, discovered by Captain Wallis, westward of Ulitea, and therefore think it very probable that they were the islands he had visited. The farthest island that he knew anything of to the southward, he said, lay at the distance of about two days' sail from Oteroah, and was called MOROT; but he said that his father had told him there were islands to the southward of that: upon the whole, I was determined to stand southward in search of a continent, but to spend no time in searching for islands, if we did not happen to fall in with them during our course.

## BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.—THE PASSAGE FROM OTEROAH TO NEW ZEALAND—INCIDENTS WHICH HAPPENED  
ON GOING ASHORE THERE, AND WHILE THE SHIP LAY IN POVERTY BAY.

WE sailed from Oteroah on the 15th of August, and on Friday the 25th we celebrated the anniversary of our leaving England, by taking a Cheshire cheese from a locker, where it had been carefully treasured up for this occasion, and tapping a cask of porter, which proved to be very good, and in excellent order. On the 29th, one of the sailors got so drunk, that the next morning he died: we thought at first that he could not have come honestly by the liquor, but we afterwards learned that the boatswain, whose mate he was, had, in mere good-nature, given him part of a bottle of rum.

On the 30th, we saw the comet; at one o'clock in the morning, it was a little above the horizon in the eastern part of the heavens; at about half an hour after four it passed the meridian, and its tail subtended an angle of forty-two degrees. Our latitude was  $38^{\circ} 20'$  S., our longitude, by log,  $147^{\circ} 6'$  W., and the variation of the needle, by the azimuth,  $7^{\circ} 9'$  E. Among others that observed the comet, was Tupia, who instantly cried out, that as soon as it should be seen by the people of Bolabola, they would kill the inhabitants of Ulietea, who would, with the utmost precipitation, fly to the mountains.

On the 1st of September, being in the latitude of  $40^{\circ} 22'$  S., and longitude  $147^{\circ} 29'$  W., and there not being any signs of land, with a heavy sea from the westward, and strong gales, I wore, and stood back to the northward, fearing that we might receive such damage in our sails and rigging, as would hinder the prosecution of the voyage. On the next day, there being strong gales to the westward, I brought to, with the ship's head to the northward; but in the morning of the 3rd, the wind being more moderate, we loosened the reef of the main-sail, set the top-sails, and plied to the westward.

We continued our course till the 19th, when our latitude being  $29^{\circ}$ , and our longitude  $159^{\circ} 29'$ , we observed the variation to be  $8^{\circ} 32'$  E. On the 24th, being in latitude  $33^{\circ} 18'$ , longitude  $162^{\circ} 51'$  we observed a small piece of sea-weed, and a piece of wood covered with barnacles: the variation here was  $10^{\circ} 48'$  E. On the 27th, being in latitude  $28^{\circ} 59'$ , longitude  $169^{\circ} 5'$ , we saw a seal asleep upon the water, and several bunches of sea-weed. The next day we saw more sea-weed in bunches, and on the 29th, a bird, which we thought a land-bird; it somewhat resembled a snipe, but had a short bill. On the 1st of October, we saw birds innumerable, and another seal asleep upon the water; it is a general opinion, that seals never go out of soundings, or far from land, but those that we saw in these seas prove the contrary. Rock-weed is, however, a certain indication that land is not far distant. The next day, it being calm, we hoisted out the boat, to try whether there was a current, but found none. Our latitude was  $37^{\circ} 10'$ , longitude  $172^{\circ} 54'$  W. On the 3rd, being in latitude  $36^{\circ} 56'$ , longitude  $173^{\circ} 27'$ , we took up more sea-weed, and another piece of wood covered with barnacles. The next day, we saw two more seals, and a brown bird, about as big as a raven, with some white feathers under the wing. Mr. Gore told us, that birds of this kind were seen in great numbers about Falkland's Islands, and our people gave them the name of Port Egmont hens.

On the 5th, we thought the water changed colour, but, upon casting the lead, had no ground with 180 fathom. In the evening of this day, the variation was  $12^{\circ} 50'$  E., and, while we were going nine leagues, it increased to  $14^{\circ} 2'$ . On the next day, Friday, October the 6th, we saw land from the mast-head, bearing W. by N., and stood directly for it; in the evening, it could just be discerned from the deck, and appeared large. The variation



this day was, by azimuth and amplitude,  $15^{\circ} 41'$  E., and by observation made of the sun and moon, the longitude of the ship appeared to be  $180^{\circ} 55'$  W., and by the medium of this and subsequent observations, there appeared to be an error in the ship's account of longitude during her run from Otaheite of  $3^{\circ} 16'$ , she being so much to the westward of the longitude resulting from the log. At midnight, I brought to and sounded, but had no ground with one hundred and seventy fathom.

On the 7th, it fell calm, we therefore approached the land slowly, and in the afternoon, when a breeze sprung up, we were still distant seven or eight leagues. It appeared still larger as it was more distinctly seen, with four or five ranges of hills, rising one over the other, and a chain of mountains above all, which appeared to be of an enormous height. This land became the subject of much eager conversation; but the general opinion seemed to be that we had found the *Terra australis incognita*. About five o'clock, we saw the opening of a bay, which seemed to run pretty far inland, upon which we hauled our wind and stood in for it; we also saw smoke ascending from different places on shore. When night came on, however, we kept plying off and on till day-light, when we found ourselves to the leeward of the bay, the wind being at north: we could now perceive that the hills were clothed with wood, and that some of the trees in the valleys were very large. By noon we fetched in with the south-west point; but not being able to weather it, tacked and stood off: at this time we saw several canoes standing across the bay, which, in a little time, made to shore, without seeming to take the least notice of the ship; we also saw some houses, which appeared to be small, but neat; and near one of them a considerable number of the people collected together, who were sitting upon the beach, and who, we thought, were the same that we had seen in the canoes. Upon a small peninsula, at the north-east head, we could plainly perceive a pretty high and regular paling, which inclosed the whole top of a hill; this was also the subject of much speculation, some supposing it to be a park of deer, others an inclosure for oxen and sheep. About four o'clock in the afternoon, we anchored on the north-west side of the bay, before the entrance of a small river, in ten fathom water, with a fine sandy bottom, and at about half a league from the shore. The sides of the bay are white cliffs of a great height; the middle is low land, with hills gradually rising behind, one towering above another, and terminating in the chain of mountains, which appeared to be far inland.

In the evening I went on shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, with the pinnace and yawl, and a party of men. We landed abreast of the ship, on the east side of the river, which was here about forty yards broad; but seeing some natives on the west side whom I wished to speak with, and finding the river not fordable, I ordered the yawl in to carry us over, and left the pinnace at the entrance. When we came near the place where the people were assembled, they all ran away; however, we landed, and leaving four boys to take care of the yawl, we walked up to some huts which were about two or three hundred yards from the water-side. When we had got some distance from the boat, four men, armed with long lances, rushed out of the woods, and running up to attack the boat, would certainly have cut her off, if the people in the pinnace had not discovered them, and called to the boys to drop down the stream: the boys instantly obeyed; but being closely pursued by the Indians, the cockswain of the pinnace, who had the charge of the boats, fired a musket over their heads; at this they stopped and looked round them, but in a few minutes renewed the pursuit, brandishing their lances in a threatening manner: the cockswain then fired a second musket over their heads, but of this they took no notice; and one of them lifting up his spear to dart it at the boat, another piece was fired, which shot him dead. When he fell, the other three stood motionless for some minutes, as if petrified with astonishment; as soon as they recovered, they went back, dragging after them the dead body, which, however, they soon left, that it might not encumber their flight. At the report of the first musket, we drew together, having straggled to a little distance from each other, and made the best of our way back to the boat; and crossing the river, we soon saw the Indian lying dead upon the ground. Upon examining the body, we found that he had been shot through the heart: he was a man of the middle size and stature; his complexion was brown, but not very dark; and one side of his face was tattooed in spiral

lines of a very regular figure : he was covered with a fine cloth, of a manufacture altogether new to us, and it was tied on exactly according to the representation in Valentyn's Account of Abel Tasman's Voyage, vol. iii., part 2, page 50 : his hair also was tied in a knot on the top of his head, but had no feather in it. We returned immediately to the ship, where we could hear the people on shore talking with great earnestness, and in a very loud tone, probably about what had happened, and what should be done\*.

In the morning, we saw several of the natives where they had been seen the night before, and some walking with a quick pace towards the place where we had landed, most of them unarmed ; but three or four with long pikes in their hands. As I was desirous to establish an intercourse with them, I ordered three boats to be manned with seamen and marines, and proceeded towards the shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, the other gentlemen, and Tupia ; about fifty of them seemed to wait for our landing, on the opposite side of the river, which we thought a sign of fear, and seated themselves upon the ground : at first, therefore, myself, with only Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia, landed from the little boat, and advanced towards them ; but we had not proceeded many paces before they all started up, and every man produced either a long pike, or a small weapon of green tale, extremely well polished, about a foot long, and thick enough to weigh four or five pounds : Tupia called to them in the language of Otaheite ; but they answered only by flourishing their weapons, and making signs to us to depart ; a musket was then fired wide of them, and the ball struck the water, the river being still between us ; they saw the effect, and desisted from their threats : but we thought it prudent to retreat till the marines could be landed. This was soon done ; and they marched, with a jack carried before them, to a little bank, about fifty yards from the water-side ; here they were drawn up, and I again advanced, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander ; Tupia, Mr. Green, and Mr. Monkhouse, being with us. Tupia was again directed to speak to them, and it was with great pleasure that we perceived he was perfectly understood, he and the natives speaking only different dialects of the same language. He told them that we wanted provision and water, and would give them iron in exchange, the properties of which he explained as well as he was able. They were willing to trade, and desired that we would come over to them for that purpose : to this we consented, provided they would lay by their arms ; which, however, they could by no means be persuaded to do. During this conversation, Tupia warned us to be upon our guard, for that they were not our friends : we then pressed them in our turn to come over to us ; and at last one of them stripped himself, and swam over without his arms : he was almost immediately followed by two more, and soon after by most of the rest, to the number of twenty or thirty ; but these brought their arms with them. We made

\* Mr. Polack, in his "Narrative of Travels and Adventures during a residence in New Zealand between the years 1831 and 1837," gives the following particulars respecting this affair :—"In relating Cook's transactions in this bay, I must also mention the account given me by Manutai, grandson of Te Ratu, a principal chief, who headed the attack on the Englishmen, and was the first native killed by Europeans, which was done in self-defence. It appears that the tribes who now assaulted Cook had not been long in possession of the land, as they were originally a party of strangers from the southward, who had made war on the inhabitants of the place, and had defeated and destroyed them. This decisive battle had taken place but a very few years previously to the arrival of Cook, and Te Ratu had been one of the principal warriors. Another chief was shot in the shoulder ; this man recovered, and had died within a few years previously to my visiting those localities in 1836. I saw the son of this wounded warrior, an elderly man, who pointed out to me, on his body, the spot where the ball had passed through the shoulders of his father. Cook's ship was at first taken for a bird by the natives ; and many remarks passed among them as to the beauty and size of its wings, as the sails of this novel specimen in ornithology were supposed to be. But on seeing a smaller bird, unfledged

(without sails) descending into the water, and a number of party-coloured beings, but apparently in the human shape, also descending, the bird was regarded as a houseful of divinities. Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the natives."

When their leader was killed, "the manner of his unseen death was ascribed to a thunderbolt from these new gods ; and the noise made by the discharges of the muskets was represented as the watiiri, or thunder, which accompanies that sublime phenomenon. To revenge themselves was the dearest wish of the tribe ; but how to accomplish it with divinities who could kill them at a distance without even approaching to them, was difficult to determine. Many of these natives observed that they felt themselves taken ill by only being particularly looked upon by these Atuas. It was therefore agreed, that, as these new comers could bewitch with a single look, the sooner their society was dismissed, the better it would be for the general welfare."

This accounts for the determined hostility of the men in the boat, mentioned a little further on, one of whom must have been the person mentioned by Mr. Polack, as shot through the shoulders ; as, by Cook's account, the two men shot on the first and second encounter with the natives, were undoubtedly killed outright.—Ed.



them all presents of iron and beads ; but they seemed to set little value upon either, particularly the iron, not having the least idea of its use ; so that we got nothing in return but a few feathers : they offered indeed to exchange their arms for ours, and when we refused, made many attempts to snatch them out of our hands. As soon as they came over, Tupia repeated his declaration, that they were not our friends, and again warned us to be upon our guard ; their attempts to snatch our weapons, therefore, did not succeed ; and we gave them to understand by Tupia, that we should be obliged to kill them if they offered any farther violence. In a few minutes, however, Mr. Green happening to turn about, one of them snatched away his hanger, and retiring to a little distance, waved it round his head, with a shout of exultation : the rest now began to be extremely insolent, and we saw more coming to join them from the opposite side of the river. It was therefore become necessary to repress them, and Mr. Banks fired at the man who had taken the hanger, with small shot, at the distance of about fifteen yards : when the shot struck him, he ceased his cry ; but instead of returning the hanger, continued to flourish it over his head, at the same time slowly retreating to a greater distance. Mr. Monkhouse seeing this, fired at him with ball, and he instantly dropped. Upon this the main body, who had retired to a rock in the middle of the river upon the first discharge, began to return ; two that were near to the man who had been killed, ran up to the body, one seized his weapon of green talc, and the other endeavoured to secure the hanger, which Mr. Monkhouse had but just time to prevent. As all that had retired to the rock were now advancing, three of us discharged our pieces, loaded only with small shot, upon which they swam back for the shore ; and we perceived, upon their landing, that two or three of them were wounded. They retired slowly up the country, and we re embarked in our boats.

As we had unhappily experienced, that nothing was to be done with these people at this place ; and finding the water in the river to be salt, I proceeded in the boats round the head of the bay in search of fresh water, and with a design, if possible, to surprise some of the natives, and take them on board, where, by kind treatment and presents, I might obtain their friendship, and by their means establish an amicable correspondence with their countrymen.

To my great regret, I found no place where I could land, a dangerous surf every where beating upon the shore ; but I saw two canoes coming in from the sea, one under sail, and the other worked with paddles. I thought this a favourable opportunity to get some of the people into my possession without mischief, as those in the canoe were probably fishermen, and without arms, and I had three boats full of men. I therefore disposed the boats so as most effectually to intercept them in their way to the shore ; the people in the canoe that was paddled perceived us so soon, that, by making to the nearest land with their utmost strength, they escaped us ; the other sailed on till she was in the midst of us without discerning what we were ; but the moment she discovered us, the people on board struck their sail, and took to their paddles, which they plied so briskly that she out-ran the boat. They were, however, within hearing, and Tupia called out to them to come along-side, and promised for us that they should come to no hurt : they chose, however, rather to trust to their paddles than our promises, and continued to make from us with all their power. I then ordered a musket to be fired over their heads, as the least exceptionable expedient to accomplish my design, hoping it would either make them surrender, or leap into the water. Upon the discharge of the piece, they ceased paddling ; and all of them, being seven in number, began to strip, as we imagined, to jump overboard : but it happened otherwise. They immediately formed a resolution not to fly, but to fight ; and when the boat came up, they began the attack with their paddles, and with stones and other offensive weapons that were in the boat, so vigorously, that we were obliged to fire upon them in our own defence ; four were unhappily killed, and the other three, who were boys, the eldest about nineteen, and the youngest about eleven, instantly leaped into the water ; the eldest swam with great vigour, and resisted the attempts of our people to take him into the boat by every effort that he could make : he was however, at last overpowered, and the other two were taken up with less difficulty. I am conscious that the feeling of every reader of humanity will censure me for having fired upon these unhappy people, and it is impossible that, upon a calm

review, I should approve it myself. They certainly did not deserve death for not choosing to confide in my promises ; or not consenting to come on board my boat, even if they had apprehended no danger ; but the nature of my service required me to obtain a knowledge of their country, which I could no otherwise effect than by forcing my way into it in a hostile manner, or gaining admission through the confidence and good-will of the people. I had already tried the power of presents without effect ; and I was now prompted, by my desire to avoid further hostilities, to get some of them on board, as the only method left of convincing them that we intended them no harm, and had it in our power to contribute to their gratification and convenience. Thus far my intentions certainly were not criminal ; and though in the contest, which I had not the least reason to expect, our victory might have been complete without so great an expense of life ; yet in such situations, when the command to fire has been given, no man can restrain its excess, or prescribe its effect.

As soon as the poor wretches whom we had taken out of the water were in the boat, they squatted down, expecting no doubt instantly to be put to death : we made haste to convince them of the contrary, by every method in our power ; we furnished them with clothes, and gave them every other testimony of kindness that could remove their fears and engage their good-will. Those who are acquainted with human nature will not wonder, that the sudden joy of these young savages at being unexpectedly delivered from the fear of death, and kindly treated by those whom they supposed would have been their instant executioners, surmounted their concern for the friends they had lost, and was strongly expressed in their countenances and behaviour. Before we reached the ship, their suspicions and fears being wholly removed, they appeared to be not only reconciled to their situation, but in high spirits, and upon being offered some bread when they came on board, they devoured it with a voracious appetite. They answered and asked many questions, with great appearance of pleasure and curiosity ; and when our dinner came, they expressed an inclination to taste every thing that they saw : they seemed best pleased with the salt pork, though we had other provisions upon the table. At sun-set, they ate another meal with great eagerness, each devouring a large quantity of bread, and drinking above a quart of water. We then made them beds upon the lockers, and they went to sleep with great seeming content. In the night, however, the tumult of their minds having subsided, and given way to reflection, they sighed often and loud. Tupia, who was always upon the watch to comfort them, got up, and by soothing and encouragement, made them not only easy but cheerful ; their cheerfulness was encouraged so that they sung a song with a degree of taste that surprised us : the tune was solemn and slow, like those of our Psalms, containing many notes and semi-tones. Their countenances were intelligent and expressive, and the middlemost, who seemed to be about fifteen, had an openness in his aspect, and an ease in his deportment, which were very striking : we found that the two eldest were brothers, and that their names were TAAHOURANGE and KOIKERANGE ; the name of the youngest was MARAGOVETE. As we were returning to the ship, after having taken these boys into the boat, we picked up a large piece of pumice-stone floating upon the water ; a sure sign that there either is, or has been, a volcano in this neighbourhood.

In the morning they all seemed to be cheerful, and ate another enormous meal ; after this we dressed them, and adorned them with bracelets, anklets, and necklaces, after their own fashion, and the boat being hoisted out, they were told that we were going to set them ashore ; this produced a transport of joy ; but upon perceiving that we made towards our first landing-place near the river, their countenances changed, and they entreated with great earnestness that they might not be set ashore at that place, because they said it was inhabited by their enemies, who would kill them and eat them. This was a great disappointment to me, because I hoped the report and appearance of the boys would procure a favourable reception for ourselves. I had already sent an officer on shore with the marines and a party of men to cut wood, and I was determined to land near the place ; not, however, to abandon the boys, if, when we got on shore, they should be unwilling to leave us ; but to send a boat with them in the evening to that part of the bay to which they pointed, and which they call their home. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia, were with me, and upon our landing with the boys, and crossing the river, they seemed at first to be unwilling to leave



us ; but at length they suddenly changed their mind, and, though not without a manifest struggle and some tears, they took their leave ; when they were gone we proceeded along a swamp, with a design to shoot some ducks, of which we saw great plenty, and four of the marines attended us, walking abreast of us upon a bank that overlooked the country. After we had advanced about a mile, these men called out to us and told us, that a large body of the Indians was in sight and advancing at a great rate. Upon receiving this intelligence we drew together, and resolved to make the best of our way to the boats ; we had scarcely begun to put this into execution, when the three Indian boys started suddenly from some bushes, where they had concealed themselves, and again claimed our protection ; we readily received them, and repairing to the beach as the clearest place, we walked briskly towards the boats. The Indians were in two bodies ; one ran along the bank which had been quitted by the marines, the other fetched a compass by the swamp, so that we could not see them : when they perceived that we had formed into one body they slackened their pace, but still followed us in a gentle walk ; that they slackened their pace, was for us as well as for them, a fortunate circumstance ; for when we came to the side of the river, where we expected to find the boats that were to carry us over to the wooders, we found the pinnace at least a mile from her station, having been sent to pick up a bird which had been shot by the officer on shore, and the little boat was obliged to make three trips before we could all get over to the rest of the party. As soon as we were drawn up on the other side, the Indians came down, not in a body as we expected, but by two or three at a time, all armed, and in a short time their number increased to about two hundred : as we now despaired of making peace with them, seeing that the dread of our small arms did not keep them at a distance, and that the ship was too far off to reach the place with a shot, we resolved to re-embark, lest our stay should embroil us in another quarrel, and cost more of the Indians their lives. We therefore advanced towards the pinnace, which was now returning, when one of the boys suddenly cried out that his uncle was among the people who had marched down to us, and desired us to stay and talk with them ; we complied, and a parley immediately commenced between them and Tupia ; during which the boys held up everything we had given them as tokens of our kindness and liberality ; but neither would either of the boys swim over to them, or any of them to the boys. The body of the man who had been killed the day before still lay exposed upon the beach ; the boys seeing it lie very near us, went up to it, and covered it with some of the clothes that we had given them ; and soon after a single man, unarmed, who proved to be the uncle of Maragovete, the youngest of the boys, swam over to us, bringing in his hand a green branch, which we supposed, as well here as at Otaheite, to be an emblem of peace. We received his branch by the hands of Tupia, to whom he gave it, and made him many presents ; we also invited him to go on board the ship, but he declined it ; we therefore left him, and expected that his nephew and the two other young Indians would have staid with him, but to our great surprise, they chose rather to go with us. As soon as we had retired he went and gathered another green branch, and with this in his hand, he approached the dead body which the youth had covered with part of his clothes, walking sideways, with many ceremonies, and then throwing it towards him. When this was done, he returned to his companions, who had sat down upon the sand to observe the issue of his negotiation : they immediately gathered round him, and continued in a body above an hour, without seeming to take any farther notice of us. We were more curious than they, and observing them with our glasses from on board the ship, we saw some of them cross the river upon a kind of raft, or catamarine, and four of them carry off the dead body which had been covered by the boy, and over which his uncle had performed the ceremony of the branch, upon a kind of bier, between four men ; the other body was still suffered to remain where it had been first left.

After dinner I directed Tupia to ask the boys if they had now any objection to going ashore, where we had left their uncle, the body having been carried off, which we understood was a ratification of peace ; they said, they had not ; and the boat being ordered, they went into it with great alacrity : when the boat, in which I had sent two midshipmen, came to land, they went willingly ashore ; but soon after she put off they returned to the rocks, and wading into the water, earnestly entreated to be taken on board again ; but the people in

the boat having positive orders to leave them, could not comply. We were very attentive to what happened on shore, and keeping a constant watch with our glasses, we saw a man pass the river upon another raft, and fetch them to a place where forty or fifty of the natives were assembled, who closed round them, and continued in the same place till sun-set: upon looking again, when we saw them in motion, we could plainly distinguish our three prisoners, who separated themselves from the rest, came down to the beach, and having waved their hands three times towards the ship, ran nimbly back and joined their companions, who walked leisurely away towards that part which the boys had pointed to as their dwelling-place; we had therefore the greatest reason to believe that no mischief would happen to them, especially as we perceived that they went off in the clothes we had given them.

After it was dark loud voices were heard on shore in the bottom of the bay as usual, of which we could never learn the meaning.

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CHAPTER II.—A DESCRIPTION OF POVERTY BAY, AND THE FACE OF THE ADJACENT COUNTRY.

THE RANGE FROM THIENCE TO CAPE TURNAGAIN, AND BACK TO TOLAGO; WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PEOPLE AND THE COUNTRY, AND SEVERAL INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED ON THAT PART OF THE COAST.

THE next morning, at six o'clock, we weighed, and stood away from this unfortunate and inhospitable place, to which I gave the name of POVERTY BAY, and which by the natives is called TA-ONE-ROA, or the Long Sand, as it did not afford us a single article that we wanted, except a little wood\*. It lies in latitude  $38^{\circ} 42'$  S., and longitude  $181^{\circ} 36'$  W.; it is in the form of an horse-shoe, and is known by an island lying close under the north-east point. The two points which form the entrance are high, with steep white cliffs, and lie a league and a half or two leagues from each other, N. E. by E., and S. W. by W.; the depth of water in the bay is from twelve to five fathom, with a sandy bottom and good anchorage; but the situation is open to the wind between the south and east. Boats can go in and out of the river at any time of the tide in fine weather; but as there is a bar at the entrance, no boat can go either in or out when the sea runs high: the best place to attempt it is on the north-east side, and it is there practicable when it is not so in any other part. The shore of the bay, a little within its entrance, is a low flat sand; behind which, at a small distance, the face of the country is finely diversified by hills and valleys, all clothed with wood, and covered with verdure. The country also appears to be well inhabited, especially in the valleys leading up from the bay, where we daily saw smoke rising in clouds one behind another to a great distance, till the view terminated in mountains of a stupendous height.

The south-west point of the bay I named YOUNG NICK'S HEAD, after Nicholas Young, the boy who first saw the land. At noon it bore N. W. by W., distant about three or four leagues, and we were then about three miles from the shore. The main land extended from N. E. by N. to south, and I proposed to follow the direction of the coast to the southward as far as the latitude of  $40$  or  $41$ ; and then, if I met with no encouragement to proceed farther, to return to the northward.

In the afternoon we lay becalmed, which the people on shore perceiving, several canoes put off, and came within less than a quarter of a mile of the vessel, but could not be persuaded to come nearer, though Tupia exerted all the powers of his lungs and his eloquence upon the occasion, shouting and promising that they should not be hurt. Another canoe was now seen coming from Poverty Bay, with only four people on board, one of whom we well remembered to have seen in our first interview upon the rock. This canoe, without stopping, or taking the least notice of the others, came directly alongside of the ship, and with very little persuasion we got the Indians on board. Their example was soon followed by the rest, and we had about us seven canoes, and about fifty men. We made them all presents with a liberal hand; notwithstanding which, they were so desirous to have more of our

\* The true name of this place is *Turunga*; any sandy spot having the appellation of *Oné* or *Oni*, Sand attached to it. "From the valuable agricultural nature of the country in its vicinity, it merits," says Mr. Polack, "any other name than Poverty."—Ed



commodities, that they sold us everything they had, even the clothes from their backs and the paddles from their boats. There were but two weapons among them; these were the instruments of green talc, which were shaped somewhat like a pointed battledore, with a short handle and sharp edges; they were called *Patoo-patoo*, and were well contrived for close fighting, as they would certainly split the thickest skull at a single blow.

When these people had recovered from the first impressions of fear, which, notwithstanding their resolution in coming on board, had manifestly thrown them into some confusion, we inquired after our poor boys. The man who first came on board immediately answered, that they were unhurt, and at home; adding, that he had been induced to venture on board by the account which they had given him of the kindness with which they had been treated, and the wonders which were contained in the ship. While they were on board they showed every sign of friendship, and invited us very cordially to go back to our old bay, or to a small cove which they pointed out, that was not quite so far off; but I chose rather to prosecute my discoveries than go back, having reason to hope that I should find a better harbour than any I had yet seen.

About an hour before sun-set, the canoes put off from the ship with the few paddles they had reserved, which were scarcely sufficient to set them on shore; but, by some means or other, three of their people were left behind. As soon as we discovered it, we hailed them, but not one of them would return to take them on board. This greatly surprised us; but we were surprised still more to observe that the deserted Indians did not seem at all uneasy at their situation, but entertained us with dancing and singing after their manner, ate their suppers, and went quietly to bed.

A light breeze springing up soon after it was dark, we steered along the shore under an easy sail till midnight, and then brought to; soon after which it fell calm. We were now some leagues distant from the place where the canoes had left us; and at day-break, when the Indians perceived it, they were seized with consternation and terror, and lamented their situation in loud complaints, with gestures of despair, and many tears. Tupia, with great difficulty, pacified them; and about seven o'clock in the morning, a light breeze springing up, we continued to stand south-west along the shore. Fortunately for our poor Indians, two canoes came off about this time, and made towards the ship; they stopped, however, at a little distance, and seemed unwilling to trust themselves nearer. Our Indians were greatly agitated in this state of uncertainty, and urged their fellows to come alongside of the ship, both by their voice and gestures, with the utmost eagerness and impatience. Tupia interpreted what they said, and we were much surprised to find that, among other arguments, they assured the people in the canoes we did not eat men. We now began seriously to believe that this horrid custom prevailed among them; for what the boys had said we considered as a mere hyperbolical expression of their fear. One of the canoes, at length, ventured to come under the ship's side, and an old man came on board, who seemed to be a chief, from the finery of his garment and the superiority of his weapon, which was a *Patoo-patoo* made of bone that, as he said, had belonged to a whale. He staid on board but a short time; and when he went away, he took with him our guests, very much to the satisfaction both of them and us.

At the time when we sailed, we were abreast of a point from which the land trends S.S.W., and which, on account of its figure, I called *CAPE TABLE*. This point lies seven leagues to the southward of Poverty Bay, in latitude  $39^{\circ} 7' S.$ , and longitude  $181^{\circ} 36' W.$ ; it is of a considerable height, makes a sharp angle, and appears to be quite flat at the top. In steering along the shore to the southward of the Cape, at the distance of two or three miles, our soundings were from twenty to thirty fathom, having a chain of rocks between us and the shore, which appeared at different heights above the water.

At noon, Cape Table bore N.  $20 E.$ , distant about four leagues; and a small island, which was the southernmost land in sight, bore S.  $70 W.$ , at the distance of about three miles. This island, which the natives call *TEAHOWRAY*, I named the *ISLAND OF PORTLAND*, from its very great resemblance to Portland, in the English Channel. It lies about a mile from a point on the main; but there appears to be a ridge of rocks, extending nearly, if not quite, from one to the other. N.  $57 E.$ , two miles from the south point of Portland, lies a sunken rock,

upon which the sea breaks with great violence. We passed between this rock and the land, having from seventeen to twenty fathom. In sailing along the shore, we saw the natives assembled in great numbers as well upon Portland island as the main. We could also distinguish several spots of ground that were cultivated; some seemed to be fresh turned up, and lay in furrows like ploughed land; and some had plants upon them in different stages of their growth. We saw also, in two places, high rails upon the ridges of hills, like what we had seen upon the peninsula at the north-east head of Poverty Bay. As they were ranged in lines only, and not so as to inclose an area, we could not guess at their use, and therefore supposed they might be the work of superstition.

About noon another canoe appeared, in which were four men; she came within about a quarter of a mile of us, where the people on board seemed to perform divers ceremonies: one of them, who was in the bow, sometimes seemed to ask and to offer peace, and sometimes to threaten war, by brandishing a weapon that he held in his hand: sometimes also he danced, and sometimes he sung. Tupia talked much to him, but could not persuade him to come to the ship.

Between one and two o'clock we discovered land to the westward of Portland, extending to the southward as far as we could see; and as the ship was hauling round the south end of the island, she suddenly fell into shoal water and broken ground: we had indeed always seven fathom or more, but the soundings were never twice the same, jumping at once from seven fathom to eleven; in a short time, however, we got clear of all danger, and had again deep water under us.

At this time the island lay within a mile of us, making in white cliffs, and a long spit of low land running from it towards the main. On the sides of these cliffs sat vast numbers of people, looking at us with a fixed attention; and it is probable that they perceived some appearance of hurry and confusion on board, and some irregularity in the working of the ship, while we were getting clear of the shallow water and broken ground, from which they might infer that we were alarmed or in distress: we thought that they wished to take advantage of our situation, for five canoes were put off with the utmost expedition, full of men, and well armed: they came so near, and showed so hostile a disposition by shouting, brandishing their lances, and using threatening gestures, that we were in some pain for our small boat, which was still employed in sounding: a musket was therefore fired over them, but finding it did them no harm, they seemed rather to be provoked than intimidated, and I therefore fired a four-pounder, charged with grape-shot, wide of them: this had a better effect; upon the report of the piece they all rose up and shouted, but instead of continuing the chase, drew all together, and after a short consultation, went quietly away.

Having got round Portland, we hauled in for the land N. W. having a gentle breeze at N. E. which about five o'clock died away, and obliged us to anchor; we had one-and-twenty fathom, with a fine sandy bottom: the south point of Portland bore S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. distant about two leagues, and a low point on the main bore N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. In the same direction with this low point, there runs a deep bay, behind the land of which Cape Table is the extremity, so as to make this land a peninsula, leaving only a low narrow neck between that and the main. Of this peninsula, which the natives call TERAKAKO\*, Cape Table is the north point, and Portland the south. While we lay at anchor, two more canoes came off to us, one armed, and the other a small fishing-boat, with only four men in her; they came so near that they entered into conversation with Tupia; they answered all the questions that he asked them with great civility, but could not be persuaded to come on board; they came near enough, however, to receive several presents that were thrown to them from the ship, with which they seemed much pleased, and went away. During the night many fires were kept upon shore, probably to show us that the inhabitants were too much upon their guard to be surprised.

About five o'clock in the morning of the 13th, a breeze springing up northerly, we weighed, and steered in for the land. The shore here forms a large bay, of which Portland is the north-east point, and the bay, that runs behind Cape Table, an arm. This arm I had

\* A mistake for Nukukourua.—Ed.



a great inclination to examine, because there appeared to be safe anchorage in it, but not being sure of that, and the wind being right on end, I was unwilling to spare the time. Four-and-twenty fathom was the greatest depth within Portland, but the ground was everywhere clear. The land near the shore is of a moderate height, with white cliffs and sandy beaches; within, it rises into mountains, and upon the whole the surface is hilly, for the most part covered with wood, and to appearance pleasant and fertile. In the morning nine canoes came after the ship, but whether with peaceable or hostile intentions we could not tell, for we soon left them behind us.

In the evening we stood in for a place that had the appearance of an opening, but found no harbour; we therefore stood out again, and were soon followed by a large canoe, with eighteen or twenty men, all armed, who, though they could not reach us, shouted defiance, and brandished their weapons, with many gestures of menace and insult.

In the morning we had a view of the mountains inland, upon which the snow was still lying: the country near the shore was low and unfit for culture, but in one place we perceived a patch of somewhat yellow, which had greatly the appearance of a corn-field, yet was probably nothing more than some dead flags, which are not uncommon in swampy places: at some distance we saw groves of trees, which appeared high and tapering, and being not above two leagues from the south-west end of the great bay, in which we had been coasting for the two last days, I hoisted out the pinnace and long-boat to search for fresh water; but just as they were about to put off, we saw several boats full of people coming from the shore, and, therefore, I did not think it safe for them to leave the ship. About ten o'clock, five of these boats having drawn together, as if to hold a consultation, made towards the ship, having on board between eighty and ninety men, and four more followed at some distance, as if to sustain the attack: when the first five came within about a hundred yards of the ship, they began to sing their war-song, and brandishing their pikes, prepared for an engagement. We had now no time to lose, for if we could not prevent the attack, we should come under the unhappy necessity of using our fire-arms against them, which we were very desirous to avoid. Tupia was, therefore, ordered to acquaint them that we had weapons which, like thunder, would destroy them in a moment; that we would immediately convince them of their power by directing their effect so that they should not be hurt; but that if they persisted in any hostile attempt, we should be obliged to use them for our defence; a four-pounder, loaded with grape-shot, was then discharged wide of them, which produced the desired effect; the report, the flash, and above all, the shot, which spread very far in the water, so intimidated them, that they began to paddle away with all their might: Tupia, however, calling after them, and assuring them that if they would come unarmed, they should be kindly received; the people in one of the boats put their arms on board of another, and came under the ship's stern; we made them several presents, and should certainly have prevailed upon them to come on board, if the other canoes had not come up, and again threatened us, by shouting and brandishing their weapons: at this the people who had come to the ship unarmed expressed great displeasure, and soon after they all went away.

In the afternoon we stood over to the south point of the bay, but not reaching it before it was dark, we stood off and on all night. At eight the next morning, being abreast of the point, several fishing boats came off to us, and sold us some stinking fish: it was the best they had, and we were willing to trade with them upon any terms: these people behaved very well, and we should have parted good friends if it had not been for a large canoe, with two-and-twenty armed men on board, which came boldly up along-side of the ship. We soon saw that this boat had nothing for traffic, yet we gave them two or three pieces of cloth, an article which they seemed very fond of. I observed that one man had a black skin thrown over him, somewhat resembling that of a bear, and being desirous to know what animal was its first owner, I offered him for it a piece of red baize, and he seemed greatly pleased with the bargain, immediately pulling off the skin, and holding it up in the boat; he would not, however, part with it till he had the cloth in his possession, and as there could be no transfer of property, if with equal caution I had insisted upon the same condition, I ordered the cloth to be handed down to him, upon which, with amazing cool-

ness, instead of sending up the skin, he began to pack up both that and the baize, which he had received as the purchase of it, in a basket, without paying the least regard to my demand or remonstrances, and soon after, with the fishing-boats, put off from the ship; when they were at some distance, they drew together, and after a short consultation returned; the fishermen offered more fish, which, though good for nothing, was purchased, and trade was again renewed. Among others who were placed over the ship's side to hand up what we bought, was little Tayeto, Tupia's boy; and one of the Indians, watching his opportunity, suddenly seized him, and dragged him down into the canoe; two of them held him down in the forepart of it, and the others, with great activity, paddled her off, the rest of the canoes following as fast as they could; upon this the marines, who were under arms upon deck, were ordered to fire. The shot was directed to that part of the canoe which was farthest from the boy, and rather wide of her, being willing rather to miss the rowers than to hurt him: it happened, however, that one man dropped, upon which the others quitted their hold of the boy, who instantly leaped into the water, and swam towards the ship; the large canoe immediately pulled round and followed him, but some muskets and a great gun being fired at her, she desisted from the pursuit. The ship being brought to, a boat was lowered, and the poor boy taken up unhurt, though so terrified, that for a time he seemed to be deprived of his senses. Some of the gentlemen who traced the canoes to shore with their glasses, said, that they saw three men carried up the beach, who appeared to be either dead, or wholly disabled by their wounds.

To the cape off which this unhappy transaction happened, I gave the name of CAPE KIDNAPPERS. It lies in latitude  $39^{\circ} 43'$ , and longitude  $182^{\circ} 24' W.$ , and is rendered remarkable by two white rocks like haystacks, and the high white cliffs on each side. It lies S. W. by W. distant thirteen leagues from the isle of Portland; and between them is the bay of which it is the south point, and which, in honour of Sir Edward Hawke, then First Lord of the Admiralty, I called HAWKE'S BAY. We found in it from twenty-four to seven fathom, and good anchorage. From Cape Kidnappers the land trends S.S.W., and in this direction we made our run along the shore, keeping at about a league distance, with a steady breeze and clear weather.

As soon as Tayeto recovered from his fright, he brought a fish to Tupia, and told him that he intended it as an offering to his Eatua, or god, in gratitude for his escape; Tupia commended his piety, and ordered him to throw the fish into the sea, which was accordingly done.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, we passed a small but high white island lying close to the shore, upon which we saw many houses, boats, and people. The people we concluded to be fishers, because the island was totally barren; we saw several people also on shore, in a small bay upon the main, within the island. At eleven, we brought to till day-light, and then made sail to the southward, along the shore. About seven o'clock we passed a high point of land, which lies S.S.W. twelve leagues from Cape Kidnappers: from this point the land trends three-fourths of a point more to the westward; at ten, we saw more land open to the southward, and at noon, the southernmost land that was in sight bore S.  $39^{\circ} W.$  distant eight or ten leagues, and a high bluff head, with yellowish cliffs, bore W. distant about two miles: the depth of water was thirty-two fathom. In the afternoon we had a fresh breeze at west, and during the night variable light airs and calms: in the morning a gentle breeze sprung up between the N.W. and N.E., and having till now stood to the southward, without seeing any probability of meeting with a harbour, and the country manifestly altering for the worse, I thought that standing farther in that direction would be attended with no advantage, but on the contrary would be a loss of time that might be employed with a better prospect of success in examining the coast to the northward; about one, therefore, in the afternoon, I tacked, and stood north, with a fresh breeze at west. The high bluff head, with yellowish cliffs, which we were abreast of at noon, I called CAPE TURNAGAIN, because here we turned back. It lies in latitude  $40^{\circ} 34' S.$  longitude  $182^{\circ} 55' W.$ , distant eighteen leagues S.S.W. and S.S.W.  $\frac{1}{2} W.$  from Cape Kidnappers. The land between them is of a very unequal height; in some places it is lofty next the sea with white cliffs, in others low, with sandy beaches: the face of the country is not so well clothed with



wood as it is about Hawke's bay, but looks more like our high downs in England : it is, however, to all appearance, well inhabited ; for as we stood along the shore, we saw several villages, not only in the valleys, but on the tops and sides of the hills, and smoke in many other places. The ridge of mountains which has been mentioned before extends to the southward farther than we could see, and was then everywhere chequered with snow. At night we saw two fires, inland, so very large, that we concluded they must have been made to clear the land for tillage ; but however that be, they are a demonstration that the part of the country where they appeared is inhabited.

On the 18th, at four o'clock in the morning, Cape Kidnappers bore N. 32 W. distant two leagues : in this situation we had sixty-two fathom, and when the cape bore W. by N. distant three or four leagues, we had forty-five fathom : in the mid-way between the isle of Portland and the cape we had sixty-five fathom. In the evening, being abreast of the peninsula, within Portland island, called TERAKAKO, a canoe came off from that shore, and with much difficulty overtook the ship ; there were on board five people, two of whom appeared to be chiefs, and the other three servants : the chiefs, with very little invitation, came on board, and ordered the rest to remain in their canoe. We treated them with great kindness, and they were not backward in expressing their satisfaction ; they went down into the cabin, and after a short time told us that they had determined not to go on shore till the next morning. As the sleeping on board was an honour which we neither expected nor desired, I remonstrated strongly against it, and told them, that on their account it would not be proper, as the ship would probably be at a great distance from where she was then, the next morning : they persisted, however, in their resolution, and as I found it impossible to get rid of them without turning them by force out of the ship, I complied : as a proper precaution, however, I proposed to take their servants also on board, and hoist their canoe into the ship ; they made no objection, and this was accordingly done. The countenance of one of these chiefs was the most open and ingenuous of all I have ever seen, and I very soon gave up every suspicion of his having any sinister design : they both examined every thing they saw with great curiosity and attention, and received very thankfully such little presents as we made them ; neither of them, however, could be persuaded either to eat or drink, but their servants devoured every thing they could get with great voracity. We found that these men had heard of our kindness and liberality to the natives who had been on board before, yet we thought the confidence they placed in us, an extraordinary instance of their fortitude. At night I brought to till day-light, and then made sail ; at seven in the morning, I brought to again under Cape Table, and sent away our guests with their canoe, who expressed some surprise at seeing themselves so far from home, but landed abreast of the ship. At this time I saw other canoes putting off from the shore, but I stood away to the northward without waiting for their coming up.

About three, I passed a remarkable head-land, which I called GABLE-END-FORELAND, from the very great likeness of the white cliff at the point to the gable-end of a house : it is not more remarkable for its figure, than for a rock which rises like a spire at a little distance. It lies from Cape Table N. 24 E. distant about twelve leagues. The shore between them forms a bay, within which lies Poverty Bay, at the distance of four leagues from the head-land, and eight from the Cape. At this place three canoes came off to us, and one man came on board ; we gave him some trifles, and he soon returned to his boat, which, with all the rest, dropped astern.

In the morning I made sail in shore, in order to look into two bays, which appeared about two leagues to the northward of the Foreland ; the southernmost I could not fetch, but I anchored in the other about eleven o'clock. Into this bay we were invited by the people on board many canoes, who pointed to a place where they said there was plenty of fresh water : I did not find so good a shelter from the sea as I expected ; but the natives who came about us, appearing to be of a friendly disposition, I was determined to try whether I could not get some knowledge of the country here before I proceeded farther to the northward.

In one of the canoes that came about us as soon as we anchored, we saw two men, who by their habits appeared to be chiefs : one of them was dressed in a jacket, which was ornamented, after their manner, with dog's-skin ; the jacket of the other was almost covered

with small tufts of red feathers. These men I invited on board, and they entered the ship with very little hesitation : I gave each of them about four yards of linen, and a spike-nail ; with the linen they were much pleased, but seemed to set no value upon the nail. We perceived that they knew what had happened in Poverty Bay, and we had therefore no reason to doubt but that they would behave peaceably ; however, for further security, Tupia was ordered to tell them for what purpose we came thither, and to assure them that we would offer them no injury, if they offered none to us. In the mean time those who remained in the canoes traded with our people very fairly for what they happened to have with them : the chiefs, who were old men, staid with us till we had dined, and about two o'clock I put off with the boats, manned and armed, in order to go on shore in search of water, and the two chiefs went into the boat with me. The afternoon was tempestuous, with much rain, and the surf everywhere ran so high, that although we rowed almost round the bay, we found no place where we could land : I determined therefore to return to the ship, which being intimated to the chiefs, they called to the people on shore, and ordered a canoe to be sent off for themselves ; this was accordingly done, and they left us, promising to come on board again in the morning, and bring us some fish and sweet potatoes.

In the evening, the weather having become fair and moderate, the boats were again ordered out, and I landed, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. We were received with great expressions of friendship by the natives, who behaved with a scrupulous attention not to give offence. In particular, they took care not to appear in great bodies : one family, or the inhabitants of two or three houses only, were generally placed together, to the number of fifteen or twenty, consisting of men, women, and children. These little companies sat upon the ground, not advancing towards us, but inviting us to them, by a kind of beckon, moving one hand towards the breast. We made them several little presents ; and in our walk round the bay found two small streams of fresh water. This convenience, and the friendly behaviour of the people, determined me to stay at least a day, that I might fill some of my empty casks, and give Mr. Banks an opportunity of examining the natural produce of the country.



TAKING IN WATER ON A LOW BEACH.

In the morning of the 21st, I sent Lieutenant Gore on shore, to superintend the watering, with a strong party of men ; and they were soon followed by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, with Tupia, Tayeto, and four others. The natives sat by our people, and seemed pleased to observe them ; but did not intermix with them : they traded, however, chiefly for cloth, and after a short time applied to their ordinary occupations, as if no stranger had been among them. In the forenoon, several of their boats went out a-fishing, and at dinner time every one repaired to his respective dwelling ; from which, after a certain time, he returned.



These fair appearances encouraged Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander to range the bay with very little precaution, where they found many plants, and shot some birds of exquisite beauty. In their walk, they visited several houses of the natives, and saw something of their manner of life; for they showed, without any reserve, everything which the gentlemen desired to see. They were sometimes found at their meals, which the approach of the strangers never interrupted. Their food at this season consisted of fish, with which, instead of bread, they eat the root of a kind of fern, very like that which grows upon our commons in England. These roots they scorch over the fire, and then beat with a stick, till the bark and dry outside fall off; what remains is a soft substance, somewhat clammy and sweet, not unpleasing to the taste, but mixed with three or four times its quantity of strings and fibres, which are very disagreeable; these were swallowed by some, but spit out by the far greater number, who had baskets under them to receive the rejected part of what had been chewed, which had an appearance very like that of tobacco in the same state. In other seasons they have certainly plenty of excellent vegetables; but no tame animals were seen among them except dogs, which were very small and ugly. Mr. Banks saw some of their plantations, where the ground was as well broken down and tilled as even in the gardens of the most curious people among us: in these spots were sweet potatoes, coccos or eddas, which are well known and much esteemed both in the East and West Indies, and some gourds: the sweet potatoes were planted in small hills, some ranged in rows, and others in quineunx, all laid by a line with the greatest regularity: the coccos were planted upon flat land, but none of them yet appeared above ground; and the gourds were set in small hollows, or dishes, much as in England. These plantations were of different extent, from one or two acres to ten: taken together, there appeared to be from 150 to 200 acres in cultivation in the whole bay, though we never saw an hundred people. Each district was fenced in, generally with reeds, which were placed so close together that there was scarcely room for a mouse to creep between.

The women were plain, and made themselves more so by painting their faces with red ochre and oil, which, being generally fresh and wet upon their cheeks and foreheads, was easily transferred to the noses of those who thought fit to salute them; and that they were not wholly averse to such familiarity, the noses of several of our people strongly testified: they were, however, as great coquettes as any of the most fashionable ladies in Europe, and the young ones as skittish as an unbroken filly: each of them wore a petticoat, under which there was a girdle, made of the blades of grass highly perfumed, and to the girdle was fastened a small bunch of the leaves of some fragrant plant, which served their modesty as its innermost veil. The faces of the men were not so generally painted, yet we saw one whose whole body, and even his garments, were rubbed over with dry ochre, of which he kept a piece constantly in his hand, and was every minute renewing the decoration in one part or another, where he supposed it was become deficient. In personal delicacy they were not equal to our friends at Otaheite, for the coldness of the climate did not invite them so often to bathe; but we saw among them one instance of cleanliness in which they exceeded them, and of which, perhaps, there is no example in any other Indian nation. Every house, or every little cluster of three or four houses, was furnished with a privy, so that the ground was everywhere clean. The offals of their food, and other litter, were also piled up in regular dunghills, which probably they made use of at a proper time for manure.

In this decent article of civil economy they were beforehand with one of the most considerable nations of Europe; for I am credibly informed, that, till the year 1760, there was no such thing as a privy in Madrid, the metropolis of Spain, though it is plentifully supplied with water. Before that time it was the universal practice to throw the ordure out of the windows, during the night, into the street, where numbers of men were employed to remove it, with shovels, from the upper parts of the city to the lower, where it lay till it was dry, and was then carried away in carts, and deposited without the gates. His present Catholic Majesty, having determined to free his capital from so gross a nuisance, ordered, by proclamation, that the proprietors of every house should build a privy, and that sinks, drains, and common sewers should be made at the public expense. The Spaniards, though long accustomed to an arbitrary government, resented this proclamation with great spirit, as an infringement of the common rights of mankind, and made a vigorous struggle against

its being carried into execution. Every class devised some objection against it, but the physicians bid the fairest to interest the king in the preservation of the ancient privileges of his people; for they remonstrated, that if the filth was not, as usual, thrown into the streets, a fatal sickness would probably ensue, because the putrescent particles of the air, which such filth attracted, would then be imbibed by the human body. But this expedient, with every other that could be thought of, proved unsuccessful; and the popular discontent then ran so high, that it was very near producing an insurrection; his majesty, however, at length prevailed, and Madrid is now as clear as most of the considerable cities in Europe. But many of the citizens, probably upon the principles advanced by their physicians, that heaps of filth prevent deleterious particles of air from fixing upon neighbouring substances, have, to keep their food wholesome, constructed their privies by the kitchen fire.

In the evening, all our boats being employed in carrying the water on board, and Mr. Banks and his company finding it probable that they should be left on shore after it was dark, by which much time would be lost, which they were impatient to employ in putting the plants they had gathered in order, they applied to the Indians for a passage in one of their canoes: they immediately consented, and a canoe was launched for their use. They went all on board, being eight in number; but not being used to a vessel that required so even a balance, they unfortunately overset her in the surf: no life, however, was lost; but it was thought advisable that half of them should wait for another turn. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and Tayeto embarked again, and without any further accident arrived safely at the ship, well pleased with the good nature of their Indian friends, who cheerfully undertook to carry them a second time, after having experienced how unfit a freight they were for such a vessel.

While these gentlemen were on shore, several of the natives went off to the ship, and trafficked, by exchanging their cloth for that of Otaheite: of this barter they were for some time very fond, preferring the Indian cloth to that of Europe: but before night it decreased in its value five hundred per cent. Many of these Indians I took on board, and showed them the ship and her apparatus, at which they expressed equal satisfaction and astonishment.

As I found it exceedingly difficult to get water on board on account of the surf, I determined to stay no longer at this place; on the next morning, therefore, about five o'clock, I weighed anchor, and put to sea. This bay, which is called by the natives TEGADOO, lies in the latitude of  $38^{\circ} 10' S.$ ; but as it has nothing to recommend it, a description of it is unnecessary.

From this bay I intended to stand on to the northward, but the wind being right against me, I could make no way. While I was beating about to windward, some of the natives came on board, and told me that in a bay which lay a little to the southward, being the same that I could not fetch the day I put into Tegadoo, there was excellent water, where the boats might land without a surf. I thought it better therefore to put into this bay, where I might complete my water, and form farther connexions with the Indians, than to keep the sea. With this view I bore up for it, and sent in two boats, manned and armed, to examine the watering-place, who confirming the report of the Indians at their return, I came to an anchor about one o'clock, in eleven fathom water, with a fine sandy bottom, the north point of the bay N. by E., and the south point S.E. The watering-place, which was in a small cove a little within the south point of the bay, bore S. by E., distant about a mile. Many canoes came immediately off from the shore, and all traded very honestly for Otaheite cloth and glass-bottles, of which they were immoderately fond.

In the afternoon of the 23rd, as soon as the ship was moored, I went on shore to examine the watering-place, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander: the boat landed in the cove, without the least surf; the water was excellent, and conveniently situated; there was plenty of wood close to high-water mark, and the disposition of the people was in every respect such as we could wish.

Having, with Mr. Green, taken several observations of the sun and moon, the mean result of them gave  $180^{\circ} 47' W.$  longitude; but as all the observations made before exceeded these, I have laid down the coast from the mean of the whole. At noon I took



the sun's meridian altitude with an astronomical quadrant, which was set up at the watering-place, and found the latitude to be  $38^{\circ} 22' 24''$ .

On the 24th, early in the morning, I sent Lieutenant Gore on shore, to superintend the cutting of wood and filling of water, with a sufficient number of men for both purposes, and all the marines as a guard. After breakfast I went on shore myself, and continued there the whole day. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander also went on shore to gather plants, and in their walks saw several things worthy of notice. They met with many houses in the valleys that seemed to be wholly deserted, the people living on the ridges of the hills in a kind of sheds very slightly built. As they were advancing in one of these valleys, the hills on each side of which were very steep, they were suddenly struck with the sight of a very extraordinary natural curiosity. It was a rock, perforated through its whole substance, so as to form a rude but stupendous arch or cavern, opening directly to the sea: this aperture was seventy-five feet long, twenty-seven broad, and five-and-forty high, commanding a view of the bay and the hills on the other side, which were seen through it, and, opening at once upon the view, produced an effect far superior to any of the contrivances of art.

As they were returning to the watering-place in the evening, they met an old man, who detained them some time by showing them the military exercises of the country with the lance and patoo-patoo, which are all the weapons in use. The lance is from ten to fourteen feet long, made of a very hard wood, and sharp at both ends: the patoo-patoo has been described already: it is about a foot long, made of talc or bone, with sharp edges, and used as a battle-axe. A post or stake was set up as his enemy, to which he advanced with a most furious aspect, brandishing his lance, which he grasped with great firmness; when it was supposed to have been pierced by his lance, he ran at it with his patoo-patoo, and falling upon the upper end of it, which was to represent his adversary's head, he laid on with great vehemence, striking many blows, any one of which would probably have split the skull of an ox. From our champion's falling upon his mock enemy with the patoo-patoo, after he was supposed to have been pierced with the lance, our gentlemen inferred, that in the battles of this country there is no quarter.

This afternoon we set up the armourer's forge, to repair the braces of the tiller, which had been broken, and went on getting our wood and water, without suffering the least molestation from the natives, who came down with different sorts of fish, which we purchased with cloth, beads, and glass-bottles, as usual.

On the 25th, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went again on shore; and while they were searching for plants, Tupia staid with the waterers; among other Indians who came down to them was a priest, with whom Tupia entered into a very learned conversation. In their notions of religion they seemed to agree very well, which is not often the case between learned divines on our side of the ocean: Tupia, however, seemed to have the most knowledge, and he was listened to with great deference and attention by the other. In the course of this conversation, after the important points of divinity had been settled, Tupia inquired if it was their practice to eat men, to which they answered in the affirmative; but said, that they ate only their enemies who were slain in battle. On the 26th it rained all day, so that none of us could go ashore; and very few of the Indians came either to the watering-place or the ship.

On the 27th I went with Dr. Solander to examine the bottom of the bay, but though we went ashore at two places we met with little worth notice. The people behaved very civilly, showing us everything that we expressed a desire to see. Among other trifling curiosities which Dr. Solander purchased of them, was a boy's top, shaped exactly like those which children play with in England; and they made signs that to make it spin it was to be whipped. Mr. Banks in the mean time went ashore at the watering-place, and climbed a hill which stood at a little distance to see a fence of poles, which we had observed from the ship, and which had been much the subject of speculation. The hill was extremely steep, and rendered almost inaccessible by wood, yet he reached the place, near which he found many houses that for some reason had been deserted by their inhabitants. The poles appeared to be about sixteen feet high; they were placed in two rows, with a space of about six feet between them, and the poles in each row were about ten feet distant from each other. The

lane between them was covered by sticks, that were set up sloping towards each other from the top of the poles on each side, like the roof of a house. This rail-work, with a ditch that was parallel to it, was carried about a hundred yards down the hill in a kind of curve, but for what purpose we could not guess. The Indians at the watering-place, at our request, entertained us with their war-song, in which the women joined, with the most horrid distortions of countenance, rolling their eyes, thrusting out their tongues, and often heaving loud and deep sighs ; though all was done in very good time.

On the 28th we went ashore upon an island that lies to the left hand of the entrance of the bay, where we saw the largest canoe that we had yet met with ; she was sixty-eight feet and a half long, five broad, and three feet six high ; she had a sharp bottom, consisting of three trunks of trees hollowed, of which that in the middle was the longest ; the side planks were sixty-two feet long, in one piece, and were not despicably carved in bas-relief ; the head also was adorned with carving still more richly. Upon this island there was a larger house than any we had yet seen, but it seemed unfinished and was full of chips. The wood-work was squared so even and smooth, that we made no doubt of their having among them very sharp tools. The sides of the posts were carved in a masterly style, though after their whimsical taste, which seems to prefer spiral lines and distorted faces : as these carved posts appear to have been brought from some other place, such work is probably of great value among them. At four o'clock in the morning of the 29th, having got on board our wood and water, and a large supply of excellent celery, with which the country abounds, and which proved a powerful antiscorbutic, I unmoored and put to sea.

This bay is called by the natives *TOLAGA* ; it is moderately large, and has from seven to thirteen fathom, with a clean sandy bottom and good anchorage ; and is sheltered from all winds except the north-east. It lies in latitude  $38^{\circ} 22'$  S. and four leagues and a half to the north of Gable-end Foreland. On the south point lies a small but high island, so near the main as not to be distinguished from it. Close to the north end of the island, at the entrance into the bay, are two high rocks ; one is round, like a corn-stack, but the other is long, and perforated in several places, so that the openings appear like the arches of a bridge. Within these rocks is the cove where we cut wood, and filled our water-casks. Off the north point of the bay is a pretty high rocky island, and about a mile without it are some rocks and breakers. The variation of the compass here is  $14^{\circ} 31'$  E., and the tide flows at the full and change of the moon, about six o'clock, and rises and falls perpendicularly from five to six feet ; whether the flood comes from the southward or the northward I have not been able to determine.

We got nothing here by traffic but a few fish and some sweet potatoes, except a few trifles, which we considered merely as curiosities. We saw no four-footed animals, nor the appearance of any, either tame or wild, except dogs and rats, and these were very scarce : the people eat the dogs, like our friends at Otaheite, and adorn their garments with the skins, as we do ours with fur and ermine. I climbed many of the hills, hoping to get a view of the country, but I could see nothing from the top except higher hills, in a boundless succession. The ridges of these hills produce little besides fern ; but the sides are most luxuriantly clothed with wood and verdure of various kinds, with little plantations intermixed. In the woods we found trees of above twenty different sorts, and carried specimens of each on board ; but there was nobody among us to whom they were not altogether unknown. The tree which we cut for firing was somewhat like our maple, and yielded a whitish gum. We found another sort of it of a deep yellow, which we thought might be useful in dyeing. We found also one cabbage-tree, which we cut down for the cabbages. The country abounds with plants and the woods with birds, in an endless variety, exquisitely beautiful, and of which none of us had the least knowledge. The soil both of the hills and valleys is light and sandy, and very fit for the production of all kinds of roots, though we saw none except sweet potatoes and yams.



CHAPTER III.—THE RANGE FROM TOLAGA TO MERCURY BAY, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF MANY INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED BOTH ON BOARD AND ASHORE: A DESCRIPTION OF SEVERAL VIEWS EXHIBITED BY THE COUNTRY, AND OF THE HEPPAHS, OR FORTIFIED VILLAGES OF THE INHABITANTS.

ON Monday, the 30th, about half an hour after one o'clock, having made sail again to the northward for about ten hours, with a light breeze, I hauled round a small island which lay east one mile from the north-east point of the land; from this place I found the land trend away N.W. by W. and W.N.W. as far as I could see, this point being the easternmost land on the whole coast. I gave it the name of EAST CAPE, and I called the island that lies off it EAST ISLAND; it is of a small circuit, high and round, and appears white and barren: the cape is high, with white cliffs, and lies in latitude  $37^{\circ} 42' 30''$  S. and longitude  $181^{\circ}$  W. The land from Tolaga Bay to East Cape is of a moderate but unequal height, forming several small bays, in which are sandy beaches: of the inland country we could not see much, the weather being cloudy and hazy. The soundings were from twenty to thirty fathom, at the distance of about a league from the shore. After we had rounded the Cape, we saw in our run along the shore a great number of villages and much cultivated land; the country in general appeared more fertile than before, and was low near the sea, but hilly within. At six in the evening, being four leagues to the westward of East Cape, we passed a bay which was first discovered by Lieutenant Hicks, and which, therefore, I called HICKS'S BAY. At eight in the evening, being eight leagues to the westward of the Cape, and three or four miles from the shore, I shortened sail and brought to for the night, having at this time a fresh gale at S.S.E. and squally; but it soon became moderate, and at two in the morning we made sail again to the S.W. as the land now trended; and at eight o'clock in the morning saw land, which made like an island, bearing west, the south-westernmost part of the main bearing south-west; and about nine no less than five canoes came off, in which were more than forty men, all armed with their country pikes and battle-axes, shouting, and threatening an attack; this gave us great uneasiness, and was, indeed, what we did not expect, for we hoped that the report both of our power and clemency had spread to a greater extent. When one of these canoes had almost reached the ship, another of an immense size, the largest



GREAT CANOE OF HICKS'S BAY.

we had yet seen, crowded with people who were also armed, put off from the shore, and came up at a great rate; as it approached it received signals from the canoe that was nearest to the ship, and we could see that it had sixteen paddles on a side, beside people that sat, and others that stood in a row from stem to stern, being in all about sixty men: as they made directly to the ship, we were desirous of preventing an attack, by showing what we could do, and, therefore, fired a gun, loaded with grape-shot, ahead of them: this made them stop, but not retreat; a round-shot was then fired over them, and upon seeing it fall they seized their paddles and made towards the shore with such precipitation that they seemed scarcely to allow themselves time to breathe. In the evening three or four more

canoes came off unarmed, but they would not venture within a musket-shot of the vessel. The Cape off which we had been threatened with hostilities I called, from the hasty retreat of the enemy, *CAPE RUNAWAY*. It lies in latitude  $37^{\circ} 32'$ ; longitude  $181^{\circ} 48'$ . In this day's run we found that the land, which made like an island in the morning, bearing west, was so: and we gave it the name of *WHITE ISLAND*.

At day-break, on the 1st of November, we counted no less than five-and-forty canoes that were coming from the shore towards the ship; seven of them came up with us, and after some conversation with Tupia, sold us some lobsters and muscles, and two conger eels. These people traded pretty fairly, but when they were gone some others came off from another place, who began also to trade fairly; but after some time they took what was handed down to them, without making any return; one of them who had done so, upon being threatened, began to laugh, and with many marks of derision set us at defiance, at the same time putting off the canoe from the ship; a musket was then fired over his head, which brought him back in a more serious mood, and trade went on with great regularity. At length, when the cabin and gun-room had got as much as they wanted, the men were allowed to come to the gangway and trade for themselves. Unhappily the same care was not taken to prevent frauds as had been taken before, so that the Indians, finding that they could cheat with impunity, grew insolent again, and proceeded to take greater liberties. One of the canoes, having sold everything on board, pulled forward, and the people that were in her seeing some linen hang over the ship's side to dry, one of them, without any ceremony, untied it, and put it up in his bundle: he was immediately called to, and required to return it; instead of which he let his canoe drop astern, and laughed at us; a musket was fired over his head, which did not put a stop to his mirth, another was then fired at him with small shot, which struck him upon the back; he shrunk a little when the shot hit him, but did not regard it more than one of our men would have done the stroke of a rattan: he continued with great composure to pack up the linen that he had stolen. All the canoes now dropped astern about a hundred yards, and all set up their song of defiance, which they continued till the ship was distant from them about four hundred yards. As they seemed to have no design to attack us, I was not willing to do them any hurt, yet I thought their going off in a bravado might have a bad effect when it should be reported ashore. To show them, therefore, that they were still in our power, though very much beyond the reach of any missile weapon with which they were acquainted, I gave the ship a yaw, and fired a four-pounder so as to pass near them. The shot happened to strike the water and rise several times at a great distance beyond the canoes; this struck them with terror, and they paddled away without once looking behind them.

About two in the afternoon, we saw a pretty high island bearing west from us; and at five, saw more islands and rocks to the westward of that. We hauled our wind in order to go without them, but could not weather them before it was dark. I, therefore, bore up, and ran between them and the main. At seven, I was close under the first, from which a large double canoe, or rather two canoes lashed together at the distance of about a foot, and covered with boards so as to make a deck, put off, and made sail for the ship: this was the first vessel of the kind that we had seen since we left the South Sea Islands. When she came near, the people on board entered very freely into conversation with Tupia, and we thought showed a friendly disposition; but when it was just dark, they ran their canoe close to the ship's side, and threw in a volley of stones, after which they paddled away.

We learned from Tupia, that the people in the canoe called the island which we were under *MOWTOHORA*; it is but of a small circuit, though high, and lies six miles from the main; on the south side is anchorage in fourteen fathom water. Upon the main land S.W. by W. of this island, and apparently at no great distance from the sea, is a high round mountain, which I called *MOUNT EDGECUMBE*: it stands in the middle of a large plain, and is, therefore, the more conspicuous; latitude  $37^{\circ} 59'$ , longitude  $183^{\circ} 7'$ .

In standing westward, we suddenly shoaled our water from seventeen to ten fathom; and knowing that we were not far from the small islands and rocks which we had seen before dark, and which I intended to have passed before I brought to for the night, I thought it more prudent to tack, and spend the night under *Mowtohora*, where I knew



there was no danger. It was, indeed, happy for us that we did so; for in the morning, after we had made sail to the westward, we discovered ahead of us several rocks, some of which were level with the surface of the water, and some below it: they lay N.N.E. from Mount Edgecumbe, one league and a half distant from the island Mowtohora, and about nine miles from the main. We passed between these rocks and the main, having from ten to seven fathom water.

This morning, many canoes and much people were seen along the shore: several of the canoes followed us, but none of them could reach us, except one with a sail, which proved to be the same that had pelted us the night before. The people on board again entered into conversation with Tupia; but we expected another volley of their ammunition, which was not, indeed, dangerous to anything but the cabin windows. They continued abreast of the ship about an hour, and behaved very peaceably; but at last the salute which we expected was given: we returned it by firing a musket over them, and they immediately dropped astern and left us, perhaps rather satisfied with having given a test of their courage by twice insulting a vessel so much superior to their own, than intimidated by the shot.

At half an hour after ten, we passed between a low flat island and the main: the distance from one to the other was about four miles, and the depth of water from ten to twelve fathom. The main land between this flat island and Mowtohora is of a moderate height, but level, pretty clear of wood, and full of plantations and villages. The villages, which were larger than any we had yet seen, were built upon eminences near the sea, and fortified on the land side by a bank and ditch, with a high paling within it, which was carried all round: beside a bank, ditch, and palisadoes, some of them appeared to have outworks. Tupia had a notion that the small inclosure of palisadoes, and a ditch that we had seen before, were morais or places of worship; but we were of opinion that they were forts, and concluded that these people had neighbouring enemies, and were always exposed to hostile attacks. At two o'clock we passed a small high island, lying four miles from a high round head upon the main. From this head the land trends N.W. as far as can be seen, and has a rugged and hilly appearance. As the weather was hazy, and the wind blew fresh on the shore, we hauled off for the weathermost island in sight, which bore from us N.N.E., distant about six or seven leagues.

Under this island, which I have called the MAYOR, we spent the night. At seven in the morning it bore S. 47 E., distant six leagues, and a cluster of small islands and rocks bore N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., distant one league, to which I gave the name of the COURT OF ALDERMEN. They lie in the compass of about half a league every way, and five leagues from the main, between which and them lie other islands, most of them barren rocks, of which there is great variety: some of them are as small in compass as the Monument of London, but rise to a much greater height, and some of them are inhabited. They lie in latitude  $36^{\circ} 57'$ , and at noon bore S. 60 E., distant three or four leagues; and a rock like a castle, lying not far from the main, bore N. 40 W., at the distance of one league. The country that we passed the night before appeared to be well inhabited, many towns were in sight, and some hundreds of large canoes lay under them upon the beach; but this day, after having sailed about fifteen leagues, it appeared to be barren and desolate. As far as we had yet coasted this country from Cape Turnagain, the people acknowledged one chief, whom they called TERATTU, and to whose residence they pointed, in a direction that we thought to be very far inland, but afterwards found to be otherwise.

About one o'clock, three canoes came off to us from the main, with one-and-twenty men on board. The construction of these vessels appeared to be more simple than that of any we had seen, they being nothing more than trunks of a single tree hollowed by fire, without any convenience or ornament. The people on board were almost naked, and appeared to be of a browner complexion; yet naked and despicable as they were, they sung their song of defiance, and seemed to denounce against us inevitable destruction: they remained, however, some time out of stone's-throw, and then venturing nearer, with less appearance of hostility, one of our men went to the ship's side, and was about to hand them a rope; this courtesy, however, they thought fit to return by throwing a lance at him, which having missed him, they immediately threw another into the ship: upon this a musket was fired

over them, which at once sent them away. About two, we saw a large opening, or inlet, for which we bore up; we had now forty-one fathom water, which gradually decreased to nine, at which time we were one mile and a half distant from a high towered rock which lay near the south point of the inlet: this rock, and the northernmost of the Court of Aldermen being in one, bearing S. 61 E.

About seven in the evening we anchored in seven fathom, a little within the south entrance of the bay: to this place we were accompanied by several canoes and people like those we had seen last, and for some time they behaved very civilly. While they were hovering about us, a bird was shot from the ship, as it was swimming upon the water: at this they showed less surprise than we expected, and taking up the bird, they tied it to a fishing-line that was towing astern; as an acknowledgment for this favour, we gave them a piece of cloth: but notwithstanding this effect of our fire-arms, and this interchange of civilities, as soon as it grew dark, they sung their war-song, and attempted to tow away the buoy of the anchor. Two or three muskets were then fired over them, but this seemed rather to make them angry than afraid, and they went away, threatening that to-morrow they would return with more force, and be the death of us all; at the same time sending off a boat, which they told us was going to another part of the bay for assistance.

There was some appearance of generosity, as well as courage, in acquainting us with the time when they intended to make their attack, but they forfeited all credit which this procured them, by coming secretly upon us in the night, when they certainly hoped to find us asleep: upon approaching the ship, they found themselves mistaken, and therefore retired without speaking a word, supposing that they were too early; after some time, they came a second time, and being again disappointed, they retired as silently as before.

In the morning, at day-break, they prepared to effect by force what they had in vain attempted by stealth and artifice: no less than twelve canoes came against us with about a hundred and fifty men, all armed with pikes, lances, and stones. As they could do nothing till they came very near the ship, Tupia was ordered to expostulate with them, and if possible divert them from their purpose: during the conversation, they appeared to be sometimes friendly and sometimes otherwise; at length, however, they began to trade, and we offered to purchase their weapons, which some of them consented to sell: they sold two very fairly, but having received what had been agreed upon for the purchase of a third, they refused to send it up, but offered it for a second price; a second was sent down, but the weapon was still detained, and a demand made of a third; this being refused with some expressions of displeasure and resentment, the offender, with many ludicrous tokens of contempt and defiance, paddled his canoe off a few yards from the ship. As I intended to continue in this place five or six days, in order to make an observation of the transit of Mercury, it was absolutely necessary, in order to prevent future mischief, to show these people that we were not to be treated ill with impunity; some small shot were therefore fired at the thief, and a musket-ball through the bottom of his boat: upon this it was paddled to about a hundred yards' distance, and to our great surprise the people in the other canoes took not the least notice of their wounded companion, though he bled very much, but returned to the ship, and continued to trade with the most perfect indifference and unconcern. They sold us many more of their weapons, without making any other attempt to defraud us for a considerable time; at last, however, one of them thought fit to paddle away with two different pieces of cloth which had been given for the same weapon: when he had got about a hundred yards' distance, and thought himself secure of his prize, a musket was fired after him, which fortunately struck the boat just at the water's edge, and made two holes in her side; this only incited them to ply their paddles with greater activity, and the rest of the canoes also made off with the utmost expedition. As the last proof of our superiority, therefore, we fired a round shot over them, and not a boat stopped till they got on shore.

About ten o'clock, I went with two boats to sound the bay, and look out for a more convenient anchoring-place, the master being in one boat and myself in the other. We pulled first over to the north shore, from which some canoes came out to meet us; as we advanced, however, they retired, inviting us to follow them; but seeing them all armed, I did not



think it proper to comply, but went towards the head of the bay, where I observed a village upon a very high point, fortified in the manner that has been already described, and having fixed upon an anchoring-place not far from where the ship lay, I returned on board. At three o'clock in the afternoon, I weighed, ran in nearer to the shore, and anchored in four fathom and a half water, with a soft sandy bottom, the south point of the bay bearing E., distant one mile, and a river which the boats can enter at low water S.S.E., distant a mile and a half.

In the morning, the natives came off again to the ship, and we had the satisfaction to observe that their behaviour was very different from what it had been yesterday: among them was an old man, whom we had before remarked for his prudence and honesty: his name was TOIAYA, and he seemed to be a person of a superior rank; in the transactions of yesterday morning he had behaved with great propriety and good sense, lying in a small canoe, always near the ship, and treating those on board as if he neither intended a fraud, nor suspected an injury: with some persuasion this man and another came on board, and ventured into the cabin, where I presented each of them with a piece of English cloth and some spike-nails. They told us that the Indians were now very much afraid of us; and on our part we promised friendship, if they would behave peaceably, desiring only to purchase what they had to sell upon their own terms.

After the natives had left us, I went with the pinnace and long-boat into the river with a design to haul the seine, and sent the master in the yawl to sound the bay and dredge for fish. The Indians, who were on one side of the river, expressed their friendship by all the signs they could devise, beckoning us to land among them; but we chose to go ashore on the other side, as the situation was more convenient for hauling the seine and shooting birds, of which we saw great numbers of various kinds: the Indians, with much persuasion, about noon, ventured over to us. With the seine we had very little success, catching only a few mullets, neither did we get any thing by the trawl or the dredge, except a few shells; but we shot several birds, most of them resembling sea-pies, except that they had black plumage, and red bills and feet. While we were absent with our guns, the people who staid by the boats saw two of the Indians quarrel and fight: they began the battle with their lances, but some old men interposed and took them away, leaving them to decide the difference, like Englishmen, with their fists; they boxed with great vigour and obstinacy for some time, but by degrees all retired behind a little hill, so that our people could not see the event of the combat.

In the morning the long-boat was sent again to trawl in the bay, and an officer, with the marines, and a party of men, to cut wood and haul the seine. The Indians on shore appeared very peaceable and submissive, and we had reason to believe that their habitations were at a considerable distance, for we saw no houses, and found that they slept under the bushes: the bay is probably a place to which they frequently resort in parties to gather shell-fish, of which it affords incredible plenty; for wherever we went, whether upon the hills or in the valleys, the woods or the plains, we saw vast heaps of shells, often many wagon-loads together, some appearing to be very old, and others recent. We saw no cultivation in this place, which had a desolate and barren appearance; the tops of the hills were green, but nothing grew there, except a large kind of fern, the roots of which the natives had got together in large quantities, in order to carry away with them. In the evening Mr. Banks walked up the river, which, at the mouth, looked fine and broad, but at the distance of about two miles was not deep enough to cover the foot; and the country inland was still more barren than at the sea-side. The seine and dredge were not more successful to-day than yesterday, but the Indians in some measure compensated for the disappointment by bringing us several baskets of fish, some dry, and some fresh dressed; it was not indeed of the best, but I ordered it all to be bought for the encouragement of trade.

On the 7th, the weather was so bad that none of us left the ship, nor did any of the Indians come on board. On the 8th, I sent a party of men on shore to wood and water; and in the mean time many canoes came off, in one of which was our friend Toiava; soon after he was alongside of the ship, he saw two canoes coming from the opposite side of the

bay, upon which he hasted back again to the shore with all his canoes, telling us that he was afraid of the people who were coming : this was a farther proof that the people of this country were perpetually committing hostilities against each other. In a short time, however, he returned, having discovered that the people who had alarmed him were not the same that he had supposed. The natives that came to the ship this morning sold us, for a few pieces of cloth, as much fish of the mackerel kind as served the whole ship's company, and they were as good as ever were eaten. At noon, this day, I observed the sun's meridional zenith distance by an astronomical quadrant, which gave the latitude  $36^{\circ} 47' 43''$  within the south entrance of the bay.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on shore and collected a great variety of plants, altogether unknown, and not returning till the evening, had an opportunity of observing in what manner the Indians disposed themselves to pass the night. They had no shelter but a few shrubs ; the women and the children were ranged innermost, or farthest from the sea ; the men lay in a kind of half circle round them, and their arms were set up against the trees close by them, in a manner which showed that they were afraid of an attack by some enemy not far distant. It was also discovered that they acknowledged neither Teratu, nor any other person as their king : as in this particular they differed from all the people that we had seen upon other parts of the coast, we thought it possible that they might be a set of outlaws, in a state of rebellion against Teratu, and in that case they might have no settled habitations, or cultivated land in any part of the country.

On the 9th, at day-break, a great number of canoes came on board, loaded with mackerel of two sorts, one exactly the same with those caught in England, and the other somewhat different : we imagined the people had taken a large shoal, and brought us an overplus which they could not consume ; for they sold them at a very low rate. They were, however, very welcome to us ; at eight o'clock, the ship had more fish on board than all her people could eat in three days ; and before night, the quantity was so much increased, that every man who could get salt cured as many as would last him a month. After an early breakfast, I went ashore, with Mr. Green and proper instruments, to observe the transit of Mercury, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander being of the party ; the weather had for some time been very thick, with much rain, but this day was so favourable that not a cloud intervened during the whole transit. The observation of the ingress was made by Mr. Green alone, while I was employed in taking the sun's altitude to ascertain the time. It came on at  $7^h 20' 58''$  apparent time : according to Mr. Green's observation, the internal contact was at  $12^h 8' 58''$ , the external at  $12^h 9' 55''$  P. M. And according to mine, the internal contact was at  $12^h 8' 54''$ , and the external  $12^h 9' 48''$  ; the latitude of the place of observation was  $36^{\circ} 48' 5\frac{1}{2}''$ . The latitude observed at noon was  $36^{\circ} 48' 28''$ . The mean of this and yesterday's observation gives  $36^{\circ} 48' 5\frac{1}{2}''$  S. the latitude of the place of observation ; the variation of the compass was  $11^{\circ} 9' E$ .

About noon we were alarmed by the firing of a great gun from the ship ; Mr. Gore, my second lieutenant, was at this time commanding officer on board, and the account that he gave was this :—While some small canoes were trading with the people, two very large ones came up, full of men, one of them having on board forty-seven, all armed with pikes, darts, and stones, and apparently with a hostile intention. They appeared to be strangers, and to be rather conscious of superiority over us by their numbers, than afraid of any weapons which could give us the superiority over them. No attack, however, was made ; probably because they learned from the people in the other canoes, with whom they immediately entered into conference, what kind of an enemy they had to deal with. After a little time they began to trade, some of them offering their arms, and one of them a square piece of cloth, which makes a part of their dress, called a *Haahow*. Several of the weapons were purchased ; and Mr. Gore having agreed for a *Haahow*, sent down the price, which was a piece of British cloth, and expected his purchase ; but the Indian, as soon as he had got Mr. Gore's cloth in his possession, refused to part with his own, and put off the canoe. Upon being threatened for this fraud, he and his companions began to sing their war-song in defiance, and shook their paddles : still, however, they began no attack, only defying Mr. Gore to take any remedy in his power, which so provoked him that he levelled a musket loaded



with ball at the offender while he was holding the cloth in his hand, and shot him dead. It would have been happy if the effect of a few small-shot had been tried upon this occasion, which, upon some others, had been successful.

When the Indian dropped, all the canoes put off to some distance; but as they did not go away, it was thought they might still meditate an attack. To secure, therefore, a safe passage for the boat, which it was necessary to send on shore, a round shot was fired over their heads, which effectually answered the purpose, and put them all to flight. When an account of what had happened was brought ashore, our Indians were alarmed, and, drawing all together, retreated in a body. After a short time, however, they returned, having heard a more particular account of the affair, and intimated that they thought the man who had been killed deserved his fate.

A little before sunset the Indians retired to eat their supper, and we went with them to be spectators of the repast. It consisted of fish of different kinds, among which were lobsters, and some birds, of a species unknown to us: these were either roasted or baked. To roast them they fastened them upon a small stick, which was stuck up in the ground inclining towards their fire; and to bake them they put them into a hole in the ground, with hot stones, in the same manner as the people of Otaheite.

Among the natives that were assembled upon this occasion, we saw a woman who, after their manner, was mourning for the death of her relation. She sat upon the ground near the rest, who, one only excepted, seemed not at all to regard her; the tears constantly trickled down her cheeks, and she repeated, in a low, but very mournful voice, words which even Tupia did not at all understand. At the end of every sentence she cut her arms, her face, or her breast, with a shell that she held in her hand, so that she was almost covered with blood, and was indeed one of the most affecting spectacles that can be conceived. The cuts, however, did not appear to be so deep as are sometimes made upon similar occasions, if we may judge by the scars which we saw upon the arms, thighs, breasts, and cheeks of many of them, which we were told were the remains of wounds which they had inflicted upon themselves as testimonies of their affection and sorrow.

The next day, I went with two boats, accompanied by Mr. Banks and the other gentlemen, to examine a large river that empties itself into the head of the bay. We rowed about four or five miles up, and could have gone much farther if the weather had been favourable. It was here wider than at the mouth, and divided into many streams by small flat islands, which are covered with mangroves, and overflowed at high-water. From these trees exudes a viscous substance which very much resembles resin; we found it first in small lumps upon the sea-beach, and now saw it sticking to the trees, by which we knew whence it came. We landed on the east side of the river, where we saw a tree upon which several shags had built their nests, and here, therefore, we determined to dine. Twenty of the shags were soon killed, and, being boiled upon the spot, afforded us an excellent meal. We then went upon the hills, from whence I thought I saw the head of the river. The shore on each side, as well as the islands in the middle, were covered with mangroves; and the sand-banks abounded in cockles and clams. In many places there were rock-oysters, and everywhere plenty of wild-fowl, principally shags, ducks, curlews, and the sea-pie, that has been described before. We also saw fish in the river, but of what kind we could not discover. The country on the east side of this river is, for the most part, barren and destitute of wood; but on the west it has a better aspect, and in some places is adorned with trees, but has in no part the appearance of cultivation. In the entrance of the river, and for two or three miles up, there is good anchoring in four and five fathom water, and places very convenient for laying a vessel on shore, where the tide rises and falls seven feet at the full and change of the moon. We could not determine whether any considerable stream of fresh water came into this river out of the country; but we saw a number of small rivulets issue from the adjacent hills. Near the mouth of this river, on the east side, we found a little Indian village, consisting of small temporary sheds, where we landed, and were received by the people with the utmost kindness and hospitality. They treated us with a flat shell-fish of a most delicious taste, somewhat like a cockle, which we ate hot from the coals. Near this place is a high point, or peninsula, projecting into the river, and upon it are the remains of

a fort, which they call *Eppah*, or *Heppah*. The best engineer in Europe could not have chosen a situation better adapted to enable a small number to defend themselves against a greater. The steepness of the cliffs renders it wholly inaccessible from the water, which encloses it on three sides; and, to the land, it is fortified by a ditch, and a bank raised on the inside. From the top of the bank to the bottom of the ditch is two-and-twenty feet; the ditch on the outside is fourteen feet deep, and its breadth is in proportion. The whole seemed to have been executed with great judgment; and there had been a row of pickets or



VIEW OF A HIPPAH, OR FORTIFIED VILLAGE.

palisadoes, both on the top of the bank, and along the brink of the ditch on the outside: those on the outside had been driven very deep into the ground, and were inclined towards the ditch, so as to project over it; but of these the thickest posts only were left, and upon them there were evident marks of fire, so that the place had probably been taken and destroyed by an enemy. If any occasion should make it necessary for a ship to winter here, or stay any time, tents might be built in this place, which is sufficiently spacious, with great convenience, and might easily be made impregnable to the whole country.

On the eleventh, there was so much wind and rain that no canoe came off; but the long-boat was sent to fetch oysters from one of the beds which had been discovered the day before: the boat soon returned, deeply laden, and the oysters, which were as good as ever came from Colchester, and about the same size, were laid down under the booms, and the ship's company did nothing but eat them from the time they came on board till night, when, as may reasonably be supposed, great part of them were expended; this, however, gave us no concern, as we knew that not the boat only, but the ship, might have been loaded, almost in one tide, as the beds are dry at half ebb.

In the morning of Sunday the 12th, two canoes came off full of people whom we had never seen before, but who appeared to have heard of us by the caution which they used in approaching us. As we invited them to come alongside with all the tokens of friendship that we could show, they ventured up, and two of them came on board; the rest traded very fairly for what they had: a small canoe also came from the other side of the bay, and sold us some very large fish, which they gave us to understand they would have brought yesterday, having caught them the day before, but that the wind was so high they could not venture to sea.

After breakfast I went with the pinnace and yawl, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, over to the north side of the bay, to take a view of the country, and two



fortified villages which we had discovered at a distance. We landed near the smallest of them, the situation of which was the most beautifully-romantic that can be imagined; it was built upon a small rock, detached from the main, and surrounded at high water. The whole body of this rock was perforated by a hollow or arch, which possessed much the largest part of it; the top of the arch was above sixty feet perpendicular above the sea, which at high water flowed through the bottom of it: the whole summit of the rock above the arch was fenced round after their manner; but the area was not large enough to contain more than five or six houses: it was accessible only by one very narrow and steep path, by which the inhabitants, at our approach, came down, and invited us into the place; but we refused, intending to visit a much more considerable fort of the same kind at about a mile's distance. We made some presents, however, to the women; and in the mean time we saw the inhabitants of the town which we were going to coming towards us in a body, men, women, and children, to the number of about one hundred: when they came near enough to be heard, they waved their hands, and called out *Horomai*; after which they sat down among the bushes near the beach; these ceremonies, we were told, were certain signs of their friendly disposition. We advanced to the place where they were sitting, and when we came up, made them a few presents, and asked leave to visit their Heppah; they consented with joy in their countenances, and immediately led the way. It is called WHARRETOUWA, and is situated upon a high promontory or point, which projects into the sea on the north side, and near the head of the bay: two sides of it are washed by the sea, and these are altogether inaccessible; two other sides are to the land: up one of them, which is very steep, lies the avenue from the beach; the other is flat and open to the country upon the hill, which is a narrow ridge: the whole is enclosed by a palisade about ten feet high, consisting of strong pales bound together with withes. The weak side next the land is also defended by a double ditch, the innermost of which has a bank and an additional palisade: the inner palisades are upon the bank next the town, but at such a distance from the top of the bank as to leave room for men to walk and use their arms, between them and the inner ditch; the outermost palisades are between the two ditches, and driven obliquely into the ground, so that their upper ends incline over the inner ditch: the depth of this ditch, from the bottom to the top or crown of the bank, is four-and-twenty feet. Close within the innermost palisade is a stage, twenty feet high, forty feet long, and six broad; it is supported by strong posts, and is intended as a station for those who defend the place, from which they may annoy the assailants by darts and stones, heaps of which lay ready for use. Another stage of the same kind commands the steep avenue from the beach, and stands also within the palisade; on this side of the hill there are some little outworks and huts, not intended as advanced posts, but as the habitations of people who, for want of room, could not be accommodated within the works, but who were, notwithstanding, desirous of placing themselves under their protection. The palisades, as has been observed already, run round the whole brow of the hill, as well towards the sea as towards the land; but the ground within having originally been a mount, they have reduced it not to one level, but to several, rising in stages one above the other, like an amphitheatre, each of which is enclosed within its separate palisade; they communicate with each other by narrow lanes, which might easily be stopped up, so that if an enemy should force the outward palisade, he would have others to carry before the place could be wholly reduced, supposing these places to be obstinately defended one after the other. The only entrance is by a narrow passage, about twelve feet long, communicating with the steep ascent from the beach: it passes under one of the fighting stages, and, though we saw nothing like a door or gateway, it may be easily barricaded in a manner that will make the forcing it a very dangerous and difficult undertaking. Upon the whole, this must be considered as a place of great strength, in which a small number of resolute men may defend themselves against all the force which a people with no other arms than those that are in use here could bring against it. It seemed to be well furnished for a siege with everything but water; we saw great quantities of fern-root, which they eat as bread, and dried fish piled up in heaps; but we could not perceive that they had any fresh water nearer than a brook which runs close under the foot of the hill: whether they have any means of getting it from this place during a siege, or whether they have any method of

storing it within the works in gourds or other vessels, we could not learn ; some resource they certainly have with respect to this article, an indispensable necessary of life, for otherwise the laying up dry provisions could answer no purpose. Upon our expressing a desire to see their method of attack and defence, one of the young men mounted a fighting stage, which they call *Porava*, and another went into the ditch : both he that was to defend the place, and he that was to assault it, sung the war-song, and danced with the same frightful gesticulations that we had seen used in more serious circumstances, to work themselves up into a degree of that mechanical fury, which, among all uncivilized nations is the necessary prelude to a battle ; for dispassionate courage, a strength of mind that can surmount the sense of danger, without a flow of animal spirits by which it is extinguished, seems to be the prerogative of those who have projects of more lasting importance, and a keener sense of honour and disgrace than can be formed or felt by men who have few pains or pleasures besides those of mere animal life, and scarcely any purpose but to provide for the day that is passing over them, to obtain plunder, or revenge an insult : they will march against each other indeed in cool blood, though they find it necessary to work themselves into passion before they engage ; as among us there have been many instances of people who have deliberately made themselves drunk, that they might execute a project which they formed when they were sober, but which, while they continued so, they did not dare to undertake.

On the side of the hill, near this inclosure, we saw about half an acre planted with gourds and sweet potatoes, which was the only cultivation in the bay : under the foot of the point upon which this fortification stands, are two rocks, one just broken off from the main, and the other not perfectly detached from it : they are both small, and seem more proper for the habitations of birds than men ; yet there are houses and places of defence upon each of them. And we saw many other works of the same kind upon small islands, rocks, and ridges of hills, on different parts of the coast, besides many fortified towns, which appeared to be much superior to this.

The perpetual hostility in which these poor savages, who have made every village a fort, must necessarily live, will account for there being so little of their land in a state of cultivation ; and, as mischiefs very often reciprocally produce each other, it may perhaps appear, that there being so little land in a state of cultivation, will account for their living in perpetual hostility. But it is very strange, that the same invention and diligence which have been used in the construction of places so admirably adapted to defence, almost without tools, should not, when urged by the same necessity, have furnished them with a single missile weapon except the lance, which is thrown by hand ; they have no contrivance like a bow to discharge a dart, nor anything like a sling to assist them in throwing a stone ; which is the more surprising, as the invention of slings, and bows and arrows, is much more obvious than of the works which these people construct, and both these weapons are found among much ruder nations, and in almost every other part of the world. Besides the long lance and *Patoo-patoo*, which have been mentioned already, they have a staff about five feet long, sometimes pointed like a serjeant's halbert, sometimes only tapering to a point at one end, and having the other end broad, and shaped somewhat like the blade of an oar. They have also another weapon, about a foot shorter than these, pointed at one end, and at the other shaped like an axe. The points of their long lances are barbed, and they handle them with such strength and agility, that we can match them with no weapon but a loaded musquet.

After taking a slight view of the country, and loading both the boats with celery, which we found in great plenty near the beach, we returned from our excursion, and about five o'clock in the evening, got on board the ship. On the 15th, I sailed out of the bay, and at the same time had several canoes on board, in one of which was our friend *Toiava*, who said, that as soon as we were gone he must repair to his *Heppah* or fort, because the friends of the man who had been shot by Mr. Gore on the 9th had threatened to revenge his death upon him, whom they had reproached as being our friend. Off the north point of the bay, I saw a great number of islands, of various extent, which lay scattered to the north-west, in a direction parallel with the main as far as I could see. I steered north-east for the north-easternmost of these islands, but the wind coming to the north-west, I was obliged to stand out to sea.



To the bay which we had now left I gave the name of *MERCURY BAY*, on account of the observation which we had made there of the transit of that planet over the sun. It lies in latitude  $36^{\circ} 47'$  S.; and in the longitude of  $184^{\circ} 4'$  W.: there are several islands lying both to the southward and northward of it, and a small island or rock in the middle of the entrance: within this island the depth of water nowhere exceeds nine fathom; the best anchoring is in a sandy bay, which lies just within the south head, in five and four fathom, bringing a high tower or rock, which lies without the head, in one with the head, or just shut in behind it. This place is very convenient both for wooding and watering, and in the river there is an immense quantity of oysters and other shell-fish: I have for this reason given it the name of *OYSTER RIVER*. But for a ship that wants to stay here any time, the best and safest place is in the river at the head of the bay; which, from the number of mangrove trees about it, I have called *MANGROVE RIVER*. To sail into this river, the south shore must be kept all the way on board. The country on the east side of the river and bay, is very barren, its only produce being fern, and a few other plants that will grow in a poor soil. The land on the north-west side is covered with wood, and the soil being much more fertile would doubtless produce all the necessaries of life with proper cultivation: it is not, however, so fertile as the lands that we have seen to the southward, nor do the inhabitants, though numerous, make so good an appearance: they have no plantations; their canoes are mean, and without ornament; they sleep in the open air; and say, that Teratu, whose sovereignty they do not acknowledge, if he was to come among them, would kill them. This favoured our opinion of their being outlaws: yet they told us, that they had Heppahis, or strongholds, to which they retired in time of imminent danger.

We found, thrown upon the shore, in several parts of this bay, great quantities of iron-sand, which is brought down by every little rivulet of fresh water that finds its way from the country; which is a demonstration that there is ore of that metal not far inland: yet neither the inhabitants of this place, or any other part of the coast that we have seen, know the use of iron, or set the least value upon it; all of them preferring the most worthless and useless trifle, not only to a nail, but to any tool of that metal.

Before we left the bay, we cut upon one of the trees near the watering-place the ship's name, and that of the commander, with the date of the year and month when we were there; and after displaying the English colours, I took a formal possession of it in the name of his Britannic Majesty King George the Third.

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CHAPTER IV.—THE RANGE FROM MERCURY BAY TO THE BAY OF ISLANDS: AN EXPEDITION UP THE RIVER THAMES: SOME ACCOUNT OF THE INDIANS WHO INHABIT ITS BANKS, AND THE FINE TIMBER THAT GROWS THERE: SEVERAL INTERVIEWS WITH THE NATIVES ON DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COAST, AND A SKIRMISH WITH THEM UPON AN ISLAND.

I CONTINUED plying to windward two days to get under the land, and on the 18th, about seven in the morning, we were abreast of a very conspicuous promontory, being then in latitude  $36^{\circ} 26'$ , and in the direction of N. 48 W. from the north head of Mercury Bay, or Point Mercury, which was distant nine leagues: upon this point stood many people, who seemed to take little notice of us, but talked together with great earnestness. In about half an hour, several canoes put off from different places, and came towards the ship; upon which the people on the point also launched a canoe, and about twenty of them came in her up with the others. When two of these canoes, in which there might be about sixty men, came near enough to make themselves heard, they sung their war-song; but seeing that we took little notice of it, they threw a few stones at us, and then rowed off towards the shore. We hoped that we had now done with them, but in a short time they returned, as if with a fixed resolution to provoke us into a battle, animating themselves by their song as they had done before. Tupia, without any directions from us, went to the poop, and began to expostulate: he told them, that we had weapons which would destroy them in a moment; and that, if they ventured to attack us, we should be obliged to use them. Upon this, they

flourished their weapons, and cried out in their language, "Come on shore, and we will kill you all!" Well, said Tupia, but why should you molest us while we are at sea? as we do not wish to fight, we shall not accept your challenge to come on shore; and here there is no pretence for quarrel, the sea being no more your property than the ship. This eloquence of Tupia, though it greatly surprised us, having given him no hints for the arguments he used, had no effect upon our enemies, who very soon renewed their battery: a musket was then fired through one of their boats, and this was an argument of sufficient weight, for they immediately fell astern and left us.



CANOE PUTTING OFF.

From the point, of which we were now abreast, the land trends W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. near a league, and then S.S.E. as far as we could see; and, besides the islands that lay without us, we could see land round by the S.W. as far as N.W.; but whether this was the main or islands, we could not then determine: the fear of losing the main, however, made me resolve to follow its direction. With this view, I hauled round the point, and steered to the southward, but there being light airs all round the compass, we made but little progress. About one o'clock, a breeze sprung up at east, which afterwards came to N.E. and we steered along the shore S. by E. and S.S.E. having from twenty-five to eighteen fathom. At about half an hour after seven in the evening, having run seven or eight leagues since noon, I anchored in twenty-three fathom, not choosing to run any farther in the dark, as I had now land on both sides, forming the entrance of a strait, bay, or river, lying S. by E. for on that point we could see no land.

At day-break, on the 19th, the wind being still favourable, we weighed and stood with an easy sail up the inlet, keeping nearest to the east side. In a short time, two large canoes came off to us from the shore; the people on board said, that they knew Toiava very well, and called Tupia by his name. I invited some of them on board; and as they knew they had nothing to fear from us, while they behaved honestly and peaceably, they immediately complied: I made each of them some presents, and dismissed them much gratified. Other canoes afterwards came up to us from a different side of the bay; and the people on board of these also mentioned the name of Toiava, and sent a young man into the ship, who told us he was his grandson, and he also was dismissed with a present. After having run about five leagues from the place where we had anchored the night before, our depth of water gradually decreased to six fathom; and not choosing to go into less, as it was tide of flood, and the wind blew right up the inlet, I came to an anchor about the middle of the channel, which is near eleven miles over; after which I sent two boats out to sound, one on one side, and the other on the other.

The boats not having found above three feet more water than we were now in, I determined to go no farther with the ship, but to examine the head of the bay in the boats; for, as it appeared to run a good way inland, I thought this a favourable opportunity to examine the interior part of the country, and its produce. At day-break, therefore, I set out in the pinnace and long-boat, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia; and we found the inlet end in a river, about nine miles above the ship: into this river we entered with the



first of the flood, and within three miles found the water perfectly fresh. Before we had proceeded more than one-third of that distance, we found an Indian town, which was built upon a small bank of dry sand, but entirely surrounded by a deep mud, which possibly the inhabitants might consider as a defence. These people, as soon as they saw us, thronged to the banks, and invited us on shore. We accepted the invitation, and made them a visit, notwithstanding the mud. They received us with open arms, having heard of us from our good old friend Toiava; but our stay could not be long, as we had other objects of curiosity in view. We proceeded up the river till near noon, when we were fourteen miles within its entrance; and then, finding the face of the country to continue nearly the same, without any alteration in the course of the stream, which we had no hope of tracing to its source, we landed on the west side, to take a view of the lofty trees which everywhere adorned its banks. They were of a kind that we had seen before, though only at a distance, both in Poverty Bay and Hawke's Bay. Before we had walked a hundred yards into the wood, we met with one of them which was nineteen feet eight inches in the girth, at the height of six feet above the ground: having a quadrant with me, I measured its height from the root to the first branch, and found it to be eighty-nine feet: it was as straight as an arrow, and tapered but very little in proportion to its height; so that I judged there were three hundred and fifty-six feet of solid timber in it, exclusive of the branches. As we advanced we saw many others that were still larger; we cut down a young one, and the wood proved heavy and solid, not fit for masts, but such as would make the finest plank in the world. Our carpenter, who was with us, said that the timber resembled that of the pitch-pine, which is lightened by tapping; and possibly some such method might be found to lighten these, and they would then be such masts as no country in Europe can produce. As the wood was swampy, we could not range far; but we found many stout trees of other kinds, all of them utterly unknown to us, specimens of which we brought away.

The river at this height is as broad as the Thames at Greenwich, and the tide of flood as strong; it is not indeed quite so deep, but has water enough for vessels of more than a middle size, and a bottom of mud so soft that nothing could take damage by running ashore.

About three o'clock we re-embarked, in order to return with the first of the ebb, and named the river the THAMES, it having some resemblance to our own river of that name. In our return, the inhabitants of the village where we had been ashore, seeing us take another channel, came off to us in their canoes, and trafficked with us in the most friendly manner, till they had disposed of the few trifles they had. The tide of ebb just carried us out of the narrow part of the river into the channel that run up from the sea before it was dark; and we pulled hard to reach the ship, but meeting the flood, and a strong breeze at N.N.W., with showers of rain, we were obliged to desist; and about midnight we run under the land and came to a grappling, where we took such rest as our situation would admit. At break of day we set forward again, and it was past seven o'clock before we reached the ship. We were all extremely tired, but thought ourselves happy to be on board, for before nine it blew so hard that the boat could not have rowed ahead, and must therefore either have gone ashore or taken shelter under it. About three o'clock, having the tide of ebb, we took up our anchor, made sail, and plied down the river till eight in the evening, when we came to an anchor again: early in the morning we made sail with the first ebb, and kept plying till the flood obliged us once more to come to an anchor. As we had now only a light breeze, I went in the pinnace, accompanied by Dr. Solander, to the western shore; but I saw nothing worthy of notice.

When I left the ship, many canoes were about it; Mr. Banks therefore chose to stay on board and traffic with the natives; they bartered their clothes and arms, chiefly for paper, and behaved with great friendship and honesty. But while some of them were below with Mr. Banks, a young man who was upon the deck stole a half-minute glass which was in the binnacle, and was detected just as he was carrying it off. Mr. Hicks, who was commanding-officer on board, took it into his head to punish him, by giving him twelve lashes with a cat-o-nine-tails; and accordingly ordered him to be taken to the gangway, and tied up to the shrouds. When the other Indians who were on board saw him seized, they attempted to rescue him; and being resisted, called for their arms, which were handed up

from the canoes, and the people of one of them attempted to come up the ship's side. The tumult was heard by Mr. Banks, who, with Tupia, came hastily upon the deck to see what had happened. The Indians immediately ran to Tupia, who, finding Mr. Hicks inexorable, could only assure them, that nothing was intended against the life of their companion; but that it was necessary he should suffer some punishment for his offence; which being explained to them, they seemed to be satisfied. The punishment was then inflicted, and as soon as the criminal was unbound, an old man among the spectators, who was supposed to be his father, gave him a hearty beating and sent him down into his canoe. All the canoes then dropped a-stern, and the people said that they were afraid to come any more near the ship: after much persuasion, however, they ventured back again, but their cheerful confidence was at an end, and their stay was short; they promised, indeed, at their departure, to return with some fish, but we saw no more of them.

On the 23d, the wind being contrary, we kept plying down the river, and at seven in the evening, got without the N.W. point of the islands lying on the west side of it. The weather being bad, night coming on, and having land on every side of us, I thought it most advisable to tack, and stretch in under the point, where we anchored in nineteen fathom. At five in the morning of the 24th, we weighed, and made sail to the N.W. under our courses and double-reefed topsails, the wind being at S.W. by W. and W. S.W., a strong gale and squally. As the gale would not permit us to come near the land, we had but a slight and distant view of it from the time when we got under sail till noon, during a run of twelve leagues, but we never once lost sight of it. At this time, our latitude by observation was  $36^{\circ} 15' 20''$ , we were not above two miles from a point of land on the main, and three leagues and a half from a very high island, which bore N. E. by E. In this situation we had twenty-six fathom water; the farthest point on the main that we could see bore N. W.; but we could perceive several small islands lying to the north of that direction. The point of land of which we were now abreast, and which I called POINT RODNEY, is the N. W. extremity of the river Thames; for under that name I comprehend the deep bay which terminates in the fresh-water stream; and the N. E. extremity is the promontory which we passed when we entered it, and which I called CAPE COLVILLE, in honour of the Right Honourable Lord Colville.

Cape Colville lies in latitude  $36^{\circ} 26'$ , longitude  $184^{\circ} 27'$ ; it rises directly from the sea to a considerable height, and is remarkable for a lofty rock which stands to the pitch of the point, and may be distinguished at a very great distance. From the south point of this cape the river runs in a direct line S. by E., and is nowhere less than three leagues broad for the distance of fourteen leagues above the cape, and there it is contracted to a narrow stream, but continues the same course through a low flat country, or broad valley, which lies parallel with the sea-coast, and the end of which we could not see. On the east side of the broad part of this river the land is tolerably high and hilly; on the west side it is rather low, but the whole is covered with verdure and wood, and has the appearance of great fertility, though there were but a few small spots which had been cultivated. At the entrance of the narrow part of the river the land is covered with mangroves and other shrubs; but farther, there are immense woods of perhaps the finest timber in the world, of which some account has already been given. In several places the wood extends to the very edge of the water, and where it is at a little distance, the intermediate space is marshy, like some parts of the banks of the Thames in England. It is probable that the river contains plenty of fish, for we saw poles stuck up in many places to set nets for catching them; but of what kinds I do not know. The greatest depth of water that we found in this river was six-and-twenty fathom, which gradually decreased to one fathom and a half. In the mouth of the fresh-water stream it is from four to three fathom, but there are large flats and sand-banks lying before it. A ship of moderate draught may, notwithstanding, go a long way up this river with a flowing tide; for it rises perpendicularly near ten feet, and at the full and change of the moon it is high-water about nine o'clock.

Six leagues within Cape Colville, under the eastern shore, are several small islands, which, together with the main, seem to form good harbours; and opposite to these islands, under the western shore, lie other islands, by which it is also probable that good harbours may be



formed. But if there are no harbours about this river, there is good anchoring in every part of it where the depth of water is sufficient; for it is defended from the sea by a chain of islands of different extent, which lie cross the mouth of it, and which I have, for that reason, called **BARRIER ISLANDS**: they stretch N.W. and S.E. ten leagues. The south end of the chain lies N.E., between two and three leagues from Cape Colville; and the north end lies N.E., four leagues and a half from Point Rodney. Point Rodney lies W.N.W., nine leagues from Cape Colville, in latitude  $36^{\circ} 15' S.$ , longitude  $184^{\circ} 53' W.$

The natives residing about this river do not appear to be numerous, considering the great extent of the country. But they are strong, well-made, and active people, and all of them paint their bodies with red ochre and oil from head to foot, which we had not seen before. Their canoes were large and well built, and adorned with carving, in as good a taste as any that we had seen upon the coast.

We continued to stand along the shore till night, with the mainland on one side, and islands on the other, and then anchored in a bay, with fourteen fathom, and a sandy bottom. We had no sooner come to an anchor, than we tried our lines, and in a short time caught near one hundred fish, which the people called sea-bream; they weighed from six to eight pounds a-piece, and consequently would supply the whole ship's company with food for two days. From the success of our lines here, we called the place **BREAM BAY**: the two points that form it lie north and south, five leagues from each other; it is everywhere of a good breadth, and between three and four leagues deep: at the bottom of it there appears to be a river of fresh water. The north head of the bay, called **BREAM HEAD**, is high land, and remarkable for several pointed rocks, which stand in a range upon the top of it: it may also be known by some small islands which lie before it, called the **HEN AND CHICKENS**, one of which is high, and terminates in two peaks. It lies in latitude  $35^{\circ} 46' S.$ , and at the distance of seventeen leagues and a half from Cape Colville, in the direction of N. 41 W.

The land between Point Rodney and Bream Head, an extent of ten leagues, is low, and wooded in tufts, with white sand banks between the sea and the firm lands. We saw no inhabitants, but many fires in the night; and where there are fires, there are always people.

At day-break, on the 25th, we left the bay, and steered along shore to the northward: we found the variation of the compass to be  $12^{\circ} 42' E.$  At noon, our latitude was  $35^{\circ} 36' S.$ , Bream Head bore south, distant ten miles; and we saw some small islands, to which I gave the name of the **POOR KNIGHTS**, at N.E. by N., distant three leagues; the northernmost land in sight bore N.N.W.: we were in this place at the distance of two miles from the shore, and had twenty-six fathom water. The country appeared low, but well covered with wood: we saw some straggling houses, three or four fortified towns, and near them a large quantity of cultivated land. In the evening, seven large canoes came off to us, with about two hundred men: some of them came on board, and said that they had heard of us. To two of them, who appeared to be chiefs, I gave presents; but when these were gone out of the ship, the others became exceedingly troublesome. Some of those in the canoes began to trade, and, according to their custom, to cheat, by refusing to deliver what had been bought, after they had received the price: among these was one who had received an old pair of black breeches, which, upon a few small shot being fired at him, he threw into the sea. All the boats soon after paddled off to some distance, and when they thought they were out of reach, they began to defy us, by singing their song, and brandishing their weapons. We thought it advisable to intimidate them, as well for their sakes as our own, and therefore fired first some small arms, and then round shot over their heads; the last put them in a terrible fright, though they received no damage, except by overheating themselves in paddling away, which they did with astonishing expedition.

In the night we had variable light airs; but towards the morning, a breeze sprung up at S., and afterwards at S.E., with which we proceeded slowly to the northward, along the shore. Between six and seven o'clock, two canoes came off, and told us that they had heard of yesterday's adventure, notwithstanding which the people came on board, and traded very quietly and honestly for whatever they had: soon after, two canoes came off

from a more distant part of the shore ; these were of a much larger size and full of people : when they came near, they called off the other canoes which were alongside of the ship, and after a short conference they all came up together. The strangers appeared to be persons of a superior rank ; their canoes were well carved with many ornaments, and they had with them a great variety of weapons : they had patoo-patoos both of stone and whale-bone, upon which they appeared to set a great value ; they had also ribs of whale, of which we had before seen imitations in wood, carved and adorned with tufts of dog's hair. Their complexions were browner than those of the people we had seen to the southward, and their bodies and faces were more marked with the black stains which they call Amoco : they had a broad spiral on each buttock ; and the thighs of many of them were almost entirely black, some narrow lines only being left untouched, so that at first sight they appeared to wear striped breeches. With respect to the Amoco, every different tribe seemed to have a different custom ; for all the men, in some canoes, seemed to be almost covered with it, and those in others had scarcely a stain, except on the lips, which were black in all of them, without a single exception. These gentlemen, for a long time, refused to part with any of their weapons, whatever was offered for them ; at last, however, one of them produced a piece of talc, wrought into the shape of an axe, and agreed to sell it for a piece of cloth : the cloth was handed over the ship's side, but his honour immediately put off his canoe with the axe. We had recourse to our usual expedient, and fired a musket-ball over the canoe, upon which it put back to the ship, and the piece of cloth was returned ; all the boats then went ashore, without offering any further intercourse.

At noon, the mainland extended from S. by E. to N.W. by W., a remarkable point of land bearing W., distant four or five miles ; at three we passed it, and I gave it the name of CAPE BRET, in honour of Sir Piercy. The land of this cape is considerably higher than any part of the adjacent coast : at the point of it is a high round hillock, and N.E. by N., at the distance of about a mile, is a small high island or rock, which, like several that have already been described, was perforated quite through, so as to appear like the arch of a bridge. This cape, or at least some part of it, is by the natives called MOTUGOGOGO, and it lies in latitude  $35^{\circ} 10' 30''$  S., longitude  $185^{\circ} 25'$  W. On the west side of it is a large and pretty deep bay, lying in S.W. by W., in which there appeared to be several small islands : the point that forms the N.W. entrance, lies W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N., at the distance of three or four leagues from Cape Bret, and I distinguished it by the name of POINT POCOCKE. On the west side of the bay, we saw several villages, both upon islands and the main, and several very large canoes came off to us, full of people, who made a better appearance than any we had seen yet : they were all stout and well made ; their hair, which was black, was tied up in a bunch on the crown of their heads, and stuck with white feathers. In each of the canoes were two or three chiefs, whose habits were of the best sort of cloth, and covered with dog's skin, so as to make an agreeable appearance : most of these people were marked with the Amoco, like those who had been alongside of us before : their manner of trading was also equally fraudulent ; and the officers neglecting either to punish or fright them, one of the midshipmen who had been defrauded in his bargain, had recourse, for revenge, to an expedient which was equally ludicrous and severe : he got a fishing line, and when the man who had cheated him was close under the ship's side in his canoe, he heaved the lead with so good an aim, that the hook caught him by the backside ; he then pulled the line, and the man holding back, the hook broke in the shank, and the beard was left sticking in the flesh. During the course of this day, though we did not range more than six or eight leagues of the coast, we had alongside and on board the ship between four and five hundred of the natives, which is a proof that this part of the country is well inhabited.

At eight o'clock the next morning, we were within a mile of a group of islands which lie close under the main, at the distance of two-and-twenty miles from Cape Bret, in the direction of N.W. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. At this place, having but little wind, we lay about two hours, during which time several canoes came off, and sold us some fish, which we called Cavalles, and for that reason I gave the same name to the islands. These people were very insolent, frequently threatening us, even while they were selling their fish ; and when some more canoes came up, they began to pelt us with stones. Some small-shot were then fired,



and hit one of them while he had a stone in his hand, in the very action of throwing it into the ship: they did not, however, desist, till some others had been wounded, and then they went away, and we stood off to sea.

The wind being directly against us, we kept plying to windward till the 29th, when we had rather lost than gained ground; I therefore bore up for a bay which lies to the westward of Cape Bret; at this time it was about two leagues to leeward of us; and at about eleven o'clock we anchored under the south-west side of one of the many islands which line it on the south-east, in four fathom and a half water; we shoaled our water to this depth all at once, and if this had not happened, I should not have come to an anchor so soon. The master was immediately sent out with two boats to sound, and he soon discovered that we had got upon a bank, which runs out from the north-west end of the island, and that on the outside of it there was from eight to ten fathom.

In the mean time the natives, to the number of near four hundred, crowded upon us in their canoes, and some of them were admitted on board: to one, who seemed to be a chief, I gave a piece of broad-cloth, and distributed some trifling presents among the rest. I perceived that some of these people had been about the ship when she was off at sea, and that they knew the power of our fire-arms, for the very sight of a gun threw them into manifest confusion: under this impression, they traded very fairly; but the people in one of the canoes took the opportunity of our being at dinner to tow away our buoy: a musket was fired over them without effect, we then endeavoured to reach them with some small shot, but they were too far off: by this time they had got the buoy into their canoe, and we were obliged to fire a musket at them with ball: this hit one of them, and they immediately threw the buoy overboard: a round shot was then fired over them, which struck the water and went ashore. Two or three of the canoes immediately landed their people, who ran about the beach, as we imagined, in search of the ball. Tupia called to them, and assured them that, while they were honest, they should be safe, and with a little persuasion many of them returned to the ship, and their behaviour was such as left us no reason to suspect that they intended to give us any farther trouble.

After the ship was removed into deeper water, and properly secured, I went with the pinnace and yawl, manned and armed, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and landed upon the island, which was about three-quarters of a mile distant. We observed that the canoes which were about the ship did not follow us upon our leaving her, which we thought a good sign; but we had no sooner landed than they crowded to different parts of the island and came on shore. We were in a little cove, and in a few minutes were surrounded by two or three hundred people, some rushing from behind the heads of the cove, and others appearing on the tops of the hills: they were all armed, but they came on in so confused and straggling a manner that we scarcely suspected they meant us any harm, and we were determined that hostilities should not begin on our part. We marched towards them, and then drew a line upon the sand between them and us, which we gave them to understand they were not to pass. At first they continued quiet, but their weapons were held ready to strike, and they seemed to be rather irresolute than peaceable. While we remained in this state of suspense, another party of Indians came up, and now growing more bold as their number increased, they began the dance and song, which are their preludes to a battle; still, however, they delayed the attack, but a party ran to each



NEW ZEALANDER, IN WAR COSTUME, GIVING A CHALLENGE.

of our boats, and attempted to draw them on shore: this seemed to be the signal, for the people about us at the same time began to press in upon our line. Our situation was now become too critical for us to remain longer inactive; I therefore discharged my musket, which was loaded with small-shot, at one of the forwardest, and Mr. Banks and two of the men fired immediately afterwards. This made them fall back in some confusion; but one of the chiefs, who was at the distance of about twenty yards, rallied them, and running forward, waving his patoo-patoo, and calling loudly to his companions, led them to the charge. Dr. Solander, whose piece was not yet discharged, fired at this champion, who stopped short upon feeling the shot, and then ran away with the rest; they did not, however, disperse, but got together upon a rising ground, and seemed only to want some leader of resolution to renew their attack. As they were now beyond the reach of small-shot, we fired with ball; but as none of them took place, they still continued in a body, and in this situation we remained about a quarter of an hour. In the mean time the ship, from whence a much greater number of Indians were seen than could be discovered in our situation, brought her broadside to bear, and entirely dispersed them by firing a few shot over their heads. In this skirmish only two of the Indians were hurt with the small-shot, and not a single life was lost, which would not have been the case if I had not restrained the men, who, either from fear or the love of mischief, showed as much impatience to destroy them as a sportsman to kill his game. When we were in quiet possession of our cove, we laid down our arms and began to gather celery, which grew here in great plenty. After a little time, we recollected to have seen some of the people hide themselves in a cave of one of the rocks; we therefore went towards the place, when an old Indian, who proved to be the chief that I had presented with a piece of broad-cloth in the morning, came out with his wife and his brother, and in a supplicating posture put themselves under our protection. We spoke kindly to them, and the old man then told us that he had another brother, who was one of those that had been wounded by the small-shot, and inquired with much solicitude and concern if he would die. We assured him that he would not, and at the same time put into his hand both a musket-ball and some small-shot, telling him that those only who were wounded with the ball would die, and that the others would recover; at the same time assuring him, that if we were attacked again, we should certainly defend ourselves with the ball, which would wound them mortally. Having now taken courage, they came and sat down by us, and as tokens of our perfect amity, we made them presents of such trifles as we happened to have about us.

Soon after, we re-embarked in our boats, and having rowed to another cove in the same island, climbed a neighbouring hill which commanded the country to a considerable distance. The prospect was very uncommon and romantic, consisting of innumerable islands, which formed as many harbours, where the water was as smooth as a mill-pool. We saw also many towns, scattered houses, and plantations, the country being much more populous than any we had seen. One of the towns was very near us, from which many of the Indians advanced, taking great pains to show us that they were unarmed, and in their gestures and countenances expressing great meekness and humility. In the mean time some of our people, who, when the Indians were to be punished for a fraud, assumed the inexorable justice of a Lycurgus, thought fit to break into one of their plantations, and dig up some potatoes; for this offence I ordered each of them to be punished with twelve lashes. After which two of them were discharged; but the third, insisting that it was no crime in an Englishman to plunder an Indian plantation, though it was a crime in an Indian to defraud an Englishman of a nail, I ordered him back into his confinement, from which I would not release him till he had received six lashes more.

On the 30th, there being a dead calm, and no probability of our getting to sea, I sent the master, with two boats, to sound the harbour; and all the forenoon had several canoes about the ship, who traded in a very fair and friendly manner. In the evening, we went ashore upon the main, where the people received us very cordially; but we found nothing worthy of notice. In this bay we were detained by contrary winds and calms several days, during which time our intercourse with the natives was continued in the most peaceable and friendly manner, they being frequently about the ship, and we ashore, both upon the islands and the main. In one of our visits to the continent, an old man showed us the instrument they use



in the staining their bodies, which exactly resembled those that were employed for the same purpose at Otaheite. We saw also the man who was wounded in attempting to steal our buoy: the ball had passed through the fleshy part of his arm, and grazed his breast; but the wound, under the care of nature, the best surgeon, and a simple diet, the best nurse, was in a good state, and seemed to give the patient neither pain nor apprehension. We saw also the brother of our old chief, who had been wounded with small-shot in our skirmish: they had struck his thigh obliquely, and though several of them were still in the flesh, the wound seemed to be attended with neither danger nor pain. We found among their plantations the *morus papyrifera*, of which these people, as well as those of Otaheite, make cloth; but here the plant seems to be rare, and we saw no pieces of the cloth large enough for any use but to wear by way of ornament in their ears.

Having one day landed in a very distant part of the bay, the people immediately fled, except one old man, who accompanied us wherever we went, and seemed much pleased with the little presents we made him. We came at last to a little fort, built upon a small rock, which at high water was surrounded by the sea, and accessible only by a ladder: we perceived that he eyed us with a kind of restless solicitude as we approached it, and, upon our expressing a desire to enter it, he told us that his wife was there. He saw that our curiosity was not diminished by this intelligence, and after some hesitation he said, if we would promise to offer no indecency, he would accompany us: our promise was readily given, and he immediately led the way. The ladder consisted of steps fastened to a pole, but we found the ascent both difficult and dangerous. When we entered, we found three women, who, the moment they saw us, burst into tears of terror and surprise: some kind words and a few presents soon removed their apprehensions, and put them into good-humour. We examined the house of our old friend, and by his interest two others, which were all that the fortification contained; and having distributed a few more presents, we parted with mutual satisfaction.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 5th of December, we weighed, with a light breeze; but it being variable, with frequent calms, we made little way. We kept turning out of the bay till the afternoon, and about ten o'clock we were suddenly becalmed, so that the ship would neither wear nor stay; and the tide or current setting strong, she drove towards land so fast that, before any measures could be taken for her security, she was within a cable's length of the breakers. We had thirteen fathom water, but the ground was so foul that we did not dare to drop our anchor; the pinnace, therefore, was immediately hoisted out to take the ship in tow, and the men, sensible of their danger, exerting themselves to the utmost, and a faint breeze springing up off the land, we perceived, with unspeakable joy, that she made head-way, after having been so near the shore that Tupia, who was not sensible of our hair's-breadth escape, was at this very time conversing with the people upon the beach, whose voices were distinctly heard, notwithstanding the roar of the breakers. We now thought all danger was over, but about an hour afterwards, just as the man in the chains had cried "seventeen fathom," the ship struck. The shock threw us all into the utmost consternation; Mr. Banks, who had undressed himself, and was stepping into bed, ran hastily up to the deck, and the man in the chains called out "five fathom;" by this time, the rock on which we had struck being to windward, the ship went off without having received the least damage, and the water very soon deepened to twenty fathom.

This rock lies half a mile W.N.W. of the northernmost or outermost island on the S.E. side of the bay. We had light airs from the land, with calms, till nine o'clock the next morning, when we got out of the bay; and a breeze springing up at N.N.W., we stood out to sea.

This bay, as I have before observed, lies on the west side of Cape Bret, and I named it the BAY OF ISLANDS, from the great number of islands which line its shores, and from several harbours equally safe and commodious, where there is room and depth for any number of shipping. That in which we lay is on the south-west side of the south-westernmost island, called MATURARO, on the south-east side of the bay\*. I have made no accurate survey of

\* The Bay of Islands has long been the principal resort for the whale ships; upwards of thirty of which have been at anchor there at the same time, from the ports of Great Britain, America, France, and New Holland; besides several vessels engaged in other commercial pursuits, who

are all certain to find ample refreshment. One of the principal missionary establishments is near the Bay of Islands, and considerable tracts of the neighbouring country are in the hands of English colonists.—Ed.

this bay, being discouraged by the time it would cost me ; I thought also that it was sufficient to be able to affirm that it afforded us good anchorage and refreshment of every kind. It was not the season for roots ; but we had plenty of fish, most of which, however, we purchased of the natives, for we could catch very little ourselves either with net or line. When we showed the natives our seine, which is such as the King's ships are generally furnished with, they laughed at it, and in triumph produced their own, which was indeed of an enormous size, and made of a kind of grass, which is very strong : it was five fathom deep, and, by the room it took up, it could not be less than three or four hundred fathom long ; fishing seems, indeed, to be the chief business of life in this part of the country. We saw about all their towns a great number of nets, laid in heaps like hay-cocks, and covered with a thatch to keep them from the weather ; and we scarcely entered a house where some of the people were not employed in making them. The fish we procured here were sharks, sting-rays, sea-bream, mullet, mackerel, and some others.



VIEW IN THE BAY OF ISLANDS.

The inhabitants in this bay are far more numerous than in any other part of the country that we had before visited ; it did not appear to us that they were united under one head, and though their towns were fortified, they seemed to live together in perfect amity. It is high-water in this bay at the full and change of the moon, about eight o'clock, and the tide then rises from six to eight feet perpendicularly. It appears, from such observations as I was able to make of the tides upon the sea-coast, that the flood comes from the southward ; and I have reason to think that there is a current which comes from the westward, and sets along the shore to the S.E. or S.S.E. as the land happens to lie.

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CHAPTER V.—RANGE FROM THE BAY OF ISLANDS ROUND NORTH CAPE TO QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND ; AND A DESCRIPTION OF THAT PART OF THE COAST.

On Thursday the 7th of December, at noon, Cape Bret bore S. S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. distant ten miles, and our latitude, by observation, was  $34^{\circ} 59'$  S. ; soon after we made several observations of the sun and moon, the result of which made our longitude  $185^{\circ} 36'$  W. The wind being against us, we had made but little way. In the afternoon, we stood in shore,



and fetched close under the Cavalles, from which islands the main trends W. by N. ; several canoes put off and followed us, but a light breeze springing up, I did not choose to wait for them. I kept standing to the W.N.W. and N.W. till the next morning ten o'clock, when I tacked and stood in for the shore, from which we were about five leagues distant. At noon, the westernmost land in sight bore W. by S. and was about four leagues distant. In the afternoon, we had a gentle breeze to the west, which in the evening came to the south, and continuing so all night, by day-light brought us pretty well in with the land, seven leagues to the westward of the Cavalles, where we found a deep bay running in S.W. by W. and W.S.W. the bottom of which we could but just see, and there the land appeared to be low and level. To this bay, which I called DOUBTLESS BAY, the entrance is formed by two points, which lie W.N.W. and E.S.E. and are five miles distant from each other. The wind not permitting us to look in here, we steered for the westernmost land in sight, which bore from us W. N. W. about three leagues ; but before we got the length of it, it fell calm.

While we lay becalmed, several canoes came off to us ; but the people having heard of our guns, it was not without great difficulty that they were persuaded to come under our stern : after having bought some of their clothes, as well as their fish, we began to make inquiries concerning their country, and learnt, by the help of Tupia, that, at the distance of three days' rowing in their canoes, at a place called MOOREWENNUA, the land would take a short turn to the southward, and from thence extend no more to the west. This place we concluded to be the land discovered by Tasman, which he called CAPE MARIA VAN DIEMEN, and finding these people so intelligent, we inquired farther, if they knew of any country besides their own : they answered, that they never had visited any other, but that their ancestors had told them, that to the N.W. by N. or N.N.W. there was a country of great extent, called ULIMAROA, to which some people had sailed in a very large canoe ; that only part of them returned, and reported, that after a passage of a month they had seen a country where the people eat hogs. Tupia then inquired whether these adventurers brought any hogs with them when they returned ; they said, No. Then, replied Tupia, your story is certainly false, for it cannot be believed that men who came back from an expedition without hogs, had ever visited a country where hogs were to be procured. It is, however, remarkable, notwithstanding the shrewdness of Tupia's objection, that when they mentioned hogs, it was not by description, but by name ; calling them *Booah*, the name which is given them in the South-sea islands ; but if the animal had been wholly unknown to them, and they had had no communication with people to whom it was known, they could not possibly have been acquainted with the name.

About ten o'clock at night, a breeze sprung up at W.N.W. with which we stood off north ; and at noon the next day, the Cavalles bore S.E., by E. distant eight leagues ; the entrance of Doubtless Bay S. by W., distant three leagues ; and the north-west extremity of the land in sight, which we judged to be the main, bore N.W. by W. : our latitude by observation was  $34^{\circ} 44' S.$  In the evening, we found the variation to be  $12^{\circ} 41' E.$  by the azimuth, and  $12^{\circ} 40'$  by the amplitude.

Early in the morning, we stood in with the land, seven leagues to the westward of Doubtless Bay, the bottom of which is not far distant from the bottom of another large bay, which the shore forms at this place, being separated only by a low neck of land, which juts out into a peninsula that I have called KNUCKLE POINT. About the middle of this bay, which we called SANDY BAY, is a high mountain, standing upon a distant shore, to which I gave the name of MOUNT CAMEL. The latitude here is  $34^{\circ} 51' S.$  and longitude  $186^{\circ} 50'.$  We had twenty-four and twenty-five fathom water, with a good bottom ; but there seems to be nothing in this bay that can induce a ship to put into it ; for the land about it is utterly barren and desolate, and, except Mount Camel, the situation is low : the soil appears to be nothing but white sand, thrown up in low irregular hills and narrow ridges, lying parallel with the shore. But barren and desolate as this place is, it is not without inhabitants : we saw one village on the west side of Mount Camel, and another on the east side ; we saw also five canoes full of people, who pulled after the ship, but could not come up with us. At nine o'clock, we tacked and stood to the northward ; and at noon, the Cavalles

bore S. E. by E., distant thirteen leagues; the north extremity of the land in sight, making like an island, bore N. W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N., distant nine leagues; and Mount Camel bore S. W. by S., distance six leagues.

The wind being contrary, we kept plying northward till five o'clock in the evening of the 12th, when, having made very little way, we tacked and stood to the N.E., being two leagues to the northward of Mount Camel, and about a mile and a half from the shore, in which situation we had two-and-twenty fathom water. At ten, it began to blow and rain, which brought us under double-reefed topsails; at twelve, we tacked and stood to the westward till seven the next morning, when we tacked and stood again to the N.E., being about a mile to windward of the place where we tacked last night. Soon after, it blew very hard at N. N. W., with heavy squalls and much rain, which brought us under our courses, and split the maintopsail; so that we were obliged to unbend it and bend another: at ten, it became more moderate, and we set the topsails, double-reefed: at noon, having strong gales and heavy weather, we tacked and stood to the westward, and had no land in sight for the first time since we had been upon this coast.

We had now strong gales at W. and W.S.W.; and at half an hour past three we tacked and stood to the northward. Soon after, a small island lying off Knuckle Point bore S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., distant half a league. In the evening, having split the fore and mizen topsails, we brought the ship under her courses; and at midnight, we wore and stood to the southward till five in the morning; when we tacked and stood to the N.W., and saw land bearing south, at the distance of eight or nine leagues; by this we discovered that we had fallen much to the leeward since yesterday morning. At noon our latitude by observation was  $34^{\circ} 6' S.$ ; and the same land which we had seen before to the N.W. now bore S.W., and appeared to be the northern extremity of the country. We had a large swell rolling in from the westward, and, therefore, concluded that we were not covered by any land in that quarter. At eight in the evening, we tacked and stood to the westward, with as much sail as we could bear; and at noon the next day, we were in latitude  $34^{\circ} 10'$ , longitude  $185^{\circ} 45' W.$ , and by estimation about seventeen leagues from the land, notwithstanding our utmost endeavours to keep in with it.

On the 16th, at six in the morning, we saw land from the mast-head, bearing S.S.W.; and at noon it bore S. by W., distant fourteen leagues: while we were standing in for the shore, we sounded several times, but had no ground with ninety fathom. At eight, we tacked in a hundred and eight fathom, at about three or four miles from the shore, which was the same point of land that we had to the N.W. before we were blown off. At noon, it bore S.W., distant about three miles; Mount Camel bore S. by E., distant about eleven leagues, and the westernmost land in sight bore S.  $75^{\circ} W.$ ; the latitude by observation was  $34^{\circ} 20' S.$  At four o'clock, we tacked and stood in shore, in doing which, we met with a strong rippling, and the ship fell fast to leeward, which we imputed to a current setting east. At eight, we tacked and stood off till eight the next morning, when we tacked and stood in, being about ten leagues from the land: at noon, the point of land which we were near the day before bore S.S.W., distant five leagues. The wind still continued at west; and at seven o'clock, we tacked in thirty-five fathom, when the point of land which has been mentioned before bore N.W. by N., distant four or five miles; so that we had not gained one inch to windward the last twenty-four hours, which confirmed our opinion that there was a current to the eastward. The point of land I called NORTH CAPE, it being the northern extremity of this country. It lies in latitude  $34^{\circ} 22' S.$ , longitude  $186^{\circ} 55' W.$ , and thirty-one leagues distant from Cape Bret, in the direction of N.  $63^{\circ} W.$  It forms the north point of Sandy Bay, and is a peninsula jutting out N. E. about two miles, and terminating in a bluff head that is flat at the top. The isthmus which joins this head to the mainland is very low, and for that reason the land of the cape, from several situations, has the appearance of an island. It is still more remarkable when it is seen from the southward, by the appearance of a high round island at the S.E. point of the cape; but this also is a deception; for what appears to be an island is a round hill, joined to the cape by a low narrow neck of land. Upon the cape we saw a Hippah or village, and a few inhabitants; and on the south-east side of it, there appears to be anchorage, and good shelter from the south-west and north-west winds.



We continued to stand off and on, making N.W. till noon on the 21st, when North Cape bore S. 39 E. distant thirty-eight leagues. Our situation varied only a few leagues till the 23d, when, about seven o'clock in the evening, we saw land from the mast-head, bearing S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. At eleven the next morning, we saw it again, bearing S.S.E. at the distance of eight leagues: we now stood to the S.W.; and at four o'clock, the land bore S.E. by S. distant four leagues, and proved to be a small island, with other islands or rocks, still smaller, lying off the south-west end of it, and another lying off the north-east end, which were discovered by Tasman, and called the Three Kings. The principal island lies in latitude  $34^{\circ} 12' S.$ , longitude  $187^{\circ} 48' W.$ , and distant fourteen or fifteen leagues from the North Cape, in the direction of W. 14 N. At midnight, we tacked and stood to the N.E. till six the next morning, which was Christmas-day, when we tacked and stood to the southward. At noon, the Three Kings bore E. 8 N. distant five or six leagues. The variation this morning by the azimuth was  $11^{\circ} 25' E.$

On the 26th, we stood to the southward close upon a wind; and at noon, were in latitude  $35^{\circ} 10' S.$ , longitude  $188^{\circ} 20' W.$ , the Three Kings bearing N. 26 W. distant twenty-two leagues. In this situation we had no land in sight; and yet, by observation, we were in the latitude of the Bay of Islands; and by my reckoning but twenty leagues to the westward of North Cape: from whence it appears, that the northern part of this island is very narrow; for otherwise we must have seen some part of the west side of it. We stood to the southward till twelve at night, and then tacked and stood to the northward.

At four o'clock in the morning, the wind freshened, and at nine, blew a storm; so that we were obliged to bring the ship to under her mainsail. Our course made good between noon this day and yesterday was S.S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., distance eleven miles. The Three Kings bore N. 27 E., distant seventy-seven miles. The gale continued all this day, and till two the next morning, when it fell, and began to veer to the southward and S.W., where it fixed about four, when we made sail and steered east in for the land, under the foresail and mainsail; but the wind then rising, and by eight o'clock being increased to a hurricane, with a prodigious sea, we were obliged to take in the mainsail; we then wore the ship, and brought her to with her head to the north-west. At noon the gale was somewhat abated, but we had still heavy squalls. Our course made good this day was north, a little easterly, twenty-nine miles; latitude by account  $34^{\circ} 50' S.$ , longitude  $188^{\circ} 27' W.$ ; the Three Kings bore N. 41 E. distant fifty-two miles. At seven o'clock in the evening, the wind being at S.W. and S.W. by W., with hard squalls, we wore and lay on the other tack; and at six the next morning, spread more sail. Our course and distance since yesterday was E. by N. twenty-nine miles. In the afternoon, we had hard squalls at S.W.; and at eight in the evening, wore and stood to the N.W. till five the next morning; and then wore and stood to the S.E. At six, we saw the land bearing N.E., distant about six leagues, which we judged to be Cape Maria Van Diemen, and which corresponded with the account that had been given of it by the Indians. At midnight we wore and stood to the S.E. And on the next day at noon, Cape Maria Van Diemen bore N.E. by N., distant about five leagues. At seven in the evening, we tacked and stood to the westward, with a moderate breeze at S.W. by S. and S.W. Mount Camel then bore N. 83 E., and the northernmost land, or Cape Maria Van Diemen, N. by W.; we were now distant from the nearest land about three leagues, where we had something more than forty fathom water; and it must be remarked, that Mount Camel, which when seen on the other side did not seem to be more than one mile from the sea, seemed to be but little more when seen from this side; which is a demonstration that the land here cannot be more than two or three miles broad, or from sea to sea.

At six o'clock in the morning of January the 1st, 1770, being New-year's day, we tacked and stood to the eastward, the Three Kings bearing N.W. by N. At noon we tacked again, and stood to the westward, being in latitude  $34^{\circ} 37' S.$ ; the Three Kings bearing N.W. by N. at the distance of ten or eleven leagues; and Cape Maria Van Diemen N.  $31^{\circ} E.$ , distant about four leagues and a half: in this situation we had fifty-four fathom water.

During this part of our navigation, two particulars are very remarkable; in latitude  $35^{\circ} S.$ , and in the midst of summer, I met with a gale of wind, which for its strength and

continuance, was such as I had scarcely ever been in before; and we were three weeks in getting ten leagues to the westward, and five weeks in getting fifty leagues, for at this time it was so long since we passed Cape Bret. During the gale we were happily at a considerable distance from the land, otherwise it is highly probable that we should never have returned to relate our adventures.

At five o'clock in the evening, having a fresh breeze to the westward, we tacked and stood to the southward: at this time North Cape bore E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N., and just open of a point that lies three leagues W. by N. from it. This cape, as I have observed before, is the northernmost extremity of this country, and the easternmost point of a peninsula, which runs out N.W. and N.W. by N. seventeen or eighteen leagues, and of which Cape Maria Van Diemen is the westernmost point. Cape Maria lies in latitude  $34^{\circ} 30'$  S., longitude  $187^{\circ} 18'$  W.; and from this point the land trends away S.E. by S. and S.E. beyond Mount Camel, and is everywhere a barren shore, consisting of banks of white sand.

On the 2nd, at noon, we were in latitude  $35^{\circ} 17'$  S., and Cape Maria bore north, distant about sixteen leagues, as near as we could guess; for we had no land in sight, and did not dare to go nearer, as a fresh gale blew right on shore, with a rolling sea. The wind continued at W.S.W. and S.W., with frequent squalls; in the evening we shortened sail, and at midnight tacked, and made a trip to the N.W. till two in the morning, when we wore and stood to the southward. At break of day we made sail, and edged away, in order to make land; and at ten o'clock we saw it, bearing N.W. It appeared to be high, and at noon extended from N. to E.N.E., distant by estimation eight or ten leagues. Cape Maria then bore N.  $2^{\circ} 30'$  W., distant thirty-three leagues; our latitude by observation was  $36^{\circ} 2'$  S. About seven o'clock in the evening, we were within six leagues of it; but having a fresh gale upon it, with a rolling sea, we hauled our wind to the S.E., and kept on that course close upon the wind all night, sounding several times, but having no ground with one hundred, and one hundred and ten fathom.

At eight o'clock the next morning, we were about five leagues from the land, and off a place which lies in latitude  $36^{\circ} 25'$ , and had the appearance of a bay or inlet. It bore east; and in order to see more of it, we kept on our course till eleven o'clock, when we were not more than three leagues from it, and then discovered that it was neither inlet nor bay, but a tract of low land, bounded by higher lands on each side, which produced the deception. At this time we tacked and stood to the N.W.; and at noon the land was not distant more than three or four leagues. We were now in latitude  $36^{\circ} 31'$  S., longitude  $185^{\circ} 50'$  W. Cape Maria bore N.  $25^{\circ}$  W., distant forty-four leagues and a half; so that the coast must be almost straight in the direction of S.S.E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. and N.N.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. nearly. In about latitude  $35^{\circ} 45'$  is some high land adjoining to the sea; to the southward of which the shore is also high, and has the most desolate and inhospitable appearance that can be imagined. Nothing is to be seen but hills of sand, on which there is scarcely a blade of verdure; and a vast sea, impelled by the westerly winds, breaking upon it in a dreadful surf, renders it not only forlorn, but frightful; complicating the idea of danger with desolation, and impressing the mind at once with a sense of misery and death. From this place I steered to the northward, resolving never more to come within the same distance of the coast, except the wind should be very favourable indeed. I stood under a fresh sail all the day, hoping to get an offing by the next noon, and we made good a course of a hundred and two miles N.  $38^{\circ}$  W. Our latitude by observation was  $35^{\circ} 10'$  S.; and Cape Maria bore N.  $10^{\circ}$  E., distance forty-one miles. In the night, the wind shifted from S.W. by S. to S., and blew fresh. Our course to the noon of the 5th was N.  $75^{\circ}$  W., distance eight miles.

At day-break on the 6th, we saw the land, which we took to be Cape Maria, bearing N.N.E., distant eight or nine leagues; and on the 7th, in the afternoon, the land bore east: and some time after we discovered a turtle upon the water; but being awake, it dived instantly, so that we could not take it. At noon the high land, which has just been mentioned, extended from N. to E., at the distance of five or six leagues; and in two places a flat gave it the appearance of a bay or inlet. The course that we made good the last four-and-twenty hours was S.  $33^{\circ}$  E. fifty-three miles; Cape Maria bearing N.  $25^{\circ}$  W., distant thirty leagues. We sailed within sight of land all this day, with gentle gales



between the N.E. and N.W.; and by the next noon had sailed sixty-nine miles in the direction of S. 37 E.; our latitude by observation was  $36^{\circ} 39'$  S. The land which on the 4th we had taken for a bay, now bore N.E. by N., distant five leagues and a half; and Cape Maria N. 29 W., forty-seven leagues.

On the 9th, we continued a south-east course till eight o'clock in the evening, having run seven leagues since noon, with the wind at N.N.E. and N., and being within three or four leagues of the land, which appeared to be low and sandy. I then steered S.E. by S. in a direction parallel with the coast, having from forty-eight to thirty-four fathom water, with a black sandy bottom. At daybreak the next morning, we found ourselves between two and three leagues from the land, which began to have a better appearance, rising in gentle slopes, and being covered with trees and herbage. We saw a smoke and a few houses, but it appeared to be but thinly inhabited. At seven o'clock, we steered S. by E., and afterwards S. by W., the land lying in that direction. At nine, we were abreast of a point which rises with an easy ascent from the sea to a considerable height: this point, which lies in latitude  $37^{\circ} 43'$ , I named **WOODY HEAD**. About eleven miles from this head, in the direction of S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., lies a very small island, upon which we saw a great number of gannets, and which we, therefore, called **GANNET ISLAND**. At noon, a high craggy point bore E.N.E., distant about a league and a half, to which I gave the name of **ALBATROSS POINT**: it lies in latitude  $38^{\circ} 4'$  S., longitude  $184^{\circ} 42'$  W.; and is distant seven leagues in the direction of S. 17 W. from Woody Head. On the north side of this point the shore forms a bay, in which there appears to be anchorage and shelter for shipping. Our course and distance for the last twenty-four hours was S. 37 E., sixty-nine miles; and at noon this day Cape Maria bore N. 30 W., distant eighty-two leagues. Between twelve and one, the wind shifted at once from N.N.E. to S.S.W., with which we stood to the westward till four o'clock in the afternoon; and then tacked, and stood again in shore till seven; when we tacked again and stood to the westward, having but little wind. At this time Albatross Point bore N.E., distant near two leagues, and the southernmost land in sight bore S.S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., being a very high mountain, and in appearance greatly resembling the Peak of Teneriffe. In this situation we had thirty fathom water, and having but little wind all night, we tacked about four in the morning, and stood in for the shore. Soon after, it fell calm; and being in forty-two fathom water, the people caught a few sea-bream. At eleven, a light breeze sprung up from the west, and we made sail to the southward. We continued to steer S. by W., and S.S.W. along the shore, at the distance of about four leagues, with gentle breezes from between N.W. and N.N.E. At seven in the evening, we saw the top of the peak to the southward, above the clouds, which concealed it below. And at this time, the southernmost land in sight bore S. by W.; the variation, by several azimuths which were taken both in the morning and the evening, appeared to be  $14^{\circ} 15'$  easterly.

At noon on the 12th, we were distant about three leagues from the shore which lies under the peak, but the peak itself was wholly concealed by clouds: we judged it to bear about S.S.E.; and some very remarkable peaked islands, which lay under the shore, bore E.S.E., distant three or four leagues. At seven in the evening we sounded, and had forty-two fathom, being distant from the shore between two and three leagues: we judged the peak to bear east; and after it was dark, we saw fires upon the shore.

At five o'clock in the morning we saw, for a few minutes, the summit of the peak, towering above the clouds, and covered with snow. It now bore N.E.; it lies in latitude  $39^{\circ} 16'$  S., longitude  $185^{\circ} 15'$  W.; and I named it **MOUNT EGMONT**, in honour of the Earl. It seems to have a large base, and to rise with a gradual ascent; it lies near the sea, and is surrounded by a flat country, of a pleasant appearance, being clothed with verdure and wood, which renders it the more conspicuous, and the shore under it forms a large cape, which I have named **CAPE EGMONT**. It lies S.S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., twenty-seven leagues distant from Albatross Point, and on the north side of it are two small islands, which lie near a remarkable point on the main, that rises to a considerable height in the form of a sugar-loaf. To the southward of the cape, the land trends away S.E. by E. and S.S.E., and seems to be everywhere a bold shore. At noon, Cape Egmont bore about N.E.; and in this direction, at about four leagues from the shore, we had forty fathom of water. The

wind during the rest of the day was from W. to N.W. by W., and we continued to steer along the shore S.S.E. and S.E. by E., keeping at the distance of between two or three leagues. At half an hour after seven, we had another transient view of Mount Egmont, which bore N. 17 W., distant about ten leagues.

At five the next morning, we steered S.E. by S., the coast inclining more southerly; and in about half an hour we saw land, bearing S.W. by S., for which we hauled up. At noon, the north-west extremity of the land in sight bore S. 63 W., and some high land, which had the appearance of an island lying under the main, bore S.S.E., distant five leagues. We were now in a bay, the bottom of which bearing south, we could not see, though it was clear in that quarter. Our latitude by observation was  $40^{\circ} 27' S.$ , longitude  $184^{\circ} 39' W.$  At eight in the evening, we were within two leagues of the land which we had discovered in the morning, having run ten leagues since noon: the land which then bore S. 63 W., now bore N. 59 W., at the distance of seven or eight leagues, and had the appearance of an island. Between this land and CAPE EGMONT lies the bay, the west side of which was our situation at this time, and the land here is of a considerable height, and diversified by hill and valley.

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CHAPTER VI.—TRANSACTIONS IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND: PASSAGE THROUGH THE STRAIT WHICH DIVIDES THE TWO ISLANDS, AND BACK TO CAPE TURNAGAIN: HORRID CUSTOM OF THE INHABITANTS: REMARKABLE MELODY OF BIRDS; A VISIT TO A HIPPAH, AND MANY OTHER PARTICULARS.

THE shore at this place seemed to form several bays, into one of which I proposed to carry the ship, which was become very foul, in order to careen her, and at the same time repair some defects, and recruit our wood and water.

With this view, I kept plying on and off all night, having from eighty to sixty-three fathom. At daybreak the next morning, I stood for an inlet which runs in S.W.; and at eight I got within the entrance which may be known by a reef of rocks, stretching from the north-west point, and some rocky islands which lie off the south-east point. At nine o'clock, there being little wind, and what there was being variable, we were carried by the tide or current within two cables' length of the north-west shore, where we had fifty-four fathom water, but by the help of our boats we got clear. Just at this time we saw a sea-lion rise twice near the shore, the head of which exactly resembled that of the male which has been described in the Account of Lord Anson's Voyage. We also saw some of the natives in a canoe cross the bay, and a village situated upon the point of an island which lies seven or eight miles within the entrance. At noon, we were the length of this island, but there being little wind, the boats were ordered a-head to tow. About one o'clock, we hauled close round the south-west end of the island; and the inhabitants of the village which was built upon it were immediately up in arms. About two, we anchored in a very safe and convenient cove, on the north-west side of the bay, and facing the south-west end of the island, in eleven fathom water, with soft ground, and moored with the stream anchor.

We were about four long cannon-shot distant from the village or Hippah, from which four canoes were immediately despatched, as we imagined, to reconnoitre, and, if they should find themselves able, to take us. The men were all well armed, and dressed nearly as they are represented in the figure published by Tasman; two corners of the cloth which they wrapped round the body were passed over the shoulders from behind, and being brought down to the upper edge of it before, were made fast to it just under the breast; but few, or none, had feathers in their hair.

They rowed round the ship several times, with their usual tokens of menace and defiance, and at last began the assault by throwing some stones: Tupia expostulated with them, but apparently to very little purpose; and we began to fear that they would oblige us to fire at them, when a very old man in one of the boats expressed a desire of coming on board. We gladly encouraged him in his design, a rope was thrown into his canoe, and she was immediately alongside of the ship: the old man rose up, and prepared to come up the ship's side, upon which all the rest expostulated with great vehemence against the attempt, and at



last laid hold of him, and held him back : he adhered however to his purpose with a calm but steady perseverance, and having at length disengaged himself, he came on board. We received him with all possible expressions of friendship and kindness, and after some time dismissed him, with many presents, to his companions. As soon as he was returned on board his canoe, the people in all the rest began to dance, but whether as a token of enmity or friendship we could not certainly determine, for we had seen them dance in a disposition both for peace and war. In a short time, however, they retired to their fort, and soon after I went on shore, with most of the gentlemen, at the bottom of the cove, abreast of the ship. We found a fine stream of excellent water, and wood in the greatest plenty, for the land here was one forest, of vast extent. As we brought the seine with us, we hauled it once or twice, and with such success that we caught near three hundred-weight of fish of different sorts, which was equally distributed among the ship's company.

At day-break, while we were busy in careening the ship, three canoes came off to us, having on board above a hundred men, besides several of their women, which we were pleased to see, as in general it is a sign of peace ; but they soon afterwards became very troublesome, and gave us reason to apprehend some mischief from them to the people that were in our boats alongside the ship. While we were in this situation, the long-boat was sent ashore with some water-casks, and some of the canoes attempting to follow her, we found it necessary to intimidate them by firing some small-shot : we were at such a distance that it was impossible to hurt them, yet our reproof had its effect, and they desisted from the pursuit. They had some fish in their canoes which they now offered to sell, and which, though it stunk, we consented to buy : for this purpose a man in a small boat was sent among them, and they traded for some time very fairly. At length, however, one of them watching his opportunity, snatched at some paper which our market-man held in his hand, and missing it, immediately put himself in a posture of defence, flourished his patoo-patoo, and making show as if he was about to strike ; some small-shot were then fired at him from the ship, a few of which struck him upon the knee : this put an end to our trade, but the Indians still continued near the ship, rowing round her many times, and conversing with Tupia, chiefly concerning the traditions they had among them with respect to the antiquities of their country. To this subject they were led by the inquiries which Tupia had been directed to make, whether they had ever seen such a vessel as ours, or had ever heard that any such had been upon their coast. These inquiries were all answered in the negative, so that tradition has preserved among them no memorial of Tasman ; though, by an observation made this day, we find that we are only fifteen miles south of Murderer's Bay, our latitude being  $41^{\circ} 5' 32''$ , and Murderer's Bay, according to his account, being  $40^{\circ} 50'$ . The women in these canoes, and some of the men, had a head-dress which we had not before seen. It consisted of a bunch of black feathers, made up in a round form, and tied upon the top of the head, which it entirely covered, and made it twice as high, to appearance, as it was in reality.

After dinner I went in the pinnace with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and some others, into another cove, about two miles distant from that in which the ship lay : in our way we saw something floating upon the water, which we took for a dead seal, but upon rowing up to it, found it to be the body of a woman, which, to all appearance, had been dead some days. We proceeded to our cove, where we went on shore, and found a small family of Indians, who appeared to be greatly terrified at our approach, and all ran away except one. A conversation between this person and Tupia soon brought back the rest, except an old man and a child, who still kept aloof, but stood peeping at us from the woods. Of these people, our curiosity naturally led us to inquire after the body of the woman, which we had seen floating upon the water : and they acquainted us, by Tupia, that she was a relation, who had died a natural death ; and that, according to their custom, they had tied a stone to the body, and thrown it into the sea, which stone, they supposed, had, by some accident, been disengaged.

This family, when we came on shore, was employed in dressing some provisions : the body of a dog was at this time buried in their oven, and many provision-baskets stood near it. Having cast our eyes carelessly into one of these, as we passed it, we saw two bones pretty

cleanly picked, which did not seem to be the bones of a dog, and which, upon a nearer examination, we discovered to be those of a human body. At this sight we were struck with horror, though it was only a confirmation of what we had heard many times since we arrived upon this coast. As we could have no doubt but the bones were human, neither could we have any doubt but that the flesh which covered them had been eaten. They were found in a provision-basket; the flesh that remained appeared manifestly to have been dressed by fire; and in the gristles at the end were the marks of the teeth which had gnawed them: to put an end, however, to conjecture, founded upon circumstances and appearances, we directed Tupia to ask what bones they were; and the Indians, without the least hesitation, answered, the bones of a man: they were then asked what was become of the flesh, and they replied that they had eaten it. But, said Tupia, why did you not eat the body of the woman which we saw floating upon the water? The woman, said they, died of disease; besides, she was our relation, and we eat only the bodies of our enemies, who are killed in battle. Upon inquiry who the man was whose bones we had found, they told us, that about five days before, a boat belonging to their enemies came into the bay, with many persons on board, and that this man was of the seven whom they had killed. Though stronger evidence of this horrid practice prevailing among the inhabitants of this coast will scarcely be required, we have still stronger to give. One of us asked if they had any human bones with the flesh remaining upon them, and upon their answering us that all had been eaten, we affected to disbelieve that the bones were human, and said that they were the bones of a dog; upon which one of the Indians, with some eagerness, took hold of his own fore-arm, and thrusting it towards us, said, that the bone which Mr. Banks held in his hand had belonged to that part of the human body; at the same time, to convince us that the flesh had been eaten, he took hold of his own arm with his teeth, and made show of eating: he also bit and gnawed the bone which Mr. Banks had taken, drawing it through his mouth, and showing, by signs, that it had afforded a delicious repast; the bone was then returned to Mr. Banks, and he brought it away with him. Among the persons of this family, there was a woman who had her arms, legs, and thighs, frightfully cut in several places; and we were told that she had inflicted the wounds upon herself, in token of her grief for the loss of her husband, who had been lately killed and eaten by their enemies, who had come from some place to the eastward, towards which the Indians pointed.

The ship lay at the distance of somewhat less than a quarter of a mile from the shore, and in the morning we were awakened by the singing of the birds: the number was incredible, and they seemed to strain their throats in emulation of each other. This wild melody was infinitely superior to any that we had ever heard of the same kind; it seemed to be like small bells, most exquisitely tuned, and perhaps the distance, and the water between, might be no small advantage to the sound. Upon inquiry, we were informed that the birds here always began to sing about two hours after midnight, and continuing their music till sunrise, were, like our nightingales, silent the rest of the day. In the forenoon, a small canoe came off from the Indian village to the ship, and among those that were in it, was the old man who had first come on board at our arrival in the bay. As soon as it came alongside, Tupia renewed the conversation that had passed the day before concerning their practice of eating human flesh, during which they repeated what they had told us already. But, said Tupia, where are the heads? do you eat them too? Of the heads, said the old man, we eat only the brains, and the next time I come I will bring some of them to convince you that what we have told you is truth. After some farther conversation between these people and Tupia, they told him that they expected their enemies to come very shortly to revenge the death of the seven men whom they had killed and eaten.

On the 18th, the Indians were more quiet than usual; no canoe came near the ship, nor did we see one of them moving on the shore, their fishing and other usual occupations being totally suspended. We thought they expected an attack on this day, and, therefore, attended more diligently to what passed on shore; but we saw nothing to gratify our curiosity. After breakfast, we went out in the pinnace, to take a view of the bay, which was of vast extent, and consisted of numberless small harbours and coves, in every direction: we confined our excursion, however, to the western side, and the country being an impene-



trable forest where we landed, we could see nothing worthy of notice: we killed, however, a good number of shags, which we saw sitting upon their nests in the trees, and which, whether roasted or stewed, we considered as very good provision. As we were returning, we saw a single man in a canoe fishing; we rowed up to him, and, to our great surprise, he took not the least notice of us, but even when we were alongside of him, continued to follow his occupation, without adverting to us any more than if we had been invisible. He did not, however, appear to be either sullen or stupid: we requested him to draw up his net, that we might examine it, and he readily complied: it was of a circular form, extended by two hoops, and about seven or eight feet in diameter: the top was open, and sea-ears were fastened to the bottom as a bait: this he let down so as to lie upon the ground, and when he thought fish enough were assembled over it, he drew it up by a very gentle and even motion, so that the fish rose with it, scarcely sensible that they were lifted, till they came very near the surface of the water, and then were brought out in the net by a sudden jerk. By this simple method, he had caught abundance of fish, and, indeed, they are so plenty in this bay, that the catching them requires neither much labour nor art.

This day, some of our people found in the skirts of the wood, near a hole or oven, three human hip-bones, which they brought on board; a farther proof that these people eat human flesh: Mr. Monkhouse, our surgeon, also brought on board, from a place where he saw many deserted houses, the hair of a man's head, which he had found, among many other things, tied up to the branches of trees.

In the morning of the 19th, we set up the armourer's forge to repair the braces of the tiller, and other iron-work, all hands on board being still busy in careening, and other necessary operations about the vessel: this day, some Indians came on board from another part of the bay, where they said there was a town which we had not seen: they brought plenty of fish, which they sold for nails, having now acquired some notion of their use; and in this traffic no unfair practice was attempted. In the morning of the 20th, our old man kept his promise, and brought on board four of the heads of the seven people who had been so much the subject of our inquiries: the hair and flesh were entire, but we perceived that the brains had been extracted; the flesh was soft, but had by some method been preserved from putrefaction, for it had no disagreeable smell. Mr. Banks purchased one of them, but they sold it with great reluctance, and could not by any means be prevailed upon to part with a second; probably they may be preserved as trophies, like the scalps in America, and the jaw-bones in the islands of the South Seas. Upon examining the head which had been bought by Mr. Banks, we perceived that it had received a blow upon the temples, which had fractured the skull. This day we made another excursion in the pinnace, to survey the bay, but we found no flat large enough for a potato garden, nor could we discover the least appearance of cultivation: we met not a single Indian, but found an excellent harbour; and about eight o'clock in the evening returned on board the ship.

On the 21st, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went a-fishing with hook and line, and caught an immense quantity everywhere upon the rocks, in between four and five fathom water: the seine was hauled every night, and seldom failed to supply the whole ship's company with as much fish as they could eat. This day all the people had leave to go on shore at the watering-place, and divert themselves as they should think proper.

In the morning of the 22nd, I set out again in the pinnace, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, with a design to examine the head of the inlet; but, after rowing about four or five leagues without so much as coming in sight of it, the wind being contrary, and the day half spent, we went on shore on the south-east side, to try what might be discovered from the hills. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander immediately employed themselves in botanising near the beach, and I, taking a seaman with me, ascended one of the hills: when I reached the summit, I found a view of the inlet intercepted by hills, which in that direction rose still higher, and which were rendered inaccessible by impenetrable woods; I was, however, abundantly compensated for my labour, for I saw the sea on the eastern side of the country, and a passage leading from it to that on the west, a little to the eastward of the entrance of the inlet where the ship now lay. The main land,

which lay on the south-east of this inlet, appeared to be a narrow ridge of very high hills, and to form part of the south-west side of the strait; the land on the opposite side appeared to trend away east as far as the eye could reach; and to the south-east there appeared to be an opening to the sea, which washed the eastern coast: on the east side of the inlet also I saw some islands which I had before taken to be part of the main land. Having made this discovery, I descended the hill, and as soon as we had taken some refreshment, we set out on our return to the ship. In our way, we examined the harbours and coves which lie behind the islands that I had discovered from the hill; and in this route we saw an old village, in which there were many houses that seemed to have been long deserted: we also saw another village which was inhabited, but the day was too far spent for us to visit it, and we therefore made the best of our way to the ship, which we reached between eight and nine o'clock at night.

The 23rd I employed in carrying on a survey of the place; and upon one of the islands where I landed, I saw many houses which seemed to have been long deserted, and no appearance of any inhabitant. On the 24th, we went to visit our friends at the Hippah or village on the point of the island near the ship's station, who had come off to us on our first arrival in the bay. They received us with the utmost confidence and civility, showing us every part of their habitations, which were commodious and neat. The island or rock on which this town is situated is divided from the main by a breach or fissure, so narrow that a man might almost leap from one to the other: the sides of it are everywhere so steep as to render the artificial fortification of these people almost unnecessary; there was, however, one slight palisade, and one small fighting-stage, towards that part of the rock where access was least difficult.

The people here brought us out several human bones, the flesh of which they had eaten, and offered them to sale; for the curiosity of those among us, who had purchased them as memorials of the horrid practice which many, notwithstanding the reports of travellers, have professed not to believe, had rendered them a kind of article of trade. In one part of this village we observed, not without some surprise, a cross exactly like that of a crucifix; it was adorned with feathers, and, upon our inquiring for what purpose it had been set up, we were told that it was a monument for a man who was dead. We had before understood that their dead were not buried, but thrown into the sea; but to our inquiry how the body of the man had been disposed of, to whose memory this cross had been erected, they refused to answer. When we left these people, we went to the other end of the island, and there taking water, crossed over to the main, where we saw several houses, but no inhabitants, except a few in some straggling canoes, that seemed to be fishing. After viewing this place, we returned on board the ship to dinner.

During our visit to the Indians this day, Tupia being always of our party, they had been observed to be continually talking of guns, and shooting people: for this subject of their conversation we could not at all account; and it had so much engaged our attention, that we talked of it all the way back, and even after we got on board the ship. We had perplexed ourselves with various conjectures, which were all given up in their turn; but now we learnt, that on the 21st one of our officers, upon pretence of going out to fish, had rowed up to the Hippah, and that two or three canoes coming off towards his boat, his fears suggested that an attack was intended, in consequence of which three muskets were fired, one with small shot and two with ball, at the Indians, who retired with the utmost precipitation, having probably come out with friendly intentions; for such their behaviour both before and afterwards expressed; and having no reason to expect such treatment from people who had always behaved to them not only with humanity but kindness, and to whom they were not conscious of having given offence.

On the 25th, I made another excursion along the coast, in the pinnace, towards the mouth of the inlet, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and going on shore at a little cove, to shoot shags, we fell in with a large family of Indians, whose custom it is to disperse themselves among the different creeks and coves, where fish is to be procured in the greatest plenty, leaving a few only in the Hippah, to which the rest repair in times of danger. Some of these people came out a good way to meet us, and gave us an invitation



to go with them to the rest of their party, which we readily accepted. We found a company of about thirty, men, women, and children, who received us with all possible demonstrations of friendship: we distributed among them a few ribands and beads, and, in return, received the kisses and embraces of both sexes, both young and old: they gave us also some fish, and after a little time we returned, much pleased with our new acquaintance.

In the morning of the 26th, I went again out in the boat, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and entered one of the bays, which lie on the east side of the inlet, in order to get another sight of the strait which passed between the eastern and western seas. For this purpose, having landed at a convenient place, we climbed a hill of a very considerable height, from which we had a full view of it, with the land on the opposite shore, which we judged to be about four leagues distant; but as it was hazy in the horizon, we could not see far to the south-east: I resolved, however, to search the passage with the ship, as soon as I should put to sea. Upon the top of this hill we found a parcel of loose stones, with which we erected a pyramid, and left in it some musket balls, small shot, beads, and other things, which we happened to have about us, that were likely to stand the test of time, and, not being of Indian workmanship, would convince any European who should come to the place and pull it down, that other natives of Europe had been there before him. When this was done, we descended the hill, and made a comfortable meal of the shags and fish which our guns and lines had procured us, and which were dressed by the boat's crew in a place that we had appointed: in this place we found another Indian family, who received us, as usual, with strong expressions of kindness and pleasure, showing us where to procure water, and doing us such other good offices as were in their power. From this place we went to the town of which the Indians had told us, who visited us on the 19th; this, like that which we had seen before, was built upon a small island or rock, so difficult of access, that we gratified our curiosity at the risk of our necks. The Indians here also received us with open arms, carried us to every part of the place, and showed us all that it contained: this town, like the other, consisted of between eighty and a hundred houses, and had only one



INTERIOR OF A HIPPAH.

fighting-stage. We happened to have with us a few nails and ribands, and some paper, with which our guests were so gratified, that at our coming away they filled our boat with dried fish, of which we perceived they had laid up great quantities.

The 27th and 28th were spent in refitting the ship for the sea, fixing a transom for the tiller, getting stones on board to put into the bottom of the bread-room, to bring the ship more by the stern, in repairing the casks, and catching fish.

On the 29th, we received a visit from our old man, whose name we found to be *TOPIA*,

and three other natives, with whom Tupia had much conversation. The old man told us, that one of the men who had been fired upon by the officer who had visited their hippah, under pretence of fishing, was dead; but to my great comfort I afterwards discovered that this report was not true, and that if Topāa's discourses were taken literally, they would frequently lead us into mistakes. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were several times on shore during the last two or three days, not without success, but greatly circumscribed in their walks, by climbers of a most luxuriant growth, which were so interwoven together as to fill up the space between the trees about which they grew, and render the woods altogether impassable. This day, also, I went on shore again myself, upon the western point of the inlet, and from a hill of considerable height I had a view of the coast to the N.W. The farthest land I could see in that quarter was an island which has been mentioned before, at the distance of about ten leagues, lying not far from the main: between this island and the place where I stood, I discovered, close under the shore, several other islands, forming many bays, in which there appeared to be good anchorage for shipping. After I had set off the different points for my survey, I erected another pile of stones, in which I left a piece of silver coin, with some musket-balls and beads, and a piece of an old pendant flying on the top. In my return to the ship, I made a visit to several of the natives, whom I saw along-shore, and purchased a small quantity of fish.

On the 30th, early in the morning, I sent a boat to one of the islands for celery, and while the people were gathering it, about twenty of the natives, men, women, and children, landed near some empty huts: as soon as they were on shore, five or six of the women sat down upon the ground together, and began to cut their legs, arms, and faces, with shells, and sharp pieces of talc or jasper, in a terrible manner. Our people understood that their husbands had lately been killed by their enemies: but, while they were performing this horrid ceremony, the men set about repairing the huts, with the utmost negligence and unconcern.

The carpenter having prepared two posts to be left as memorials of our having visited this place, I ordered them to be inscribed with the ship's name, and the year and month: one of them I set up at the watering-place, hoisting the Union-flag upon the top of it; and the other I carried over to the island that lies nearest to the sea, called by the natives MOTUARA. I went first to the village or hippah, accompanied by Mr. Monkhouse and Tupia, where I met with our old man, and told him and several others, by means of Tupia, that we were come to set up a mark upon the island, in order to show to any other ship which should happen to come thither, that we had been there before. To this they readily consented, and promised that they never would pull it down: I then gave something to every one present; and to the old man I gave a silver three-pence, dated 1736, and some spike-nails, with the king's broad arrow cut deep upon them; things which I thought most likely to remain long among them: I then took the post to the highest part of the island, and, after fixing it firmly in the ground, I hoisted upon it the Union-flag, and honoured this inlet with the name of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND; at the same time taking formal possession of this and the adjacent country, in the name and for the use of his Majesty King George the Third. We then drank a bottle of wine to her Majesty's health, and gave the bottle to the old man who had attended us up the hill, and who was mightily delighted with his present.

While the post was setting up, we inquired of the old man concerning the passage into the eastern sea, the existence of which he confirmed; and then asked him about the land to the S.W. of the strait, where we were then situated; this land, he said, consisted of two whennuas or islands, which may be circumnavigated in a few days, and which he called TOVY POENAMMOO: the literal translation of this word is, "the water of green talc;" and probably if we had understood him better, we should have found that Tovy Poenamoo was the name of some particular place where they got the green talc or stone of which they make their ornaments and tools, and not a general name for the whole southern district: he said, there was also a third whennua, on the east side of the strait, the circumnavigation of which would take up many moons: this he called EAHEINOMAUWE; and to the land on the borders of the strait he gave the name of TIERA WITTE. Having set up our post, and



procured this intelligence, we returned on board the ship, and brought the old man with us, who was attended by his canoe, in which, after dinner, he returned home.

On the 31st, having completed our wooding, and filled all our water-casks, I sent out two parties, one to cut and make brooms, and another to catch fish. In the evening we had a strong gale from the N.W., with such a heavy rain, that our little wild musicians on shore suspended their song, which till now we had constantly heard during the night, with a pleasure which it was impossible to lose without regret. On the 1st, the gale increased to a storm, with heavy gusts from the high land, one of which broke the hawser that we had fastened to the shore, and obliged us to let go another anchor. Towards midnight, the gale became more moderate, but the rain continued with such violence, that the brook which had supplied us with water overflowed its banks, and carried away ten small casks which had been left there full of water, and, notwithstanding we searched the whole cove, we could never recover one of them.

On the 3rd, as I intended to sail the first opportunity, I went over to the hippah on the east side of the Sound, and purchased a considerable quantity of split and half-dried fish, for sea-stores. The people here confirmed all that the old man had told us concerning the strait and the country, and about noon I took leave of them; some of them seemed to be sorry, and others glad, that we were going: the fish which I had bought they sold freely, but there were some who showed manifest signs of disapprobation. As we returned to the ship, some of us made an excursion along the shore to the northward, to traffic with the natives for a farther supply of fish; in which, however, they had no great success. In the evening we got everything off from the shore, as I intended to sail in the morning, but the wind would not permit.

On the 4th, while we were waiting for a wind, we amused ourselves by fishing, and gathering shells and seeds of various kinds; and early in the morning of the 5th, we cast off the hawser, hove short on the bower, and carried the kedge-anchor out, in order to warp the ship out of the cove, which having done, about two o'clock in the afternoon, we hove up the anchor and got under sail; but the wind soon failing, we were obliged to come to an anchor again a little above Motuara. When we were under sail, our old man, Topāa, came on board to take his leave of us; and as we were still desirous of making farther inquiries whether any memory of Tasman had been preserved among these people, Tupia was directed to ask him whether he had ever heard that such a vessel as ours had before visited the country. To this he replied in the negative; but said that his ancestors had told him there had once come to this place a small vessel, from a distant country, called Ulimaroa, in which were four men, who, upon their coming on shore, were all killed: upon being asked where this distant land lay, he pointed to the northward. Of Ulimaroa we had heard something before, from the people about the Bay of Islands, who said that their ancestors had visited it; and Tupia had also talked to us of Ulimaroa, concerning which he had some confused traditionary notions, not very different from those of our old man, so that we could draw no certain conclusion from the accounts of either.

Soon after the ship came to an anchor the second time, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on shore, to see if any gleanings of natural knowledge remained; and by accident fell in with the most agreeable Indian family they had seen, which afforded them a better opportunity of remarking the personal subordination among these people than had before offered. The principal persons were a widow, and a pretty boy about ten years old: the widow was mourning for her husband with tears of blood, according to their custom, and the child, by the death of its father, was become proprietor of the land where we had cut our wood. The mother and the son were sitting upon mats, and the rest of the family, to the number of sixteen or seventeen, of both sexes, sat round them in the open air, for they did not appear to have any house, or other shelter from the weather, the inclemencies of which custom has probably enabled them to endure without any lasting inconvenience. Their whole behaviour was affable, obliging, and unsuspecting: they presented each person with fish, and a brand of fire to dress it, and pressed them many times to stay till the morning, which they would certainly have done if they had not expected the ship to sail, greatly regretting that they had not become acquainted with them sooner, as they made no doubt but that more know-

ledge of the manners and disposition of the inhabitants of this country would have been obtained from them in a day than they had yet been able to acquire during our whole stay upon the coast.

On the 6th, about six o'clock in the morning, a light breeze sprung up at north, and we again got under sail; but the wind proving variable, we reached no farther than just without Motuara; in the afternoon, however, a more steady gale at N. by W. set us clear of the Sound, which I shall now describe.

The entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound is situated in latitude  $41^{\circ}$  S., longitude  $184^{\circ} 45'$  W., and near the middle of the south-west side of the strait in which it lies. The land of the south-east head of the Sound, called by the natives KOAMAROO, off which lie two small islands and some rocks, makes the narrowest part of the strait. From the north-west head a reef of rocks runs out about two miles, in the direction of N.E. by N.; part of which is above the water, and part below. By this account of the heads, the Sound will be sufficiently known; at the entrance it is three leagues broad, and lies in S.W. by S.S.W. and W.S.W. at least ten leagues, and is a collection of some of the finest harbours in the world. The land forming the harbour or cove in which we lay, is called by the natives TOTARRANUE: the harbour itself, which I called SHIP COVE, is not inferior to any in the Sound, either for convenience or safety: it lies on the west side of the Sound, and is the southernmost of three coves that are situated within the island of Motuara, which bears east of it. Ship Cove may be entered, either between Motuara and a long island, called by the natives HAMOTE, or between Motuara and the western shore. In the last of these channels are two ledges of rocks, three fathom under water, which may easily be known by the seaweed that grows upon them. In sailing either in or out of the Sound, with little wind, attention must be had to the tides, which flow about nine or ten o'clock at the full and change of the moon, and rise and fall between seven and eight feet perpendicularly. The flood comes in through the strait from the S.E., and sets strongly over upon the north-west head, and the reef that lies off it: the ebb sets with still greater rapidity to the S.E. over upon the rocks and islands that lie off the south-east head. The variation of the compass we found, from good observation, to be  $13^{\circ} 5'$  E.

The land about this sound, which is of such a height that we saw it at the distance of twenty leagues, consists wholly of high hills and deep valleys, well stored with a variety of excellent timber, fit for all purposes except masts, for which it is too hard and heavy. The sea abounds with a variety of fish, so that, without going out of the cove where we lay, we caught every day, with the seine and hooks and lines, a quantity sufficient to serve the whole ship's company; and along the shore we found plenty of shags, and a few other species of wild-fowl, which those who have long lived upon salt provisions will not think despicable food.

The number of inhabitants scarcely exceeds four hundred, and they live dispersed along the shores, where their food, consisting of fish and fern roots, is most easily procured, for we saw no cultivated ground. Upon any appearance of danger, they retire to their hippahs or forts: in this situation we found them, and in this situation they continued for some time after our arrival. In comparison of the inhabitants of other parts of this country, they are poor, and their canoes are without ornament. The little traffic we had with them was wholly for fish; and, indeed, they had scarcely anything else to dispose of. They seemed, however, to have some knowledge of iron, which the inhabitants of some other parts had not; for they willingly took nails for their fish, and sometimes seemed to prefer it to everything else that we could offer, which had not always been the case. They were at first very fond of paper; but when they found that it was spoiled by being wet, they would not take it: neither did they set much value upon the cloth of Otaheite, but English broad-cloth and red kersey were in high estimation, which showed that they had sense enough to appreciate the commodities which we offered by their use, which is more than could be said of some of their neighbours, who made a much better appearance. Their dress has been mentioned already, particularly their large round head-dresses of feathers, which were far from being unbecoming.

As soon as we got out of the Sound, I stood over to the eastward, in order to get the strait



well open before the tide of ebb came on. At seven in the evening, the two small islands which lie off Cape Koamaroo, the south-east head of Queen Charlotte's Sound, bore east, distant about four miles. At this time it was nearly calm, and the tide of ebb setting out, we were in a very short time carried by the rapidity of the stream close upon one of the islands, which was a rock rising almost perpendicularly out of the sea. We perceived our danger increase every moment, and had but one expedient to prevent our being dashed to pieces, the success of which a few minutes would determine. We were now within little more than a cable's length of the rock, and had more than seventy-five fathom water; but upon dropping an anchor, and veering about one hundred and fifty fathom of cable, the ship was happily brought up: this, however, would not have saved us, if the tide, which set S. by E., had not, upon meeting with the island, changed its direction to S.E., and carried us beyond the first point. In this situation, we were not above two cables' length from the rocks: and here we remained in the strength of the tide, which set to the S.E., after the rate of at least five miles an hour, from a little after seven till near midnight, when the tide abated, and we began to heave. By three in the morning the anchor was at the bows, and having a light breeze at N.W. we made sail for the eastern shore; but the tide being against us, we made but little way; the wind, however, afterwards freshened, and came to N. and N.E., with which, and the tide of ebb, we were in a short time hurried through the narrowest part of the strait, and then stood away for the southernmost land we had in sight, which bore from us S. by W. Over this land appeared a mountain of stupendous height, which was covered with snow.

The narrowest part of the strait through which we had been driven with such rapidity, lies between Cape Tierawitte, on the coast of Eaheinomauwe, and Cape Koamaroo: the distance between them I judged to be between four or five leagues, and notwithstanding the tide, now its strength is known, may be passed without much danger. It is, however, safest to keep on the north-east shore, for on that side there appeared to be nothing to fear; but on the other shore there are not only the islands and rocks which lie off Cape Koamaroo, but a reef of rocks stretching from these islands six or seven miles to the southward, at the distance of two or three miles from the shore, which I had discovered from the hill when I took my second view of the strait from the east to the western sea. The length of the strait we had passed I shall not pretend to assign, but some judgment may be formed of it from a view of the map.

About nine leagues north from Cape Tierawitte, and under the same shore, is a high and remarkable island which may be distinctly seen from Queen Charlotte's Sound, from which it is distant about six or seven leagues. This island, which was noticed when we passed it on the 14th of January, I have called ENTRY ISLE. On the east side of Cape Tierawitte, the land trends away S.E. by E., about eight leagues, where it ends in a point, and is the southernmost land on Eaheinomauwe. To this point I have given the name of CAPE PALLISER, in honour of my worthy friend Captain Palliser. It lies in latitude  $41^{\circ} 34' S.$ , longitude  $183^{\circ} 58' W.$ , and bore from us this day at noon S.  $79^{\circ} E.$ , distant about thirteen leagues, the ship being then in the latitude of  $41^{\circ} 27' S.$ ; Koamaroo at the same time bearing N.  $\frac{1}{2} E.$ , distant seven or eight leagues. The southernmost land in sight bore S.  $16^{\circ} W.$ , and the snowy mountain S.W. At this time we were about three leagues from the shore, and abreast of a deep bay or inlet, to which I gave the name of CLOUDY BAY, and at the bottom of which there appeared low land covered with tall trees.

At three o'clock in the afternoon we were abreast of the southernmost point of land that we had seen at noon, which I called CAPE CAMPBELL: it lies S. by W., distant between twelve and thirteen leagues from Cape Koamaroo, in latitude  $41^{\circ} 44' S.$ , longitude  $183^{\circ} 45' W.$ ; and with Cape Palliser forms the southern entrance of the strait, the distance between them being between thirteen and fourteen leagues W. by S., and E. by N.

From this cape we steered along the shore S.W. by S. till eight o'clock in the evening, when the wind died away. About half an hour afterwards, however, a fresh breeze sprung up at S.W., and I put the ship right before it. My reason for this was a notion which some of the officers had just started, that Eaheinomauwe was not an island, and that the

land might stretch away to the S.E. from between Cape Turnagain and Cape Palliser, there being a space of between twelve and fifteen leagues that we had not seen. I had, indeed, the strongest conviction that they were mistaken, not only from what I had seen the first time I discovered the strait, but from many other concurrent testimonies, that the land in question was an island; but being resolved to leave no possibility of doubt with respect to an object of such importance, I took the opportunity of the wind's shifting, to stand eastward, and accordingly steered N.E. by E. all the night. At nine o'clock in the morning we were abreast of Cape Palliser, and found the land trend away N.E. towards Cape Turnagain, which I reckoned to be distant about twenty-six leagues: however, as the weather was hazy, so as to prevent our seeing above four or five leagues, I still kept standing to the N.E. with a light breeze at south; and at noon Cape Palliser bore N. 72 W., distant about three leagues.

About three o'clock in the afternoon three canoes came up to the ship with between thirty and forty people on board, who had been pulling after us with great labour and perseverance for some time: they appeared to be more cleanly, and a better class, than any we had met with since we left the Bay of Islands; and their canoes were also distinguished by the same ornaments which we had seen upon the northerly part of the coast. They came on board with very little invitation; and their behaviour was courteous and friendly. Upon receiving presents from us, they made us presents in return, which had not been done by any of the natives that we had seen before. We soon perceived that our guests had heard of us, for as soon as they came on board, they asked for *Whow*, the name by which nails were known among the people with whom we had trafficked: but though they had heard of nails, it was plain they had seen none; for when nails were given them, they asked Tupia what they were. The term *Whow*, indeed, convey to them the idea not of their quality, but only of their use; for it is the same by which they distinguish a tool, commonly made of bone, which they use both as an auger and a chisel. However, their knowing that we had *Whow* to sell, was a proof that their connexions extended as far north as Cape Kidnappers, which was distant no less than forty-five leagues; for that was the southernmost place on this side the coast where we had had any traffic with the natives. It is also probable, that the little knowledge which the inhabitants of Queen Charlotte's Sound had of iron, they obtained from their neighbours at Tierawitte; for we had no reason to think that the inhabitants of any part of this coast had the least knowledge of iron or its use before we came among them, especially as, when it was first offered, they seemed to disregard it as of no value. We thought it probable, that we were now once more in the territories of Teratu; but upon inquiring of these people, they said that he was not their king. After a short time, they went away, much gratified with the presents that we had made them; and we pursued our course along the shore to the N.E. till eleven o'clock the next morning. About this time, the weather happening to clear up, we saw Cape Turnagain, bearing N. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., at the distance of about seven leagues: I then called the officers upon deck, and asked them, whether they were not now satisfied that Eaheinomauwe was an island: they readily answered in the affirmative; and all doubts being now removed, we hauled our wind to the eastward.

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CHAPTER VII.—RANGE FROM CAPE TURNAGAIN SOUTHWARD ALONG THE EASTERN COAST OF POENAMMOO, ROUND CAPE SOUTH, AND BACK TO THE WESTERN ENTRANCE OF COOK'S STRAIT, WHICH COMPLETED THE CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THIS COUNTRY; WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE COAST, AND OF ADMIRALTY BAY. THE DEPARTURE FROM NEW ZEALAND, AND VARIOUS PARTICULARS.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of Friday, the 9th of February, we tacked, and stood S.W. till eight o'clock the next morning, when, being not above three or four miles from the shore, we stood off two hours; and then again S.W. till noon, when, at the distance of about two miles from the shore, we had twenty-six fathom water.

We continued to make sail to the southward till sunset on the 11th, when a fresh breeze



at N.E. had carried us back again the length of Cape Palliser, of which, as the weather was clear, we had a good view. It is of a height sufficient to be seen in clear weather at the distance of twelve or fourteen leagues, and the land is of a broken and hilly surface. Between the foot of the high land and the sea there is a low flat border, off which there are some rocks that appear above water. Between this Cape and Cape Turnagain, the land near the shore is in many places low and flat, and has a green and pleasant appearance; but farther from the sea it rises into hills. The land between Cape Palliser and Cape Tierawitte is high, and makes in table-points; it also seemed to us to form two bays; but we were at too great a distance from this part of the coast to judge accurately from appearances. The wind having been variable, with calms, we had advanced no farther by the 12th at noon than latitude  $41^{\circ} 52'$ , Cape Palliser then bearing north, distant about five leagues; and the snowy mountain, S.  $83^{\circ}$  W.

At noon, on the 13th, we found ourselves in the latitude of  $42^{\circ} 2'$  S., Cape Palliser bearing N.  $20^{\circ}$  E., distant eight leagues. In the afternoon, a fresh gale sprung up at N.E., and we steered S.W. by W. for the southernmost land in sight, which at sunset bore from us S.  $74^{\circ}$  W. At this time the variation was  $15^{\circ} 4'$  E.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 14th, having run one-and-twenty leagues S.  $58^{\circ}$  W. since the preceding noon, it fell calm. We were then abreast of the snowy mountain, which bore from us N.W., and in this direction lay behind a mountainous ridge of nearly the same height, which rises directly from the sea, and runs parallel with the shore, which lies N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. and. S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. The north-west end of the ridge rises inland, not far from Cape Campbell; and both the mountain and the ridge are distinctly seen as well from Cape Koamaroo as Cape Palliser. From Koamaroo they are distant two-and-twenty leagues S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S.; and from Cape Palliser, thirty leagues W.S.W.; and are of a height sufficient to be seen at a much greater distance. Some persons on board were of opinion that they were as high as Teneriffe; but I did not think them as high as Mount Egmont, on the south-west coast of Eaheinomauwe, because the snow, which almost entirely covered Mount Egmont, lay only in patches upon these. At noon, this day, we were in latitude  $42^{\circ} 34'$  S. The southernmost land in sight bore S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W.; and some low land that appeared like an island, and lay close under the foot of the ridge, bore N.W. by N. about five or six leagues.

In the afternoon, when Mr. Banks was out in the boat a-shooting, we saw with our glasses four double canoes, having on board fifty-seven men, put off from that shore, and make towards him; we immediately made signals for him to come on board, but the ship, with respect to him, being right in the wake of the sun, he did not see them. We were at a considerable distance from the shore, and he was at a considerable distance from the ship, which was between him and the shore; so that, it being a dead calm, I began to be in some pain for him, fearing that he might not see the canoes time enough to reach the ship before they should get up with him. Soon after, however, we saw his boat in motion, and had the pleasure to take him on board before the Indians came up, who probably had not seen him, as their attention seemed to be wholly fixed upon the ship. They came within about a stone's cast, and then stopped, gazing at us with a look of vacant astonishment: Tupia exerted all his eloquence to prevail upon them to come nearer, but without any effect. After surveying us for some time, they left us, and made towards the shore, but had not measured more than half the distance between that and the ship before it was dark. We imagined that these people had heard nothing of us, and could not but remark the different behaviour and dispositions of the inhabitants of the different parts of this coast upon their first approaching the vessel. These kept aloof with a mixture of timidity and wonder; others had immediately commenced hostilities, by pelting us with stones. The gentleman whom we had found alone, fishing in his boat, seemed to think us entirely unworthy of his notice; and some, almost without invitation, had come on board with an air of perfect confidence and good-will. From the behaviour of our last visitors, I gave the land from which they had put off, and which, as I have before observed, had the appearance of an island, the name of LOOKERS-ON.

At eight o'clock in the evening, a breeze sprung up at S.S.W., with which I stretched off south-east, because some on board thought they saw land in that quarter. In this course

we continued till six o'clock the next morning, when we had run eleven leagues, but saw no land, except that which we had left. Having stood to the S.E. with a light breeze, which veered from the west to the north, till noon, our latitude by observation was  $42^{\circ} 56' S.$ , and the high land that we were abreast of the preceding noon bore N.N.W.  $\frac{1}{2} W.$  In the afternoon we had a light breeze at N.E., with which we steered west, edging in for the land, which was distant about eight leagues. At seven in the evening, we were about six leagues from the shore, and the southernmost extremity of the land in sight bore W.S.W.

At daybreak, on the 16th, we discovered land bearing S. by W., and seemingly detached from the coast we were upon. About eight, a breeze sprung up at N. by E., and we steered directly for it. At noon, we were in latitude  $43^{\circ} 19' S.$ ; the peak on the snowy mountain bore N. 20 E., distant twenty-seven leagues; the southern extremity of the land we could see bore west; and the land which had been discovered in the morning appeared like an island, extending from S.S.W. to S.W. by W.  $\frac{1}{2} W.$ , distant about eight leagues. In the afternoon, we stood to the southward of it, with a fresh breeze at north. At eight in the evening, we had run eleven leagues, and the land then extended from S.W. by W. to N. by W. We were then distant about three or four leagues from the nearest shore, and in this situation had fifty fathom water, with a fine sandy bottom. The variation of the compass by this morning's amplitude was  $14^{\circ} 39' E.$

At sunrise the next morning, our opinion that the land we had been standing for was an island, was confirmed, by our seeing part of the land of Tovy Poenammoo open to the westward of it, extending as far as W. by S. At eight in the morning, the extremes of the island bore N.  $76^{\circ} W.$  and N.N.E.  $\frac{1}{2} E.$ ; and an opening near the south point, which had the appearance of a bay or harbour, N.  $20^{\circ} W.$ , distant between three and four leagues. In this situation we had thirty-eight fathom water, with a brown sandy bottom.

This island, which I named after Mr. Banks, lies about five leagues from the coast of Tovy Poenammoo; the south point bears S.  $21^{\circ} W.$  from the highest peak on the snowy mountain, and lies in latitude  $43^{\circ} 32' S.$ , and in longitude  $186^{\circ} 30' W.$ , by an observation of the sun and moon which was made this morning. It is of a circular figure, and about twenty-four leagues in compass. It is sufficiently high to be seen at the distance of twelve or fifteen leagues, and the land has a broken irregular surface, with the appearance rather of barrenness than fertility; yet it was inhabited, for we saw smoke in one place, and a few straggling natives in another.

When this island was first discovered in the direction of S. by W., some persons on board were of opinion that they also saw land bearing S.S.E. and S.E. by E. I was myself upon the deck at the time, and told them that in my opinion it was no more than a cloud, and that as the sun rose it would dissipate and vanish. However, as I was determined to leave no subject for disputation which experiment could remove, I ordered the ship to be wore, and steered E.S.E. by compass, in the direction which the land was said to bear from us at that time. At noon we were in latitude  $44^{\circ} 7' S.$ , the south point of Banks's Island bearing north, distant five leagues. By seven o'clock at night we had run eight-and-twenty miles, when, seeing no land, nor any signs of any, but that which we had left, we bore away S. by W., and continued upon that course till the next day at noon, when we were in latitude  $45^{\circ} 16'$ , the south point of Banks's Island bearing N.  $6^{\circ} 30' W.$ , distant twenty-eight leagues. The variation by the azimuth this morning was  $15^{\circ} 30' E.$  As no signs of land had yet appeared to the southward, and as I thought that we had stood far enough in that direction to weather all the land we had left, judging from the report of the natives in Queen Charlotte's Sound, I hauled to the westward.

We had a moderate breeze at N.N.W. and N. till eight in the evening, when it became unsettled; and at ten, fixed at south. During the night, it blew with such violence that it brought us under our close-reefed topsails. At eight the next morning, having run twenty-eight leagues upon a W. by N.  $\frac{1}{2} N.$  course; and judging ourselves to be to the westward of the land of Tovy Poenammoo, we bore away N.W. with a fresh gale at south. At ten, having run eleven miles upon this course, we saw land extending from the S.W. to the N.W., at the distance of about ten leagues, which we hauled up for. At noon, our latitude by observation was  $44^{\circ} 38'$ , the south-east point of Banks's Island bore N.  $58^{\circ} 30' E.$ , distant



thirty leagues, and the main body of the land in sight, W. by N. A head-sea prevented us from making much way to the southward. At seven in the evening, the extremes of the land stretched from S.W. by S. to N. by W.; and at six leagues from the shore, we had thirty-two fathom water. At four o'clock the next morning, we stood in for the shore W. by S.; and during a course of four leagues, our depth of water was from thirty-two to thirteen fathom. When it was thirteen fathom, we were but three miles distant from the shore, and therefore stood off; its direction is here nearly N. and S. The surface, to the distance of about five miles from the sea, is low and flat, but it then rises into hills of a considerable height. It appeared to be totally barren, and we saw no signs of its being inhabited. Our latitude, at noon, was  $44^{\circ} 44'$ ; and the longitude which we made from Banks's Island to this place was  $2^{\circ} 22'$  W. During the last twenty-four hours, though we carried as much sail as the ship would bear, we were driven three leagues to the leeward.

We continued to stand off and on all this day and the next, keeping at the distance of between four and twelve leagues from the shore, and having water from thirty-five to fifty-three fathom. On the 22nd, at noon, we had no observation, but by the land judged ourselves to be about three leagues farther north than we had been the day before. At sunset, the weather, which had been hazy, clearing up, we saw a mountain which rose in a high peak, bearing N.W. by N.; and at the same time we saw the land more distinctly than before, extending from N. to S.W. by S., which, at some distance within the coast, had a lofty and mountainous appearance. We soon found that the accounts which had been given us by the Indians in Queen Charlotte's Sound of the land to the southward, were not true; for they had told us that it might be circumnavigated in four days.

On the 23rd, having a hollow swell from the S.E., and expecting wind from the same quarter, we kept plying between seven and fifteen leagues from the shore, having from seventy to forty-four fathom. At noon, our latitude by observation was  $44^{\circ} 40'$  S., and our longitude from Banks's Island  $1^{\circ} 31'$  W. From this time to six in the evening it was calm; but a light breeze then springing up at E.N.E., we steered S.S.E. all night, edging off from the land, the hollow swell still continuing; our depth of water was from sixty to seventy-five fathom. While we were becalmed, Mr. Banks, being out in the boat, shot two Port Egmont hens, which were in every respect the same as those that are found in great numbers upon the island of Faro, and were the first of the kind we had seen upon this coast, though we fell in with some a few days before we made land.

At daybreak, the wind freshened, and before noon we had a strong gale at N.N.E. At eight in the morning we saw the land extending as far as S.W. by S., and steered directly for it. At noon, we were in latitude  $45^{\circ} 22'$  S.; and the land, which now stretched from S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. to N.N.W., appeared to be rudely diversified by hill and valley. In the afternoon, we steered S.W. by S. and S.W., edging in for the land with a fresh gale at north; but though we were at no great distance, the weather was so hazy that we could see nothing distinctly upon it, except a ridge of high hills lying not far from the sea, and parallel to the coast, which in this place stretches S. by W. and N. by E., and seemed to end in a high bluff point to the southward. By eight in the evening we were abreast of this point; but it being then dark, and I not knowing which way the land trended, we brought-to for the night. At this time the point bore west, and was distant about five miles: our depth of water was thirty-seven fathom, and the bottom consisted of small pebbles.

At daybreak, having made sail, the point bore north, distant three leagues, and we now found that the land trended from it S.W. by W., as far as we could see. This point I named CAPE SAUNDERS, in honour of Sir Charles. Our latitude was  $45^{\circ} 35'$  S., and longitude  $189^{\circ} 4'$  W. By the latitude, and the angles that are made by the coast, this point will be sufficiently known; there is, however, about three or four leagues to the south-west of it, and very near the shore, a remarkable saddle-hill, which is a good direction to it on that quarter. From one league to four leagues north of Cape Saunders, the shore forms two or three bays, in which there appeared to be good anchorage, and effectual shelter from the S.W. westerly, and N. westerly winds; but my desire of getting to the southward, in order to ascertain whether this country was an island or a continent, prevented my putting into any of them.

We kept at a small distance from the shore all this morning, with the wind at S.W., and had a very distinct view of it: it is of a moderate height, and the surface is broken by many hills which are green and woody; but we saw no appearance of inhabitants. At noon, Cape Saunders bore N. 30 W., distant about four leagues. We had variable winds and calms till five o'clock in the evening, when it fixed at W.S.W., and soon blew so hard that it put us past our topsails, and split the foresail all to pieces: after getting another to the yard, we continued to stand to the southward under two courses; and at six the next morning, the southernmost land in sight bore W. by N., and Cape Saunders N. by W., distant eight leagues: at noon, it bore N. 20 W., fourteen leagues; and our latitude by observation was  $46^{\circ} 36'$ . The gale continued, with heavy squalls and a large hollow sea, all the afternoon; and at seven in the evening, we lay-to under our foresail, with the ship's head to the southward: at noon on the 27th, our latitude was  $46^{\circ} 54'$ , and our longitude from Cape Saunders  $1^{\circ} 24'$  E. At seven in the evening, we made sail under our courses; and at eight the next morning set the topsails close reefed. At noon, our latitude was  $47^{\circ} 43'$ , and our longitude east from Cape Saunders  $2^{\circ} 10'$ . At this time, we wore and stood to the northward: in the afternoon, we found the variation to be  $16^{\circ} 34'$  E. At eight in the evening, we tacked and stood to the southward, with the wind at west.

At noon this day, our latitude by account was  $47^{\circ} 52'$ , and our longitude from Cape Saunders  $1^{\circ} 8'$  E. We stood to the southward till half an hour past three in the afternoon; and then, being in latitude  $48^{\circ}$  S., and longitude  $188^{\circ}$  W., and seeing no appearance of land, we tacked and stood to the northward, having a large swell from the S.W. by W. At noon the next day, our latitude was  $46^{\circ} 42'$  S.; and Cape Saunders bore N.  $46^{\circ}$  W., distant eighty-six miles. The south-west swell continuing till the 3rd, confirmed our opinion, that there was no land in that quarter. At four in the afternoon, we stood to the westward with all the sail we could make. In the morning of the 4th, we found the variation to be  $16^{\circ} 16'$  E. This day we saw some whales and seals, as we had done several times after our having passed the strait; but we saw no seal while we were upon the coast of Eahienomauwe. We sounded both in the night and this morning, but had no ground with one hundred and fifty fathom. At noon, we saw Cape Saunders bearing N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W.; and our latitude by observation was  $46^{\circ} 31'$  S. At half an hour past one o'clock, we saw land bearing W. by S., which we steered for, and before it was dark were within three or four miles of it: during the whole night we saw fires upon it, and at seven in the morning were within about three leagues of the shore, which appeared to be high, but level. At three o'clock in the afternoon, we saw the land extending from N.E. by N. to N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N.; and soon after we discovered some low land, which appeared like an island, bearing S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. We continued our course to the W. by S., and in two hours we saw high land over the low land, extending to the southward as far as S.W. by S.; but did not appear to be joined to the land to the northward, so that there is either water, a deep bay, or low land between them.

At noon on the 6th, we were nearly in the same situation as at noon on the day before: in the afternoon we found the variation, by several azimuths and the amplitude, to be  $15^{\circ} 10'$  E. On the 7th at noon, we were in latitude  $47^{\circ} 6'$  S., and had made twelve miles easting during the last twenty-four hours. We stood to the westward the remainder of this day, and all the next till sunset, when the extremes of the land bore from N. by E. to W., distant about seven or eight leagues: in this situation our depth of water was fifty-five fathom, and the variation by amplitude  $16^{\circ} 29'$  E. The wind now veered from the N. to the W., and as we had fine weather and moonlight, we kept standing close upon the wind to the S.W. all night. At four in the morning, we had sixty fathom water; and at daylight we discovered under our bow a ledge of rocks, extending from S. by W. to W. by S., upon which the sea broke very high: they were not more than three quarters of a mile distant, yet we had five-and-forty fathom water. As the wind was at N.W., we could not now weather them, and as I was unwilling to run to leeward, I tacked and made a trip to the eastward; the wind, however, soon after coming to the northward, enabled us to get clear of all. Our soundings, while we were passing within the ledge, were from thirty-five to forty-seven fathom, with a rocky bottom.



This ledge lies S.E. six leagues from the southernmost part of the land, and S.E. by E. from some remarkable hills which stand near the shore: about three leagues to the northward of it, there is another ledge, which lies full three leagues from the shore, and on which the sea broke in a dreadful surf. As we passed these rocks to the north in the night, and discovered the others under our bow at break of day, it is manifest that our danger was imminent, and our escape critical in the highest degree: from the situation of these rocks, so well adapted to catch unwary strangers, I called them the TRAPS. Our latitude at noon was  $47^{\circ} 26' S.$  The land in sight, which had the appearance of an island, extended from N.E. by N. to N.W. by W., and seemed to be about five leagues distant from the main; the easternmost ledge of rocks bore S.S.E., distant one league and a half, and the northernmost N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., distant about three leagues. This land is high and barren, with nothing upon it but a few straggling shrubs, for not a single tree was to be seen; it was, however, remarkable for a number of white patches, which I took to be marble, as they reflected the sun's rays very strongly: other patches of the same kind we had observed in different parts of this country, particularly in Mercury Bay: we continued to stand close upon a wind to the westward, and at sunset the southernmost point of land bore N.  $38^{\circ} E.$ , distant four leagues, and the westernmost land in sight bore N.  $2^{\circ} E.$  The point which lies in latitude  $47^{\circ} 19' S.$  longitude  $192^{\circ} 12' W.$  I named SOUTH CAPE; the westernmost land was a small island, lying off the point of the main.

Supposing South Cape to be the southern extremity of this country, as indeed it proved to be, I hoped to get round it by the west, for a large hollow swell from the south-west, ever since our last hard gale, had convinced me that there was no land in that direction.

In the night we had a hard gale at N.E. by N. and N., which brought us under our courses, but about eight in the morning it became moderate; and at noon, veering to the west, we tacked and stood to the northward, having no land in sight. Our latitude, by observation, was  $47^{\circ} 33' S.$ , our longitude, west from the South Cape,  $59'$ . We stood away N.N.E. close upon a wind, without seeing any land, till two the next morning, when we discovered an island bearing N.W. by N., distant about five leagues: about two hours afterwards we saw land a-head, upon which we tacked and stood off till six, when we stood in to take a nearer view of it: at eleven we were within three leagues of it, but the wind seeming to incline upon the shore, I tacked and stood off to the southward. We had now sailed round the land which we had discovered on the 5th, and which then did not appear to be joined to the main which lay north of it; and being now come to the other side of what we supposed to be water, a bay, or low land, it had the same appearance, but when I came to lay it down upon paper I saw no reason to suppose it to be an island; on the contrary, I was clearly of opinion that it made part of the main. At noon, the western extremity of the main bore N.  $59^{\circ} W.$ , and the island which we had seen in the morning S.  $59^{\circ} W.$  distant about five leagues. It lies in latitude  $46^{\circ} 31' S.$ , longitude  $192^{\circ} 49' W.$ , and is nothing but a barren rock about a mile in circuit, remarkably high, and lies full five leagues distant from the main. This island I named after Dr. Solander, and called it SOLANDER'S ISLAND. The shore of the main lies nearest E. by S. and W. by N. and forms a large open bay, in which there is no appearance of any harbour or shelter for shipping against S.W. and southerly winds; the surface of the country is broken into craggy hills, of a great height, on the summits of which are several patches of snow: it is not, however, wholly barren, for we could see wood not only in the valleys, but upon the highest ground, yet we saw no appearance of its being inhabited.

We continued to stand to the S.W. by S. till eleven o'clock the next morning, when the wind shifted to the S.W. by W., upon which we wore, and stood to the N.N.W., being then in latitude  $47^{\circ} 40' S.$  longitude  $193^{\circ} 50' W.$ , and having a hollow sea from the S.W.

During the night, we steered N.N.W. till six in the morning, when, seeing no land, we steered N. by E. till eight, when we steered N.E. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. to make the land, which at ten we saw bearing E.N.E., but it being hazy, we could distinguish nothing upon it. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $46^{\circ} S.$  About two it cleared up, and the land appeared to be high, rude, and mountainous: about half an hour after three I hauled in for

a bay, in which there appeared to be good anchorage ; but in about an hour, finding the distance too great to run before it would be dark, and the wind blowing too hard to make the attempt safe in the night, I bore away along the shore.

This bay, which I called *DUSKY BAY*, lies in latitude  $45^{\circ} 47' S.$  : it is between three and four miles broad at the entrance, and seems to be full as deep as it is broad : it contains several islands, behind which there must be shelter from all winds, though possibly there may not be sufficient depth of water. The north point of this bay, when it bears S.E. by S., is rendered very remarkable by five high peaked rocks which lie off it, and have the appearance of the four fingers and thumb of a man's hand, for which reason I called it *POINT FIVE FINGERS* : the land of this point is farther remarkable, for being the only level land within a considerable distance. It extends near two leagues to the northward, is lofty, and covered with wood : the land behind it is very different, consisting wholly of mountains, totally barren and rocky ; and this difference gives the Cape the appearance of an island.

At sunset, the southernmost land in sight bore due south, distant about five or six leagues ; and as this is the westernmost point of land upon the whole coast, I called it *WEST CAPE*. It lies about three leagues to the southward of Dusky Bay, in the latitude of  $45^{\circ} 54' S.$ , and in the longitude of  $193^{\circ} 17' W.$  The land of this Cape is of a moderate height next the sea, and has nothing remarkable about it, except a very white cliff, two or three leagues to the southward of it : to the southward of it also the land trends away to the S.E., and to the northward it trends N.N.E.

Having brought to for the night, we made sail along the shore at four in the morning, in the direction of N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. with a moderate breeze at S.S.E. At noon our latitude, by observation, was  $45^{\circ} 13' S.$  At this time, being about a league and a half from the shore, we sounded, but had no ground with seventy fathom : we had just passed a small narrow opening in land, where there seemed to be a very safe and convenient harbour, formed by an island, which lay in the middle of the opening at east. The opening lies in latitude  $45^{\circ} 16' S.$ , and on the land behind it are mountains, the summits of which were covered with snow, that appeared to have been recently fallen ; and indeed for two days past we had found the weather very cold. On each side the entrance of the opening, the land rises almost perpendicularly from the sea to a stupendous height, and this indeed was the reason why I did not carry the ship into it, for no wind could blow there but right in, or right out, in the direction of either east or west, and I thought it by no means advisable to put into a place whence I could not have got out but with a wind which experience had taught me did not blow more than one day in a month. In this, however, I acted contrary to the opinion of some persons on board, who in very strong terms expressed their desire to harbour for present convenience, without any regard to future disadvantages.

In the evening, being about two leagues from the shore, we sounded, and had no ground with 108 fathom : the variation of the needle, by azimuth, was  $14^{\circ} E.$  and by amplitude  $15^{\circ} 2'.$  We made the best of our way along the shore with what wind we had, keeping at the distance of between two and three leagues. At noon, we were in latitude  $44^{\circ} 47'.$  having run only twelve leagues upon a N.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N. course, during the last four-and-twenty hours.

We continued to steer along the shore, in the direction of N.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. till six o'clock in the evening, when we brought to for the night. At four in the morning, we stood in for the land, and when the day broke we saw what appeared to be an inlet ; but upon a nearer approach, proved to be only a deep valley between two high lands : we proceeded therefore in the same course, keeping the shore at the distance of between four and five miles. At noon on the 16th, the northernmost point of land in sight bore N.  $60^{\circ} E.$  at the distance of ten miles ; and our latitude, by observation, was  $44^{\circ} 5'.$  our longitude from Cape West  $2^{\circ} 8' E.$  About two, we passed the point which at noon had been distant ten miles, and found it to consist of high red cliffs, down which there fell a cascade of water in four small streams, and I therefore gave it the name of Cascade Point. From this point, the land trends first N.  $76^{\circ} E.$  and afterwards more to the northward. At the distance of eight leagues from Cascade Point, in the direction of E.N.E., and at a little distance from the shore, lies a small low island, which bore from us S. by E., at the distance of about a league and a half.



At seven in the evening, we brought to, in thirty-three fathom, with a fine sandy bottom ; at ten we had fifty fathom, and at twelve wore in sixty-five fathom, having driven several miles N.N.W. after our having brought to. At two in the morning, we had no ground with 140 fathom, by which it appears that the soundings extend but a little way from the shore. About this time it fell calm ; at eight, a breeze sprung up at S.W. with which we steered along the shore, in the direction of N.E. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. at the distance of about three leagues. At six in the evening, being about one league from the shore, we had seventeen fathom ; and at eight, being about three leagues from the shore, we had forty-four ; we now shortened sail, and brought to, having run ten leagues N.E. by E. since noon.

It was calm most part of the night ; but at ten in the morning a light breeze sprung up at S.W. by W., when we made sail again along the shore N.E. by N., having a large swell from the W.S.W. which had risen in the night ; at noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $43^{\circ} 4' S.$ , and our longitude from Cape West  $4^{\circ} 12' E.$  We observed, that the valleys as well as the mountains were this morning covered with snow, part of which we supposed to have fallen during the night, when we had rain. At six in the evening we shortened sail, and at ten brought to, at the distance of about five leagues from the shore, where we had 115 fathom. At midnight, there being little wind, we made sail, and at eight in the morning we stood to the N.E. close upon a wind till noon, when we tacked, being about three leagues from the land, and, by observation, in latitude  $42^{\circ} 8'$ , and longitude from Cape West  $5^{\circ} 5' E.$  We continued to stand westward till two in the morning, when we made a trip to the eastward, and afterwards stood westward till noon, when, by our reckoning, we were in the latitude  $42^{\circ} 23'$ , and longitude from Cape West  $3^{\circ} 55' E.$  We now tacked and stood eastward, with a fresh gale at N. by W. till six in the evening, when the wind shifted to the S. and S.S.W., with which we steered N.E. by N. till six in the morning, when we hauled in E. by N. to make the land, which we saw soon afterwards ; at noon, our latitude, by account, was  $41^{\circ} 37'$ , and our longitude from Cape West  $5^{\circ} 42' E.$  We were now within three or four leagues of the land, but it being foggy, we could see nothing upon it distinctly, and as we had much wind, and a vast swell rolling in upon the shore, from the W.S.W., I did not think it safe to go nearer.

In the afternoon, we had a gentle breeze from the S.S.W., with which we steered north along the shore till eight, when, being within between two and three leagues, we sounded, and had but thirty-four fathom ; upon which we hauled off N.W. by N. till eleven at night, and then brought to, having sixty-four fathom. At four in the morning, we made sail to the N.E. with a light breeze at S.S.W. which at eight veered to the westward, and soon after died away ; at this time we were within three or four miles of the land, and had fifty-four fathom, with a large swell from the W.S.W., rolling obliquely upon the shore, which made me fear that I should be obliged to anchor ; but by the help of a light air now and then from the S.W. I was able to keep the ship from driving. At noon, the northernmost land in sight bore N.E. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. distant about ten leagues ; our latitude, by account, was  $40^{\circ} 55' S.$ , longitude from Cape West  $6^{\circ} 35' E.$  From this time we had light airs from the southward, with intervals of calm, till noon on the 23d, when our latitude, by observation, was  $40^{\circ} 36' 30'' S.$ , and our longitude from Cape West  $6^{\circ} 52' E.$  The easternmost point of land in sight bore E. 10 N., at the distance of seven leagues, and a bluff head or point, of which we had been abreast at noon the day before, and off which lay some rocks above water, bore S. 18 W. at the distance of six leagues. This point I called *Rock's Point*. Our latitude was now  $40^{\circ} 55' S.$ , and having nearly run down the whole of the north-west coast of *Tovy Poenammoo*, I shall give some account of the face of the country.

I have already observed, that on the 11th, when we were off the southern part, the land then seen was craggy and mountainous, and there is great reason to believe that the same ridge of mountains extends nearly the whole length of the island. Between the westernmost land which we saw that day, and the easternmost which we saw on the 13th, there is a space of about six or eight leagues, of which we did not see the coast, though we plainly discovered the mountains inland. The sea-coast near Cape West is low, rising with an easy and gradual ascent to the foot of the mountains, and being in most parts covered with wood. From *Point Five Fingers*, down to latitude  $44^{\circ} 20'$ , there is a narrow ridge of hills that rises

directly from the sea, and is covered with wood : close behind these hills are the mountains, extending in another ridge of a stupendous height, and consisting of rocks that are totally barren and naked, except where they are covered with snow, which is to be seen in large patches upon many parts of them ; and has probably lain there ever since the creation of the world : a prospect more rude, craggy, and desolate than this country affords from the sea, cannot possibly be conceived, for, as far inland as the eye can reach, nothing appears but the summits of rocks, which stand so near together, that instead of valleys there are only fissures between them. From the latitude of  $44^{\circ} 20'$ , to the latitude of  $42^{\circ} 8'$ , these mountains lie farther inland, and the sea-coast consists of woody hills and valleys, of various height and extent, and has much appearance of fertility : many of the valleys form plains of considerable extent, wholly covered with wood ; but it is very probable that the ground, in many places, is swampy, and interspersed with pools of water. From latitude  $42^{\circ} 8'$ , to  $41^{\circ} 30'$ , the land is not distinguished by anything remarkable : it rises into hills directly from the sea, and is covered with wood ; but the weather being foggy while we were upon this part of the coast, we could see very little inland, except now and then the summits of the mountains, towering above the cloudy mists that obscured them below, which confirmed my opinion that a chain of mountains extended from one end of the island to the other.

In the afternoon, we had a gentle breeze at S.W., which, before it was quite dark, brought us abreast of the eastern point which we had seen at noon ; but not knowing what course the land took on the other side of it, we brought to in thirty-four fathom, at the distance of about one league from the shore. At eight in the evening, there being little wind, we filled and stood on till midnight, and then we brought to till four in the morning, when we again made sail, and at break of day we saw low land extending from the point to the S.S.E. as far as the eye could reach, the eastern extremity of which appeared in round hillocks : by this time the gale had veered to the eastward, which obliged us to ply to windward. At noon next day, the eastern point bore S.W. by S., distant sixteen miles, and our latitude was  $40^{\circ} 19'$  : the wind continuing easterly, we were nearly in the same situation at noon on the day following. About three o'clock the wind came to the westward, and we steered E.S.E. with all the sail we could set till it was dark, and then shortened sail till the morning : as we had thick hazy weather all night, we kept sounding continually, and had from thirty-seven to forty-two fathom. When the day broke we saw land bearing S.E. by E., and an island lying near it, bearing E.S.E., distant about five leagues : this island I knew to be the same that I had seen from the entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound, from which it bears N.W. by N., distant nine leagues. At noon, it bore south, distant four or five miles, and the north-west head of the sound S.E. by S., distant ten leagues and a half. Our latitude, by observation, was  $40^{\circ} 33' S$ .

As we had now circumnavigated the whole country, it became necessary to think of quitting it ; but as I had thirty tons of empty water casks on board, this could not be done till I had filled them : I therefore hauled round the island, and entered a bay, which lies between that and Queen Charlotte's Sound, leaving three more islands, which lay close under the western shore, between three or four miles within the entrance, on our starboard hand : while we were running in, we kept the lead continually going, and had from forty to twelve fathom. At six o'clock in the evening, we anchored in eleven fathom with a muddy bottom, under the west shore, in the second cove, that lies within three islands ; and as soon as it was light the next morning, I took a boat, and went on shore to look for a watering place, and a proper berth for the ship, both which I found, much to my satisfaction. As soon as the ship was moored, I sent an officer on shore to superintend the watering, and the carpenter, with his crew, to cut wood, while the long-boat was employed in landing the empty casks.

In this employment we were busy till the 30th, when the wind seeming to settle at S.E., and our water being nearly completed, we warped the ship out of the cove, that we might have room to get under sail ; and at noon I went away in the pinnace to examine as much of the bay as my time would admit. After rowing about two leagues up it, I went ashore upon a point of land on the western side, and having climbed a hill, I saw the western arm of this bay run in S.W. by W. about five leagues farther, yet I could not discover the end



of it : there appeared to be several other inlets, or at least small bays, between this and the north-west head of Queen Charlotte's Sound, in each of which, I make no doubt, there is anchorage and shelter, as they are all covered from the sea-wind by the islands which lie without them. The land about this bay, as far as I could see of it, is of a hilly surface, chiefly covered with trees, shrubs, and fern, which render travelling difficult and fatiguing. In this excursion I was accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, who found several new plants. We met with some huts, which seemed to have been long deserted, but saw no inhabitants. Mr. Banks examined several of the stones that lay upon the beach, which were full of veins, and had a mineral appearance ; but he did not discover anything in them which he knew to be ore : if he had had an opportunity to examine any of the bare rocks, perhaps he might have been more fortunate. He was also of opinion that what I had taken for marble in another place, was a mineral substance ; and that, considering the correspondence of latitude between this place and South America, it was not improbable but that, by a proper examination, something very valuable might be found.

At my return in the evening, I found all the wood and water on board, and the ship ready for the sea ; I resolved therefore to quit the country, and return home by such a route as might be of most advantage to the service ; and upon this subject took the opinion of my officers. I had myself a strong desire to return by Cape Horn, because that would have enabled me finally to determine, whether there is or is not a southern continent ; but against this it was a sufficient objection that we must have kept in a high southern latitude in the very depth of winter, with a vessel which was not thought sufficient for the undertaking ; and the same reason was urged against our proceeding directly for the Cape of Good Hope, with still more force, because no discovery of moment could be hoped for in that route ; it was therefore resolved that we should return by the East Indies, and that with this view we should, upon leaving the coast, steer westward, till we should fall in with the east coast of New Holland, and then follow the direction of that coast to the northward, till we should arrive at its northern extremity ; but if that should be found impracticable, it was further resolved that we should endeavour to fall in with the land, or islands, said to have been discovered by Quiros. With this view, at break of day on Saturday the 31st of March, 1770, we got under sail, and put to sea, with the advantage of a fresh gale at S.E., and clear weather, taking our departure from the eastern point, which we had seen at noon on the 23rd, and to which, on this occasion, I gave the name of CAPE FAREWELL.

The bay out of which we had just sailed I called ADMIRALTY BAY, giving the name of CAPE STEPHENS to the north-west point, and CAPE JACKSON to the south-east, after the two gentlemen who at this time were secretaries to the board. Admiralty Bay may easily be known by the island that has been just mentioned, which lies two miles N.E. of Cape Stephens, in latitude  $40^{\circ} 37'$  S., longitude  $185^{\circ} 6'$  W., and is of a considerable height. Between this island and Cape Farewell, which are between fourteen and fifteen leagues distant from each other, in the direction of W. by N. and E. by S., the shore forms a large deep bay, the bottom of which we could scarcely see while we were sailing in a straight line from one cape to the other ; it is, however, probably of less depth than it appeared to be, for as we found the water shallower here than at the same distance from any other part of the coast, there is reason to suppose that the land at the bottom which lies next the sea is low, and therefore not easily to be distinguished from it. I have for this reason called it BLIND BAY, and am of opinion that it is the same which was called Murderer's Bay by Tasman. Such particulars of this country and its inhabitants, with their manners and customs, as could be learnt while we were circumnavigating the coast, shall now be related.

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CHAPTER VIII.—A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF NEW ZEALAND : ITS FIRST DISCOVERY, SITUATION, EXTENT, CLIMATE, AND PRODUCTIONS.

NEW ZEALAND was first discovered by Abel Jansen Tasman, a Dutch navigator, whose name has been several times mentioned in this narrative, on the 13th of December, in the year 1642. He traversed the eastern coast from latitude  $34^{\circ}$  to  $43^{\circ}$ , and entered the strait

which divides the two islands, and in the chart is called COOK'S STRAIT; but being attacked by the natives soon after he came to an anchor, in the place to which he gave the name of Murderer's Bay, he never went on shore. He gave the country the name of STAATEN LAND, or the land of the States, in honour of the states-general, and it is now generally distinguished in our maps and charts by the name of NEW ZEALAND. As the whole of this country, except that part of the coast which was seen by Tasman from on board his ship, has from his time, to the voyage of the Endeavour, remained altogether unknown, it has by many been supposed to be part of a southern continent. It is, however, now known to consist of two large islands, divided from each other by a strait or passage, which is about four or five leagues broad. These islands are situated between the latitudes of  $34^{\circ}$  and  $48^{\circ}$  S., and between the longitudes of  $181^{\circ}$  and  $194^{\circ}$  W., which is now determined with uncommon exactness, from innumerable observations of the sun and moon, and one of the transits of Mercury, by Mr. Green, a person of known abilities, who, as has been mentioned before, was sent out by the Royal Society, to observe the transit of Venus in the South Seas.

The northernmost of these islands is called by the natives Eaheinomauwe, and the southernmost Tovy, or Tavai Poenammoo; yet, as I have observed before, we are not sure whether the name Tovy Poenammoo comprehends the whole southern island, or only part of it. The figure and extent of these islands, with the situation of the bays and harbours they contain, and the smaller islands that lie about them, will appear from the chart that I have drawn, every part of which, however, I cannot vouch to be equally accurate\*. The coast of Eaheinomauwe, from Cape Palliser to East Cape, is laid down with great exactness both in its figure, and the course and distance from point to point; for the opportunities that offered, and the methods that I used, were such as could scarcely admit of an error. From East Cape to St. Maria van Diemen, the chart, though perhaps not equally exact, is without any error of moment, except possibly in some few places which are here, and in other parts of the chart, distinguished by a dotted line, and which I had no opportunity to examine: from Cape Maria van Diemen to latitude  $36^{\circ} 15'$ , we were seldom nearer the shore than between five and eight leagues; and therefore the line that marks the sea-coast may possibly be erroneous. From latitude  $36^{\circ} 15'$ , to nearly the length of Entry Island, our course was very near the shore, and in this part of the chart therefore there can be no material error, except perhaps at Cape Tierawitte. Between Entry Island and Cape Palliser we were again farther from the shore, and this part of the coast, therefore, may not be laid down with minute exactness; yet, upon the whole, I am of opinion that this island will be found not much to differ from the figure that I have given it, and that upon the coast there are few or no harbours which are not noticed in the journal, or delineated in the chart. I cannot, however, say as much of Tovy Poenammoo: the season of the year, and the circumstances of the voyage, would not permit me to spend so much time about this island as I had employed upon the other; and the storms that we met with made it both difficult and dangerous to keep near the shore. However, from Queen Charlotte's Sound to Cape Campbell, and as far to the S.W. as latitude  $43^{\circ}$ , the chart will be found pretty accurate. Between latitude  $43^{\circ}$  and latitude  $44^{\circ} 20'$  the line may be doubted, for of some part of the coast which it represents we had scarcely a view. From latitude  $44^{\circ} 20'$ , to Cape Saunders, our distance would not permit me to be particular, and the weather was besides extremely unfavourable. From Cape Saunders to Cape South, and even to Cape West, there is also reason to fear that the chart will in many places be found erroneous, as we were seldom able to keep the shore, and were sometimes blown to such a distance that it could not be seen. From Cape West to Cape Farewell, and even to Charlotte's Sound, it is not more to be trusted.

Tovy Poenammoo is for the most part a mountainous, and to all appearance a barren country; and the people whom we saw in Queen Charlotte's Sound, those that came off to us under the snowy mountains, and the fires to the west of Cape Saunders, were all the inhabitants, and signs of inhabitants, that we discovered upon the whole island. Eaheino-

\* A map compiled from the best modern authorities is substituted in the present edition for Captain Cook's chart.—Ed.



mauwe has a much better appearance ; it is indeed not only hilly but mountainous, yet even the hills and mountains are covered with wood, and every valley has a rivulet of water : the soil in these valleys, and in the plains, of which there are many that are not overgrown with wood, is in general light but fertile, and in the opinion of Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, as well as of every other gentleman on board, all kinds of European grain, plants, and fruit, would flourish here in the utmost luxuriance : from the vegetables that we found here, there is reason to conclude that the winters are milder than those in England, and we found the summer not hotter, though it was more equally warm ; so that if this country should be settled by people from Europe, they would, with a little industry, be very soon supplied not only with the necessaries, but the luxuries of life in great abundance.

In this country there are no quadrupeds but dogs and rats, at least we saw no other, and the rats are so scarce that many of us never saw them. The dogs live with the people, who breed them for no other purpose than to eat : there might indeed be quadrupeds that we did not see ; but this is not probable, because the chief pride of the natives, with respect to their dress, is in the skins and hair of such animals as they have, and we never saw the skin of any animal about them but those of dogs and birds : there are indeed seals upon the coast, and we once saw a sea-lion, but we imagine they are seldom caught, for though we saw some of their teeth, which were fashioned into an ornament like a bodkin, and worn by the natives at their breast, and highly valued, we saw none of their skins : there are whales also upon this coast, and though the people did not appear to have any art or instrument by which such an animal could be taken and killed, we saw pattoo-pattoos in the possession of some of them, which were made of the bone of a whale, or of some other animal whose bone had exactly the same appearance.

Of birds the species are not many ; and of these none, except perhaps the gannet, is the same with those of Europe : here are ducks indeed, and shags of several kinds, sufficiently resembling those of Europe to be called the same, by those who have not examined them very nicely. Here are also hawks, owls, and quails, which differ but little from those of Europe at first sight ; and several small birds, whose song, as has been remarked in the course of the narrative, is much more melodious than any that we had ever heard. The sea-coast is also visited by many oceanic birds, particularly albatrosses, sheerwaters, pintados, and a few of the birds which Sir John Narborough has called Penguins, and which indeed are what the French call *Nuance*, and seem to be a middle species between bird and fish ; for their feathers, especially those upon their wings, differ very little from scales ; and their wings themselves, which they use only in diving, and not to accelerate their motion even upon the surface of the water, may, perhaps with equal propriety, be called fins. Neither are insects in greater plenty than birds : a few butterflies and beetles, flesh flies, very like those in Europe, and some musquitos and sand flies, perhaps exactly the same with those of North America, make up the whole catalogue. Of musquitos and sand flies, however, which are justly accounted the curse of every country where they abound, we did not see many : there were indeed a few in almost every place where we went on shore, but they gave us so little trouble, that we did not make use of the shades which we had provided for the security of our faces.

For this scarcity of animals upon the land, the sea, however, makes an abundant recompense ; every creek swarming with fish, which are not only wholesome, but equally delicious with those of Europe : the ship seldom anchored in any station, or with a light gale passed any place, that did not afford us enough with hook and line to serve the whole ship's company, especially to the southward : when we lay at anchor, the boats, with hook and line, near the rocks, could take fish in any quantity ; and the seine seldom failed of producing a still more ample supply ; so that both times when we anchored in Cook's Strait, every mess in the ship, that was not careless and improvident, salted as much as lasted many weeks after they went to sea. Of this article, the variety was equal to the plenty ; we had mackerel of many kinds, among which, one was exactly the same as we have in England : these came in immense shoals, and were taken by the natives in their seines, who sold them to us at a very easy rate. Besides these, there were fish of many species which we had never seen before, but to all which the seamen very readily gave names : so that we talked

here as familiarly of hakes, bream, cole-fish, and many others, as we do in England; and though they are by no means of the same family, it must be confessed that they do honour to the name. But the highest luxury which the sea afforded us, even in this place, was the lobster or sea cray-fish, which are probably the same that in the account of Lord Anson's Voyage are said to have been found at the island of Juan Fernandez, except that, although large, they are not quite equal in size: they differ from ours in England in several particulars; they have a greater number of prickles on their backs, and they are red when first taken out of the water. These we also bought everywhere to the northward in great quantities of the natives, who catch them by diving near the shore, and finding out where they lie with their feet. We had also a fish that Frezier, in his Voyage to the Spanish Main in South America, has described by the names of *Elefant*, *Pejegallos*, or *Poison coq*, which, though coarse, we eat very heartily. Several species of the skate, or sting-ray, are also found here, which were still coarser than the *Elefant*; but as an atonement, we had among many kinds of dog-fish one spotted with white, which was in flavour exactly similar to our best skate, but much more delicious. We had also flat fish resembling both soles and flounders, besides eels and congers of various kinds, with many others of which those who shall hereafter visit this coast will not fail to find the advantage; and shell-fish in great variety, particularly clams, cockles, and oysters.

Among the vegetable productions of this country, the trees claim a principal place; for here are forests of vast extent, full of the straightest, the cleanest, and the largest timber trees that we had ever seen: their size, their grain, and apparent durability, render them fit for any kind of building, and indeed for every other purpose except masts; for which, as I have already observed, they are too hard, and too heavy: there is one in particular which, when we were upon the coast, was rendered conspicuous by a scarlet flower, that seemed to be a compendage of many fibres; it is about as large as an oak, and the wood is exceedingly hard and heavy, and excellently adapted to the use of the millwright. There is another which grows in the swamps, remarkably tall and straight, thick enough to make masts for vessels of any size, and, if a judgment may be formed by the direction of its grain, very tough: this, which, as has been before remarked, our carpenter thought to resemble the pitch-pine, may probably be lightened by tapping, and it will then make the finest masts in the world: it has a leaf not unlike a yew, and bears berries in small bunches\*.

Great part of the country is covered with a luxuriant verdure, and our natural historians were gratified by the novelty, if not the variety of the plants. Sow-thistle, garden nightshade, one or two kinds of grass, the same as in England, and two or three kinds of fern, like those of the West Indies, with a few of the plants that are to be found in almost every part of the world, were all, out of about four hundred species, that have hitherto been described by any botanists, or had been seen elsewhere during the course of this voyage, except about five or six which had been gathered at Terra del Fuego.

Of eatable vegetables there are but few; our people, indeed, who had been long at sea, eat, with equal pleasure and advantage, of wild celery, and a kind of cresses, which grew in great abundance upon all parts of the sea-shore. We also, once or twice, met with a plant like what the country people in England call *Lamb's quarters*, or *Fat-hen*, which we boiled instead of greens; and once we had the good fortune to find a cabbage-tree, which afforded us a delicious meal; and, except the fern-root, and one other vegetable, totally unknown in Europe, and which, though eaten by the natives, was extremely disagreeable to us, we found no other vegetable production that was fit for food, among those that appeared to be the wild produce of the country; and we could find but three esculent plants

\* New Zealand abounds in timber trees, suitable for a variety of purposes, many of them being capable of receiving a fine polish, and equalling in beauty the choicest woods in use among us. The tree most valuable for mercantile purposes, and alluded to above, is the *Kauri* or *Yellow Pine* (*Pinus australis*), which has been found on long trial to equal in flexibility the best northern firs, and has been made use of as main and top masts in some of our largest frigates. The trunk grows to the height of from fifty to nearly one hundred feet without a

branch protruding. There is an inferior kind of pine, known as the *Kahikátia* (*Juniperus Novæ Zelandicæ*), which is much used, being very easily worked.

The tree described above, as resembling an oak, is the *Pohutokaua* or *Potikaua* (*Metrosideros excelsa*). It is well adapted for ship-timbers, is crooked, close-grained, brittle, tough, and of a deep brown colour. It is difficult to work up by the joiner from its extreme hardness, but when polished forms a beautiful and durable article for furniture. Its appearance in flower is splendid.—Ed.



among those which are raised by cultivation—yams, sweet potatoes, and cocos. Of the yams and potatoes there are plantations consisting of many acres; and I believe that any ship which should happen to be here in the autumn, when they are dug up, might purchase them in any quantity. Gourds are also cultivated by the natives of this place, the fruit of which furnishes them with vessels for various uses. We also found here the Chinese paper mulberry-tree, the same as that of which the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands make their cloth; but it is so scarce, that though the New Zealanders also make cloth of it, they have not enough for any other purpose than to wear as an ornament in the holes which they make in their ears, as I have observed before.

But among all the trees, shrubs, and plants of this country, there is not one that produces fruit, except a berry, which has neither sweetness nor flavour, and which none but the boys took pains to gather, should be honoured with that appellation. There is, however, a plant that serves the inhabitants instead of hemp and flax, which excels all that are put to the same purposes in other countries. Of this plant there are two sorts; the leaves of both resemble those of flags, but the flowers are smaller, and their clusters more numerous; in one kind they are yellow, and in the other a deep red. Of the leaves of these plants, with very little preparation, they make all their common apparel; and of these they make also their strings, lines, and cordage for every purpose, which are so much stronger than anything we can make with hemp, that they will not bear a comparison. From the same plant, by another preparation, they draw long slender fibres which shine like silk, and are as white as snow: of these, which are also surprisingly strong, the finer clothes are made; and of the leaves, without any other preparation than splitting them into proper breadths, and tying the strips together, they make their fishing nets; some of which, as I have before remarked, are of an enormous size. A plant which, with such advantage, might be applied to so many useful and important purposes, would certainly be a great acquisition to England, where it would probably thrive with very little trouble, as it seems to be hardy, and to affect no particular soil; being found equally in hill and valley; in the driest mould, and the deepest bogs: the bog, however, it seems rather to prefer, as near such places we observed it to be larger than elsewhere\*.

I have already observed, that we found great plenty of iron sand in Mercury Bay, and therefore that iron ore is undoubtedly to be found at no great distance. As to other metals, we had scarcely knowledge enough of the country for conjecture.

If the settling of this country should ever be thought an object worthy the attention of Great Britain, the best place for establishing a colony would be either on the banks of the Thames, or in the country bordering upon the Bay of Islands. In either place there would be the advantage of an excellent harbour; and, by means of the river, settlements might be extended, and a communication established with the inland parts of the country: vessels might be built of the fine timber which abounds in these parts, at very little trouble and expense, fit for such a navigation as would answer the purpose. I cannot indeed exactly assign the depth of water which a vessel intended to navigate this river, even as far up as I went with the boat, should draw, because this depends upon the depth of water that is upon the bar, or flats, which lie before the narrow part of the river, for I had no opportunity to make myself acquainted with them; but I am of opinion, that a vessel which should draw not more than twelve feet would perfectly answer the purpose. When we first arrived upon the coast of this country, we imagined it to be much better peopled than we afterwards found it, concluding that the inland parts were populous from the smoke that

\* The *Phormium tenax*, or New Zealand flax, is a most invaluable production, and to the natives almost indispensable. Large quantities of it have been exported to Sydney and elsewhere, and cordage manufactured from it is far superior in strength to any other vegetable fibre. Some disadvantages attending it have hitherto prevented its use from extending so far as would otherwise be the case. No method of cleaning it has hitherto been found to answer the purpose as well as the slow method of scraping it by mussel-shells, as used by the natives, and all that is brought to market is prepared in this way.

When manufactured into ropes, it is found to take tar very indifferently, that substance coming off on the hand when the ropes are hauled over, a palpable defect in running rigging. All attempts to weave it into cloth have also proved ineffectual. Until some means shall be discovered for remedying this inconvenience, the use of New Zealand flax will be very limited. When first brought into notice, there was a considerable demand, and in 1831, one thousand and sixty-two tons were exported from Sydney to England; but from that time the consumption has decreased every year.—Ed.

we saw at a considerable distance from the shore ; and, perhaps, that may really be the case with respect to the country behind Poverty Bay, and the Bay of Plenty, where the inhabitants appeared to be more numerous than in other places. But we had reason to believe, that, in general, no part of the country but the sea-coast is inhabited ; and even there we found the people but thinly scattered, all the western coast from Cape Maria Van Diemen to Mount Egmont being totally desolate ; so that upon the whole the number of inhabitants bears no proportion to the extent of country.

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CHAPTER IX.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE INHABITANTS, THEIR HABITATIONS, APPAREL, ORNAMENTS, FOOD, COOKERY, AND MANNER OF LIFE.

THE stature of the men in general is equal to the largest of those in Europe : they are stout, well-limbed, and fleshy ; but not fat, like the lazy and luxurious inhabitants of the islands in the South Seas : they are also exceedingly vigorous and active ; and have an adroitness and manual dexterity in an uncommon degree, which are discovered in whatever they do. I have seen the strokes of fifteen paddles on a side in one of their canoes made with incredible quickness, and yet with such minute exactness of time, that all the rowers seemed to be actuated by one common soul. Their colour in general is brown ; but in few deeper than that of a Spaniard who has been exposed to the sun ; in many not so deep. The women have not a feminine delicacy in their appearance, but their voice is remarkably soft ; and by that, the dress of both sexes being the same, they are principally distinguished : they have, however, like the women of other countries, more airy cheerfulness, and a greater flow of animal spirits, than the other sex. Their hair, both of the head and beard, is black, and their teeth extremely regular, and as white as ivory : the features of both sexes are good : they seem to enjoy high health ; and we saw many who appeared to be of a great age. The dispositions both of the men and women seemed to be mild and gentle ; they treat each other with the tenderest affection, but are implacable towards their enemies, to whom, as I have before observed, they never give quarter. It may, perhaps, at first seem strange, that where there is so little to be got by victory, there should so often be war ; and that every little district of a country inhabited by people so mild and placid, should be at enmity with all the rest. But possibly more is to be gained by victory among these people than at first appears, and they may be prompted to mutual hostilities by motives which no degree of friendship or affection is able to resist. It appears by the account that has already been given of them, that their principal food is fish, which can only be procured upon the sea-coast ; and there in sufficient quantities only at certain times : the tribes, therefore, who live inland, if any such there are, and even those upon the coast, must be frequently in danger of perishing by famine. Their country produces neither sheep nor goats, nor hogs, nor cattle : tame fowls they have none, nor any art by which those that are wild can be caught in sufficient plenty to serve as provision. If there are any whose situation cuts them off from a supply of fish, the only succedaneum of all other animal food, except dogs, they have nothing to support life but the vegetables that have already been mentioned, of which the chief are fern-root, yams, clams, and potatoes ; when by any accident these fail, the distress must be dreadful ; and even among the inhabitants of the coast, many tribes must frequently be reduced to nearly the same situation, either by the failure of their plantations, or the deficiency of their dry stock, during the season when but few fish are to be caught. These considerations will enable us to account, not only for the perpetual danger in which the people who inhabit this country appear to live, by the care which they take to fortify every village, but for the horrid practice of eating those who are killed in battle ; for the hunger of him who is pressed by famine to fight will absorb every feeling and every sentiment which would restrain him from allaying it with the body of his adversary. It may, however, be remarked, that if this account of the origin of so horrid a practice is true, the mischief does by no means end with the necessity that produced it : after the practice has been once begun on one side by hunger, it will naturally be adopted on the other by revenge. Nor is this all ; for though it may be pretended by some who wish to



appear speculative and philosophical, that whether the dead body of an enemy be eaten or buried is in itself a matter perfectly indifferent ; as it is, whether the breasts or thighs of a woman should be covered or naked ; and that prejudice and habit only make us shudder at the violation of custom in one instance, and blush at it in the other : yet leaving this as a point of doubtful disputation, to be discussed at leisure, it may safely be affirmed that the practice of eating human flesh, whatever it may be in itself, is relatively, and in its consequences, most pernicious ; tending manifestly to eradicate a principle which is the chief security of human life, and more frequently restrains the hand of murder than the sense of duty, or even the fear of punishment.

Among those who are accustomed to eat the dead, death must have lost much of its horror ; and where there is little horror at the sight of death, there will not be much repugnance to kill. A sense of duty, and fear of punishment, may be more easily surmounted than the feelings of nature, or those which have been ingrafted upon nature by early prejudice and uninterrupted custom. The horror of the murderer arises less from the guilt of the fact than its natural effect ; and he who has familiarised the effect will consequently lose much of the horror. By our laws, and our religion, murder and theft incur the same punishment, both in this world and the next ; yet, of the multitude who would deliberately steal, there are but very few who would deliberately kill, even to procure much greater advantage. But there is the strongest reason to believe, that those who have been so accustomed to prepare a human body for a meal, that they can with as little feeling cut up a dead man as our cook-maids divide a dead rabbit for a fricassee, would feel as little horror in committing a murder as in picking a pocket, and consequently would take away life with as little compunction as property ; so that men, under these circumstances, would be made murderers by the slight temptations that now make them thieves. If any man doubts whether this reasoning is conclusive, let him ask himself, whether in his own opinion he should not be safer with a man in whom the horror of destroying life is strong, whether in consequence of natural instinct unsubdued, or of early prejudice, which has nearly an equal influence, than in the power of a man who, under any temptation to murder him, would be restrained only by considerations of interest ; for to these all motives of mere duty may be reduced, as they must terminate either in hope of good or fear of evil. The situation and circumstances, however, of these poor people, as well as their temper, are favourable to those who shall settle as a colony among them. Their situation sets them in need of protection, and their temper renders it easy to attach them by kindness ; and whatever may be said in favour of a savage life among people who live in luxurious idleness upon the bounty of nature, civilization would certainly be a blessing to those whom her parsimony scarcely furnishes with the bread of life, and who are perpetually destroying each other by violence as the only alternative of perishing by hunger.

But these people, from whatever cause, being inured to war, and by habit considering every stranger as an enemy, were always disposed to attack us when they were not intimidated by our manifest superiority. At first, they had no notion of any superiority but numbers ; and when this was on their side, they considered all our expressions of kindness as the artifices of fear and cunning, to circumvent them and preserve ourselves ; but when they were once convinced of our power, after having provoked us to the use of our fire-arms, though loaded only with small-shot, and of our clemency, by our forbearing to make use of weapons so dreadful except in our defence, they became at once friendly, and even affectionate, placing in us the most unbounded confidence, and doing everything which could incite us to put equal confidence in them. It is also remarkable, that when an intercourse was once established between us, they were very rarely detected in any act of dishonesty. Before, indeed, and while they considered us as enemies, who came upon their coast only to make an advantage of them, they did not scruple by any means to make any advantage of us ; and would, therefore, when they had received the price of anything they had offered to sell, pack up both the purchase and the purchase-money with all possible composure, as so much lawful plunder from people who had no view but to plunder them.

I have observed, that our friends in the South Seas had not even the idea of indecency with respect to any object or any action ; but this was by no means the case with the inha-

bitants of New Zealand, in whose carriage and conversation there was as much modesty, reserve, and decorum, with respect to actions, which yet in their opinion were not criminal, as are to be found among the politest people in Europe. The women were not impregnable, but the terms and manner of compliance were as decent as those in marriage among us, and according to their notions the agreement was as innocent. When any of our people made an overture to one of their young women, he was given to understand that the consent of her friends was necessary, and by the influence of a proper present it was generally obtained ; but when these preliminaries were settled, it was also necessary to treat the wife for a night with the same delicacy that is here required by the wife for life ; and the lover who presumed to take any liberties by which this was violated, was sure to be disappointed. One of our gentlemen, having made his addresses to a family of the better sort, received an answer which, translated into our language, according to the mode and spirit of it, as well as the letter, would have been exactly in these terms : " Any of these young ladies will think themselves honoured by your addresses, but you must first make me a suitable present, and you must then come and sleep with us on shore ; for daylight must by no means be a witness of what passes between you."

I have already observed, that in personal cleanliness they are not quite equal to our friends at Otaheite, because, not having the advantage of so warm a climate, they do not so often go into the water ; but the most disgusting thing about them is the oil, with which, like the islanders, they anoint their hair. It is, certainly, the fat either of fish or of birds, melted down ; and though the better sort have it fresh, their inferiors use that which is rancid, and consequently are almost as disagreeable to the smell as a Hottentot : neither are their heads free from vermin, though we observed that they were furnished with combs, both of bone and wood. These combs are sometimes worn stuck upright in the hair as an ornament ; a fashion which at present prevails among the ladies of England. The men generally wear their beards short, and their hair tied upon the crown of the head in a bunch, in which they stick the feathers of various birds in different manners, according to their fancies ; sometimes one is placed on each side of the temples, pointing forwards, which we thought made a very disagreeable appearance. The women wear their hair sometimes cropped short, and sometimes flowing over their shoulders.

The bodies of both sexes are marked with the black stains called Amoco, by the same method that is used at Otaheite, and called Tattowing ; but the men are more marked, and the women less. The women in general stain no part of their bodies but the lips, though sometimes they are marked with small black patches on other parts : the men, on the contrary, seem to add something every year to the ornaments of the last, so that some of them, who appeared to be of an advanced age, were almost covered from head to foot. Besides the Amoco, they have marks impressed by a method unknown to us, of a very extraordinary kind : they are furrows of about a line deep, and a line broad, such as appear upon the bark of a tree which has been cut through after a year's growth ; the edges of these furrows are afterwards indented by the same method, and being perfectly black, they make a most frightful appearance. The faces of the old men are almost covered with these marks ; those who are very young, black only their lips, like the women ; when they are somewhat older, they have generally a black patch upon one cheek and over one eye, and so proceed gradually, that they may grow old and honourable together. But though we could not but be disgusted with the horrid deformity which these stains and furrows produced in the " human face divine," we could not but admire the dexterity and art with which they were impressed. The marks upon the face in general are spirals, which are drawn with great nicety, and even elegance, those on one side exactly corresponding with those on the other. The marks on the body somewhat resemble the foliage in old chased ornaments, and the convolutions of filigree-work ; but in these they have such a luxuriance of fancy, that of a hundred, which at first sight appeared to be exactly the same, no two were, upon a close examination, found to be alike. We observed that the quantity and form of these marks were different in different parts of the coast, and that as the principal seat of them at Otaheite was the breech, in New Zealand it was sometimes the only part which was free, and in general was less distinguished than any other. The skins of these people, however, are not only dyed, but



painted; for, as I have before observed, they smear their bodies with red-ochre, some rubbing it on dry, and some applying it in large patches, mixed with oil, which is always wet, and which the least touch will rub off; so that the transgressions of such of our people as were guilty of ravishing a kiss from these blooming beauties were most legibly written upon their faces.

The dress of a New Zealander is certainly, to a stranger at first sight, the most uncouth that can be imagined. It is made of the leaves of the flag, which has been described among the vegetable productions of this country: these leaves are split into three or four slips, and the slips, when they are dry, interwoven with each other into a kind of stuff between netting and cloth, with all the ends, which are eight or nine inches long, hanging out on the upper side, like the shag or thumb mats which we sometimes see lying in a passage. Of this cloth, if cloth it may be called, two pieces serve for a complete dress; one of them is tied over their shoulders with a string, and reaches as low as the knees; to the end of this string is fastened a bodkin of bone, which is easily passed through any two parts of this upper garment, so as to tack them together; the other piece is wrapped round the waist, and reaches nearly to the ground: the lower garment, however, is worn by the men only upon particular occasions; but they wear a belt, to which a string is fastened, for a very singular use. The inhabitants of the South Sea Islands slit up the prepuce so as to prevent it from covering the glans of the penis; but these people, on the contrary, bring the prepuce over the glans, and to prevent it from being drawn back by the contraction of the part, they tie the string which hangs from their girdle round the end of it. The glans, indeed, seemed to be the only part of their body which they were solicitous to conceal, for they frequently threw off all their dress but the belt and string, with the most careless indifference, but showed manifest signs of confusion, when, to gratify our curiosity, they were requested to untie the string, and never consented but with the utmost reluctance and shame. When they have only their upper garment on, and sit upon their hams, they bear some resemblance to a thatched house; but this covering, though it is ugly, is well adapted to the use of those who frequently sleep in the open air, without any other shelter from the rain.

But besides this coarse shag or thatch, they have two sorts of cloth, which have an even surface, and are very ingeniously made, in the same manner with that manufactured by the inhabitants of South America, some of which we procured at Rio de Janeiro. One sort is as coarse as our coarsest canvass, and somewhat resembles it in the manner of laying the threads, but it is ten times as strong; the other is formed by many threads lying very close one way, and a few crossing them the other, so as to bind them together; but these are about half an inch asunder; somewhat like the round pieces of cane matting which are sometimes placed under the dishes upon a table. This is frequently striped, and always had a pretty appearance, for it is composed of the fibres of the same plant, which are prepared so as to shine like silk. It is made in a kind of frame of the size of the cloth, generally about five feet long, and four broad, across which the long threads, which lie close together, or warp, are strained, and the cross threads, or woof, are worked in by hand, which must be a very tedious operation.

To both these kinds of cloth they work borders of different colours, in stitches, somewhat like carpeting, or rather like those used in the samplers which girls work at school. These borders are of various patterns, and wrought with a neatness, and even an elegance, which, considering they have no needle, is surprising: but the great pride of their dress consists in the fur of their dogs, which they use with such economy, that they cut it into stripes, and sew them upon their cloth at a distance from each other, which is a strong proof that dogs are not plenty among them; these stripes are also of different colours, and disposed so as to produce a pleasing effect. We saw some dresses that were adorned with feathers instead of fur, but these were not common; and we saw one that was entirely covered with the red feathers of the parrot. The dress of the man who was killed when we first went ashore in Poverty Bay has been described already; but we saw the same dress only once more during our stay upon the coast, and that was in Queen Charlotte's Sound.

The women, contrary to the custom of the sex in general, seemed to affect dress rather less than the men: their hair, which, as I have observed before, is generally cropt short, is

never tied upon the top of the head when it is suffered to be long, nor is it ever adorned with feathers. Their garments were made of the same materials, and in the same form, as those of the other sex, but the lower one was always bound fast round them, except when they went into the water to catch lobsters, and then they took great care not to be seen by the men. Some of us happening one day to land upon a small island in Tolaga Bay, we surprised several of them at this employment; and the chaste Diana, with her nymphs, could not have discovered more confusion and distress at the sight of Actæon than these women expressed upon our approach. Some of them hid themselves among the rocks, and the rest crouched down in the sea till they had made themselves a girdle and apron of such weeds as they could find; and when they came out, even with this veil, we could perceive that their modesty suffered much pain by our presence. The girdle and apron which they wear in common have been mentioned before.

Both sexes bore their ears, and, by stretching them, the holes become large enough to admit a finger at least. In these holes they wear ornaments of various kinds, cloth, feathers, bones of large birds, and even sometimes a stick of wood; and to these receptacles of finery they generally applied the nails which we gave them, and everything which it was possible they could contain. The women sometimes thrust through them the down of the albatross, which is as white as snow, and which, spreading before and behind the hole in a bunch almost as big as the fist, makes a very singular, and, however strange it may be thought, not a disagreeable appearance. Besides the ornaments that are thrust through the holes of the ears, many others are suspended to them by strings; such as chisels or bodkins made of green talc, upon which they set a high value, the nails and teeth of their deceased relations, the teeth of dogs, and everything else that they can get, which they think either curious or valuable. The women also wear bracelets and anklets, made of the bones of birds, shells, or any other substances which they can perforate and string upon a thread. The men had sometimes hanging to a string, which went round the neck, a piece of green talc, or whale-bone, somewhat in the shape of a tongue, with the rude figure of a man carved upon it; and upon this ornament they set a high value. In one instance, we saw the gristle that divides the nostrils, and called by anatomists the *septum nasi*, perforated, and a feather thrust through the hole, which projected on each side over the cheeks: it is probable that this frightful singularity was intended as an ornament; but of the many people we saw, we never observed it in any other, nor even a perforation that might occasionally serve for such a purpose.

Their houses are the most inartificially made of anything among them, being scarcely equal, except in size, to an English dog-kennel: they are seldom more than eighteen or twenty feet long, eight or ten broad, and five or six high, from the pole that runs from one end to the other, and forms the ridge, to the ground. The framing is of wood, generally slender sticks, and both walls and roof consist of dry grass and hay, which, it must be confessed, is very tightly put together; and some are also lined with the bark of trees, so that in cold weather they must afford a very comfortable retreat. The roof is sloping, like those of our barns, and the door is at one end, just high enough to admit a man, creeping upon his hands and knees: near the door is a square hole, which serves the double office of window and chimney, for the fire-place is at that end, nearly in the middle between the two sides. In some conspicuous part, and generally near the door, a plank is fixed, covered with carving after their manner: this they value as we do a picture, and in their estimation it is not an inferior ornament. The side-walls and roof project about two feet beyond the walls at each end, so as to form a kind of porch, in which there are benches for the accommodation of the family. That part of the floor which is allotted for the fire-place is inclosed in a hollow square, by partitions either of wood or stone, and in the middle of it the fire is kindled. The floor, along the inside of the walls, is thickly covered with straw, and upon this the family sleep. Their furniture and implements consist of but few articles, and one chest commonly contains them all, except their provision-baskets, the gourds that hold their fresh water, and the hammers that are used to beat their fern-root, which generally stand without the door: some rude tools, their clothes, arms, and a few feathers to stick in their hair, make the rest of their treasure. Some of the better sort, whose families are large, have three or



four houses inclosed within a court-yard, the walls of which are constructed of poles and hay, and are about ten or twelve feet high.

When we were on shore in the district called Tolaga, we saw the ruins, or rather the frame of a house, for it had never been finished, much superior in size to any that we saw elsewhere: it was thirty feet in length, about fifteen in breadth, and twelve high: the sides of it were adorned with many carved planks, of a workmanship much superior to any other that we had met with in the country; but for what purpose it was built, or why it was deserted, we could never learn. But these people, though in their houses they are so well defended from the inclemency of the weather, seem to be quite indifferent whether they have any shelter at all during their excursions in search of fern-roots and fish, sometimes setting up a small shade to windward, and sometimes altogether neglecting even that precaution, sleeping with their women and children under bushes, with their weapons ranged round them, in the manner that has already been described. The party, consisting of forty or fifty, whom we saw at Mercury Bay, in a district which the natives call Opoorage, never erected the least shelter while we staid there, though it sometimes rained incessantly for four-and-twenty hours together.

The articles of their food have been enumerated already; the principal, which to them is what bread is to the inhabitants of Europe, is the roots of the fern which grows upon the hills, and is nearly the same with what grows upon our high commons in England, and is called indifferently fern, bracken, or brakes. The birds, which sometimes serve them for a feast, are chiefly penguins and albatrosses, with a few other species that have been occasionally mentioned in this narrative. Having no vessel in which water can be boiled, their cookery consists wholly of baking and roasting. They bake nearly in the same manner as the inhabitants of the South Seas, and to the account that has been already given of their roasting, nothing need be added, but that the long skewer or spit to which the flesh is fastened is placed sloping towards the fire, by setting one stone against the bottom of it, and supporting it near the middle with another, by the moving of which, to a greater or less distance from the end, the degree of obliquity is increased or diminished at pleasure.

To the northward, as I have observed, there are plantations of yams, sweet potatoes, and cocons, but we saw no such to the southward; the inhabitants, therefore, of that part of the country must subsist wholly upon fern-root and fish, except the scanty and accidental resource which they may find in sea-fowl and dogs; and that fern and fish are not to be procured at all seasons of the year, even at the sea-side, and upon the neighbouring hills, is manifest from the stores of both that we saw laid up dry, and the reluctance which some of them expressed at selling any part of them to us when we offered to purchase them, at least the fish, for sea stores. And this particular seems to confirm my opinion, that this country scarcely sustains the present number of its inhabitants, who are urged to perpetual hostilities by hunger, which naturally prompted them to eat the dead bodies of those who were slain in the contest. Water is their universal and only liquor, as far as we could discover; and if they have really no means of intoxication, they are, in this particular, happy beyond any other people that we have yet seen or heard of.

As there is, perhaps, no source of disease, either critical or chronic, but intemperance and inactivity, it cannot be thought strange that these people enjoy perfect and uninterrupted health. In all our visits to their towns, where young and old, men and women, crowded about us, prompted by the same curiosity that carried us to look at them, we never saw a single person who appeared to have any bodily complaint, nor among the numbers that we have seen naked did we once perceive the slightest eruption upon the skin, or any marks that an eruption had left behind. At first, indeed, observing that some of them when they came off to us were marked in patches with a white flowery appearance upon different parts of their bodies, we thought that they were leprous, or highly scorbutic; but upon examination we found that these marks were owing to their having been wetted by the spray of the sea in their passage, which, when it was dried away, left the salts behind it in a fine white powder.

Another proof of health, which we have mentioned upon a former occasion, is the facility with which the wounds healed that had left scars behind them, and that we saw in a recent

state; when we saw the man who had been shot with a musket-ball through the fleshy part of his arm, his wound seemed to be so well digested, and in so fair a way of being perfectly healed, that if I had not known no application had been made to it, I should certainly have inquired, with a very interested curiosity, after the vulnerary herbs and surgical art of the country. A farther proof that human nature is here untainted with disease, is the great number of old men that we saw, many of whom, by the loss of their hair and teeth, appeared to be very ancient, yet none of them were decrepit; and though not equal to the young in muscular strength, were not a whit behind them in cheerfulness and vivacity.

CHAPTER X.—OF THE CANOES AND NAVIGATION OF THE INHABITANTS OF NEW ZEALAND: THEIR TILLAGE, WEAPONS, AND MUSIC: GOVERNMENT, RELIGION, AND LANGUAGE: WITH SOME REASONS AGAINST THE EXISTENCE OF A SOUTHERN CONTINENT.

THE ingenuity of these people appears in nothing more than in their canoes: they are long and narrow, and in shape very much resemble a New England whale-boat: the larger sort seem to be built chiefly for war, and will carry from forty to eighty, or a hundred armed men. We measured one which lay ashore at Tolaga: she was sixty-eight feet and a half long, five feet broad, and three feet and a half deep; the bottom was sharp, with straight sides like a wedge, and consisted of three lengths, hollowed out to about two inches, or an inch and a half thick, and well fastened together with strong plaiting: each side consisted of one entire plank, sixty-three feet long, ten or twelve inches broad, and about an inch and a quarter thick, and these were fitted and lashed to the bottom part with great dexterity and strength. A considerable number of thwarts were laid from gunwale to gunwale, to which they were securely lashed on each side, as a strengthening to the boat. The ornament at the head projected five or six feet beyond the body, and was about four feet and a half high; the ornament at the stern was fixed upon that end, as the stern-post of a ship is upon her keel, and was about fourteen feet high, two feet broad, and an inch and a half thick. They both consisted of boards of carved work, of which the design was much better than the execution. All their canoes, except a few at Opoorage or Mercury Bay, which were of one piece, and hollowed by fire, are built after this plan, and few are less than twenty feet long: some of the smaller sort have outriggers, and sometimes two of them are joined together, but this is not common. The carving upon the stern and head ornaments of the inferior boats, which seemed to be intended wholly for fishing, consists of the figure of a man, with a face as ugly as can be conceived, and a monstrous tongue thrust



CANOE WITH CARVED DECORATIONS.



out of the mouth, with the white shells of sea-ears stuck in for the eyes. But the canoes of the superior kind, which seem to be their men-of-war, are magnificently adorned with open-work, and covered with loose fringes of black feathers, which had a most elegant appearance: the gunwale boards were also frequently carved in a grotesque taste, and adorned with tufts of white feathers placed upon a black ground. Of visible objects that are wholly new, no verbal description can convey a just idea, but in proportion as they resemble some that are already known, to which the mind of the reader must be referred: the carving of these people being of a singular kind, and not in the likeness of anything that is known on our side of the ocean, either "in the heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters that are under the earth," I must refer wholly to the representations which will be found of it in the cut.

The paddles are small, light, and neatly made; the blade is of an oval shape, or rather of a shape resembling a large leaf, pointed at the bottom, broadest in the middle, and gradually losing itself in the shaft, the whole length being about six feet, of which the shaft or loom including the handle is four, and the blade two. By the help of these oars they push on their boats with amazing velocity. In sailing they are not expert, having no art of going otherwise than before the wind: the sail is of netting or mat, which is set up between two poles that are fixed upright upon each gunwale, and serve both for masts and yards: two ropes answered the purpose of sheets, and were consequently fastened above to the top of each pole. But clumsy and inconvenient as this apparatus is, they make good way before the wind, and are steered by two men who sit in the stern, with each a paddle in his hand for that purpose.

Having said thus much of their workmanship, I shall now give some account of their tools: they have adzes, axes, and chisels, which serve them also as augers for the boring of holes: as they have no metal, their adzes and axes are made of a hard black stone, or of a green talc, which is not only hard but tough; and their chisels of human bone, or small fragments of jasper, which they chip off from a block in sharp angular pieces like a gun-flint. Their axes they value above all that they possess, and never would part with one of them for anything that we could give: I once offered one of the best axes I had in the ship, besides a number of other things, for one of them, but the owner would not sell it; from which I conclude that good ones are scarce among them. Their small tools of jasper, which are used in finishing their nicest work, they use till they are blunt, and then, as they have no means of sharpening them, throw them away. We have given the people at Tolaga a piece of glass, and in a short time they found means to drill a hole through it, in order to hang it round the neck as an ornament by a thread; and we imagine the tool must have been a piece of this jasper. How they bring their large tools first to an edge, and sharpen the weapon which they call *Patoo-Patoo*, we could not certainly learn; but probably it is by bruising the same substance to powder, and, with this, grinding two pieces against each other.

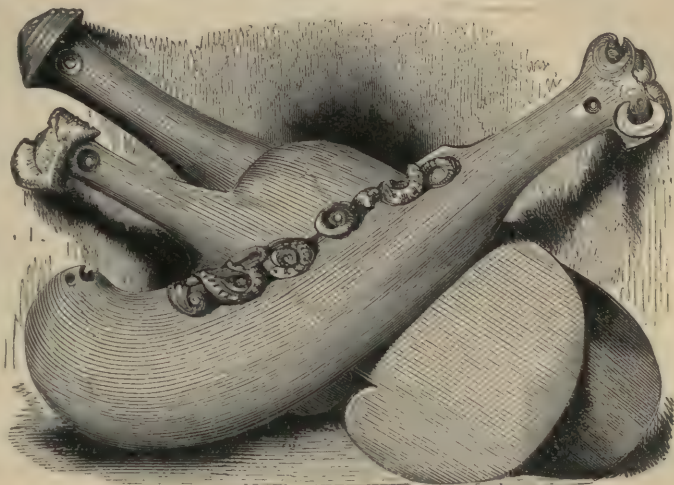
Their nets, particularly their seine, which is of an enormous size, have been mentioned already: one of these seems to be the joint work of a whole town, and I suppose it to be the joint property also: the other net, which is circular, and extended by two or three hoops, has been particularly described, as well as the manner of baiting and using it. Their hooks are of bone or shell, and in general are ill made. To receive the fish when it is caught, and to hold their other provisions, they have baskets of various kinds and dimensions, very neatly made of wicker-work.

They excel in tillage, as might naturally be expected where the person that sows is to eat the produce, and where there is so little besides that can be eaten: when we first came to Tegadoo, a district between Poverty Bay and East Cape, their crops were just covered, and had not yet begun to sprout; the mould was as smooth as in a garden, and every root had its small hillock, ranged in a regular quincunx by lines, which with the pegs were still remaining in the field. We had not an opportunity to see any of these husbandmen work, but we saw what serves them at once for spade and plough: this instrument is nothing more than a long narrow stake sharpened to an edge at one end, with a short piece fastened transversely at a little distance above it, for the convenience of pressing it down with the

foot. With this they turn up pieces of ground six or seven acres in extent, though it is not more than three inches broad; but as the soil is light and sandy, it makes little resistance. Tillage, weaving, and the other arts of peace, seem to be best known and most practised in the northern part of this country; for there is little appearance of any of them in the south: but the arts of war flourish equally through the whole coast.

Of weapons they have no great variety, but such as they have are well fitted for destruction; they have spears, darts, battle-axes, and the patoo-patoo. The spear is fourteen or fifteen feet long, pointed

at both ends, and sometimes headed with bone: these are grasped by the middle, so that the part behind balancing that before, makes a push more difficult to be parried, than that of a weapon which is held by the end. The dart and other weapons have been sufficiently described already; and it has also been remarked, that these people have neither sling nor bow. They throw the dart by hand, and so they do stones; but darts and stones are seldom used, except in defending their forts. Their battles, whe-



CLUBS OF NEW ZEALAND.

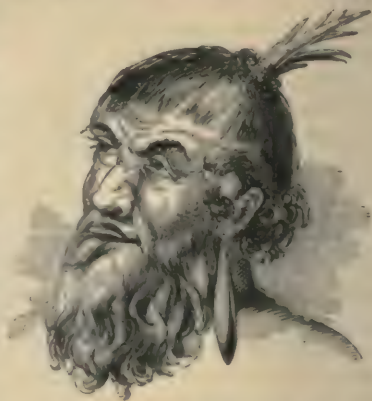
ther in boats or on shore, are generally hand to hand, and the slaughter must consequently be great, as a second blow with any of their weapons is unnecessary, if the first takes place: their trust, however, seems to be principally placed in the patoo-patoo, which is fastened to their wrists by a strong strap, lest it should be wrenched from them, and which the principal people generally wear sticking in their girdles, considering it as a military ornament, and part of their dress, like the poniard of the Asiatic, and the sword of the European. They have no defensive armour; but, besides their weapons, the chiefs carry a staff of distinction, in the same manner as our officers do the spontoon: this was generally the rib of a whale, as white as snow, with many ornaments of carved work, dog's hair, and feathers; but sometimes it was a stick, about six feet long, adorned in the same manner, and inlaid with a shell like mother-of-pearl. Those who bore this mark of distinction were generally old, at least past the middle age, and were also more marked with the *Amoco* than the rest.

One or more persons, thus distinguished, always appeared in each canoe, when they came to attack us, according to the size of it. When they came within about a cable's length of the ship, they used to stop; and the chiefs rising from their seat, put on a dress which seemed appropriated to the occasion, generally of dog's skin, and holding out their decorated staff, or weapon, directed the rest of the people what they should do. When they were at too great a distance to reach us with a lance or a stone, they presumed that we had no weapon with which we could reach them; here then the defiance was given, and the words were almost universally the same,—*Haromai, haromai, harre uta a patoo-patoo oge*: "Come to us, come on shore, and we will kill you all with our patoo-patoos." While they were uttering these menaces, they came gradually nearer and nearer, till they were close alongside; talking at intervals in a peaceable strain, and answering any questions that we asked them; and at intervals renewing their defiance and threats, till being encouraged by our apparent timidity, they began their war-song and dance, as a prelude to an attack, which always followed, and



was sometimes continued till it became absolutely necessary to repress them by firing some small-shot ; and sometimes ended after throwing a few stones on board, as if content with having offered us an insult which we did not dare to revenge.

The war-dance consists of a great variety of violent motions, and hideous contortions of the limbs, during which the countenance also performs its part : the tongue is frequently thrust out to an incredible length, and the eyelids so forcibly drawn up, that the white appears both above and below, as well as on each side of the iris, so as to form a circle round it ; nor is anything neglected that can render the human shape frightful and deformed : at the same time they brandish their spears, shake their darts, and cleave the air with their patoo-patoos. This horrid dance is always accompanied by a song ; it is wild, indeed, but not disagreeable, and every strain ends in a loud and deep sigh, which they utter in concert. In the motions of the dance, however horrid, there is a strength, firmness, and agility, which we could not but behold with admiration ; and in their song they keep time with such exactness, that I have often heard above a hundred paddles struck against the sides of their boats at once, so as to produce but a single sound, at the divisions of their music.



NEW ZEALANDER PROTRUDING HIS TONGUE.

A song not altogether unlike this, they sometimes sing without the dance, and as a peaceable amusement : they have also other songs which are sung by the women, whose voices are remarkably mellow and soft, and have a pleasing and tender effect ; the time is slow, and the cadence mournful ; but it is conducted with more taste than could be expected among the poor ignorant savages of this half-desolate country ; especially as it appeared to us, who were none of us much acquainted with music as a science, to be sung in parts ; it was at least sung by many voices at the same time. They have sonorous instruments, but they can scarcely be called instruments of music ; one is the shell, called the Triton's trumpet, with which they make a noise not unlike that which our boys sometimes make with a cow's horn ; the other is a small wooden pipe, resembling a child's nine-pin, only much smaller, and in this there is no more music than in a pea-whistle. They seem sensible indeed that these instruments are not musical ; for we never heard an attempt to sing to them, or to produce with them any measured tones that bore the least resemblance to a tune.

To what has been already said of the practice of eating human flesh, I shall only add, that in almost every cove where we landed, we found flesh-bones of men near the places where fires had been made ; and that among the heads that were brought on board by the old man, some seemed to have false eyes, and ornaments in their ears as if alive. That which Mr. Banks bought was sold with great reluctance by the possessor : the head was manifestly that of a young person about fourteen or fifteen years of age, and by the contusions on one side appeared to have received many violent blows, and indeed a part of the bone near the eye was wanting. These appearances confirmed us in the opinion that the natives of this country give no quarter, nor take any prisoners to be killed and eaten at a future time, as is said to have been a practice among the Indians of Florida : for if prisoners had been taken, this poor young creature, who cannot be supposed capable of making much resistance, would probably have been one, and we knew that he was killed with the rest, for the fray had happened but a few days before.

The towns or Hippias of these people, which are all fortified, have been sufficiently described already, and from the Bay of Plenty to Queen Charlotte's Sound they seem to be the constant residence of the people : but about Poverty Bay, Hawke's Bay, Tegadoo, and Tolaga, we saw no Hippias, but single houses scattered at a distance from each other ; yet upon the sides of the hills there were stages of a great length, furnished with stones and darts, probably as retreats for the people at the last extremity, as upon these stages a fight

may be carried on with much advantage against those below, who may be reached with great effect by darts and stones, which it is impossible for them to throw up with equal force. And indeed the forts themselves seem to be no farther serviceable than by enabling the possessors to repress a sudden attack ; for as there is no supply of water within the lines, it would be impossible to sustain a siege. A considerable stock of fern-root and dry fish is indeed laid up in them ; but they may be reserved against seasons of scarcity, and that such seasons there are, our observations left us no room to doubt ; besides, while an enemy should be prowling in the neighbourhood, it would be easy to snatch a supply of water from the side of the hill, though it would be impossible to dig up fern-root or catch fish. In this district, however, the people seemed to live in a state of conscious security, and to avail themselves of their advantage : their plantations were more numerous, their canoes were more decorated, and they had not only finer carving, but finer clothes. This part of the coast also was much the most populous, and possibly their apparent peace and plenty might arise from their being united under one Chief, or King ; for the inhabitants of all this part of the country told us, that they were the subjects of Teratu : when they pointed to the residence of this prince, it was in a direction which we thought inland ; but which, when we knew the country better, we found to be the Bay of Plenty.

It is much to be regretted that we were obliged to leave this country without knowing anything of Teratu but his name. As an Indian monarch, his territory is certainly extensive : he was acknowledged from Cape Kidnappers to the northward, and westward as far as the Bay of Plenty, a length of coast upwards of eighty leagues ; and we do not yet know how much farther westward his dominions may extend. Possibly the fortified towns which we saw in the Bay of Plenty may be his barrier ; especially as at Mercury Bay he was not acknowledged, nor indeed any other single chief ; for wherever we landed, or spoke with the people upon that coast, they told us that we were at but a small distance from their enemies. In the dominions of Teratu we saw several subordinate chiefs, to whom great respect was paid, and by whom justice was probably administered ; for upon our complaint to one of them of a theft that had been committed on board the ship by a man that came with him, he gave him several blows and kicks, which the other received as the chastisement of authority, against which no resistance was to be made, and which he had no right to resent. Whether this authority was possessed by appointment or inheritance we could not learn ; but we observed that the chiefs, as well here as in other parts, were elderly men : in other parts, however, we learnt that they possessed their authority by inheritance.

The little societies which we found in the southern parts seemed to have several things in common, particularly their fine clothes and fishing-nets. Their fine clothes, which possibly might be the spoils of war, were kept in a small hut, which was erected for that purpose in the middle of the town : the nets we saw making in almost every house, and the several parts being afterwards collected were joined together. Less account seems to be made of the women here than in the South Sea islands ; such at least was the opinion of Tupia, who complained of it as an indignity to the sex. We observed that the two sexes eat together, but how they divide their labour we do not certainly know. I am inclined to believe that the men till the ground, make nets, catch birds, and go out in their boats to fish ; and that the women dig up fern-roots, collect lobsters and other shell-fish near the beach, dress the victuals, and weave cloth : such, at least, were their employments when we had an opportunity of observing them, which was but seldom ; for in general our appearance made a holiday wherever we went, men, women, and children flocking round us, either to gratify their curiosity, or to purchase some of the valuable merchandise which we carried about with us, consisting principally of nails, paper, and broken glass.

Of the religion of these people it cannot be supposed that we could learn much ; they acknowledge the influence of superior beings, one of whom is supreme, and the rest subordinate ; and gave nearly the same account of the origin of the world, and the production of mankind, as our friends in Otaheite. Tupia, however, seemed to have a much more deep and extensive knowledge of these subjects than any of the people here ; and whenever he was disposed to instruct them, which he sometimes did in a long discourse, he was sure of a numerous audience, who listened in profound silence, with such reverence and attention, that



we could not but wish them a better teacher. What homage they pay to the deities they acknowledge, we could not learn; but we saw no place of public worship, like the Morais of the South Sea islands: yet we saw, near a plantation of sweet potatoes, a small area, of a square figure, surrounded with stones, in the middle of which one of the sharpened stakes which they use as a spade was set up, and upon it was hung a basket of fern-roots. Upon inquiry, the natives told us that it was an offering to the gods, by which the owner hoped to render them propitious, and obtain a plentiful crop.

As to their manner of disposing of their dead, we could form no certain opinion of it, for the accounts that we received by no means agreed. In the northern parts, they told us that they buried them in the ground; and in the southern, that they threw them into the sea: it is, however, certain, that we saw no grave in the country, and that they affected to conceal everything relating to their dead with a kind of mysterious secrecy\*. But whatever may be the sepulchre, the living are themselves the monuments; for we saw scarcely a single person of either sex whose body was not marked by the scars of wounds which they had inflicted upon themselves as a testimony of their regret for the loss of a relation or friend. Some of these wounds we saw in a state so recent that the blood was scarcely stanch'd, which shows that death had been among them while we were upon the coast; and makes it more extraordinary that no funeral ceremony should have fallen under our notice: some of the scars were very large and deep, and in many instances had greatly disfigured the face. One monument, indeed, we observed of another kind,—the cross that was set up near Queen Charlotte's Sound.

Having now given the best account in my power of the customs and opinions of the inhabitants of New Zealand, with their boats, nets, furniture, and dress, I shall only remark, that the similitude between these particulars here and in the South Sea islands is a very strong proof that the inhabitants have the same origin, and that the common ancestors of both were natives of the same country. They have both a tradition that their ancestors, at a very remote period of time, came from another country; and according to the tradition of both, that the name of that country was HEAWIJE; but the similitude of the language seems to put the matter altogether out of doubt. I have already observed, that Tupia, when he accosted the people here in the language of his own country, was perfectly understood; and I shall give a specimen of the similitude by a list of words in both languages, according to the dialect of the northern and southern islands of which New Zealand consists, by which it will appear that the language of Otaheite does not differ more from that of New Zealand than the language of the two islands from each other.

ENGLISH.	NEW ZEALAND.		OTAHEITE.
	NORTHERN.	SOUTHERN.	
<i>A Chief</i> . . . .	Eareete . . . .	Eareete . . . .	Earee.
<i>A man</i> . . . .	Taata . . . .	Taata . . . .	Taata.
<i>A woman</i> . . . .	Whahine . . . .	Whahine . . . .	Ivahine.
<i>The head</i> . . . .	Eupo . . . .	Henowpoho . . . .	Eupo.
<i>The hair</i> . . . .	Macauwe . . . .	Heoo-co . . . .	Rououtou.
<i>The ear</i> . . . .	Terringa . . . .	Hetaheyei . . . .	Terrea.
<i>The forehead</i> . . . .	Erai . . . .	Heai . . . .	Erai.
<i>The eyes</i> . . . .	Mata . . . .	Hemata . . . .	Mata.
<i>The cheeks</i> . . . .	Paparinga . . . .	Hepapach . . . .	Paparea.
<i>The nose</i> . . . .	Ahewh . . . .	Heeih . . . .	Aheh.
<i>The mouth</i> . . . .	Hangoutou . . . .	Hogaowai . . . .	Outou.
<i>The chin</i> . . . .	Ecouwai . . . .	Hakaowai . . . .	

\* Every chief of repute is, on his death, included in the long catalogue of their Atuas, or inferior deities; to whom as many various attributes are attributed as to the multifarious members of the Greek and Roman mythologies. The remains of such chiefs as are supposed to have become Atuas are first entirely divested of flesh, and the bones are afterwards deposited with much ceremony in buildings erected for the purpose, highly adorned by carved work and rude statues of the deceased. From time to time the bones are taken down and cleaned, and returned to their resting-place, where offerings of various kinds are

frequently made to propitiate the favour of the Atua. They have no Creator of the Universe in the catalogue of their deities; the chief, or father of their gods, as they call him, who is named Mawe, is said to have fished up New Zealand from the bottom of the sea: but the rest of the world was, they insist, created by its own Atuas, and those of New Zealand have no power over the white men. The people are remarkably superstitious, and much under the control of their priests, who pretend to converse with their Atuas.—Eo.

ENGLISH.	NEW ZEALAND.		OTAHEITE.
	NORTHERN.	SOUTHERN.	
<i>The arm</i> . . . . .	Haringaringu . . . . .		Rema.
<i>The finger</i> . . . . .	Maticara . . . . .	Hermaigawh . . . . .	Maneow.
<i>The belly</i> . . . . .	Ateraboo . . . . .		Oboo.
<i>The navel</i> . . . . .	Apeto . . . . .	Heeapeto . . . . .	Peto.
<i>Come hither</i> . . . . .	Haromai . . . . .	Haromai . . . . .	Herromai.
<i>Fish</i> . . . . .	Heica . . . . .	Heica . . . . .	Eyea.
<i>A lobster</i> . . . . .	Kooura . . . . .	Kooura . . . . .	Tooura.
<i>Cocos</i> . . . . .	Taro . . . . .	Taro . . . . .	Taro.
<i>Sweet potatoes</i> . . . . .	Cumala . . . . .	Cumala . . . . .	Cumala.
<i>Yams</i> . . . . .	Tuphwe . . . . .	Tuphwe . . . . .	Tuphwe.
<i>Birds</i> . . . . .	Mannu . . . . .	Mannu . . . . .	Mannu.
<i>No</i> . . . . .	Kaoura . . . . .	Kaoura . . . . .	Oure.
<i>One</i> . . . . .	Tahai . . . . .		Tahai.
<i>Two</i> . . . . .	Rua . . . . .		Rua.
<i>Three</i> . . . . .	Torou . . . . .		Torou.
<i>Four</i> . . . . .	Ha . . . . .		Hea.
<i>Five</i> . . . . .	Rema . . . . .		Rema.
<i>Six</i> . . . . .	Ono . . . . .		Ono.
<i>Seven</i> . . . . .	Etu . . . . .		Hetu.
<i>Eight</i> . . . . .	Warou . . . . .		Warou.
<i>Nine</i> . . . . .	Iva . . . . .		Heva.
<i>Ten</i> . . . . .	Angahourou . . . . .		Ahourou.
<i>The teeth</i> . . . . .	Hennihew . . . . .	Heneaho . . . . .	Nihio.
<i>The wind</i> . . . . .	Mehow . . . . .		Mattai.
<i>A thief</i> . . . . .	Amootoo . . . . .		Teto.
<i>To examine</i> . . . . .	Mataketake . . . . .		Mataitai.
<i>To sing</i> . . . . .	Eheara . . . . .		Heiva.
<i>Bad</i> . . . . .	Keno . . . . .	Keno . . . . .	Eno.
<i>Trees</i> . . . . .	Eratou . . . . .	Eratou . . . . .	Eraou.
<i>Grandfather</i> . . . . .	Toubouna . . . . .	Toubouna . . . . .	Toubouna.
<i>What do you call this</i> } <i>or that</i> . . . . . }	Owy Terra . . . . .		Owy Terra.

By this specimen, I think it appears to demonstration that the language of New Zealand and Otaheite is radically the same. The language of the northern and southern parts of New Zealand differs chiefly in the pronunciation, as the same English word is pronounced *gate* in Middlesex, and *gette* in Yorkshire: and as the southern and northern words were not written down by the same person, one might possibly use more letters to produce the same sound than the other. I must also observe, that it is the genius of the language, especially in the southern parts, to put some article before a noun, as we do *the* or *a*; the articles used here were generally *ke* or *ko*; it is also common here to add the word *öeia* after another word as an iteration, especially if it is an answer to a question; as we say, *yes, indeed, to be sure, really, certainly*: this sometimes led our gentlemen into the formation of words of an enormous length, judging by the ear only, without being able to refer each sound into its signification. An example will make this perfectly understood.

In the Bay of Islands there is a remarkable one, called by the natives MATUARO. One of our gentlemen having asked a native the name of it, he answered, with the particle, *Kematuaro*; the gentleman hearing the sound imperfectly, repeated his question, and the Indian repeating his answer, added *öeia*, which made the word *Kematuaroöeia*; and thus it happened that in the log-book I found *Matuaro* transformed into *Cumettivarrowöia*: and the same transformation by the same means, might happen to an English word. Suppose a native of New Zealand at Hackney church, to inquire "What village is this?" the answer would be, "It is Hackney:" suppose the question to be repeated with an air of doubt and uncertainty, the answer might be, "It is Hackney indeed," and the New Zealander, if he had the use of letters, would probably record, for the information of his countrymen, that during his residence among us he had visited a village called "Itysakneeindede." The article used by the inhabitants of the South Sea islands, instead of *ke* or *ko*, is *to* or *ta*, but the word *öeia* is common to both; and when we began to learn the language, it led us into many ridiculous mistakes.

But supposing these islands, and those in the South Seas, to have been peopled originally from the same country, it will perhaps for ever remain a doubt what country that is: we



were, however, unanimously of opinion, that the people did not come from America, which lies to the eastward; and except there should appear to be a continent to the southward, in a moderate latitude, it will follow that they came from the westward.

Thus far our navigation has certainly been unfavourable to the notion of a southern continent, for it has swept away at least three-fourths of the positions upon which it has been founded. The principal navigators, whose authority has been urged on this occasion, are Tasman, Juan Fernandez, Hermite, the commander of a Dutch squadron, Quiros, and Roggewein; and the track of the Endeavour has demonstrated that the land seen by these persons, and supposed to be part of a continent, is not so; it has also totally subverted the theoretical arguments which have been brought to prove that the existence of a southern continent is necessary to preserve an equilibrium between the two hemispheres; for upon this principle what we have already proved to be water, would render the southern hemisphere too light. In our route to the northward, after doubling Cape Horn, when we were in the latitude of  $40^{\circ}$ , our longitude was  $110^{\circ}$ ; and in our return to the southward, after leaving Ulitea, when we were again in latitude  $40^{\circ}$ , our longitude was  $145^{\circ}$ ; the difference is  $35^{\circ}$ . When we were in latitude  $30^{\circ}$  the difference of longitude between the two tracks was  $21^{\circ}$ , which continued till we were as low as  $20^{\circ}$ ; but a single view of the chart will convey a better idea of this than the most minute description: yet as upon a view of the chart it will appear that there is a large space extending quite to the tropics, which neither we, nor any other navigators to our knowledge, have explored, and as there will appear to be room enough for the Cape of a southern continent to extend northward into a low southern latitude, I shall give my reason for believing there is no Cape of any southern continent, to the northward of  $40^{\circ}$  south.

Notwithstanding what has been laid down by some geographers in their maps, and alleged by Mr. Dalrymple, with respect to Quiros, it is improbable in the highest degree that he saw to the southward of two islands, which he discovered in latitude  $25^{\circ}$  or  $26^{\circ}$ , and which I suppose may lie between the longitude of  $130^{\circ}$  and  $140^{\circ}$  W., any signs of a continent, much less anything which, in his opinion, was a known or indubitable sign of such land; for if he had, he would certainly have sailed southward in search of it; and if he had sought, supposing the signs to have been indubitable, he must have found: the discovery of a southern continent was the ultimate object of Quiros's voyage, and no man appears to have had it more at heart; so that if he was in latitude  $26^{\circ}$  S., and in longitude  $146^{\circ}$  W., where Mr. Dalrymple has placed the islands he discovered, it may fairly be inferred that no part of a southern continent extends to that latitude.

It will, I think, appear with equal evidence from the accounts of Roggewein's voyage, that between the longitudes of  $130^{\circ}$  and  $150^{\circ}$  W. there is no main land to the northward of  $35^{\circ}$  S. Mr. Pingre, in a treatise concerning the transit of Venus, which he went out to observe, has inserted an extract of Roggewein's voyage, and a map of the South Seas; and for reasons which may be seen at large in his work, supposes him, after leaving Easter Island, which he places in latitude  $28\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  S., longitude  $123^{\circ}$  W., to have steered S. W. as high as  $34^{\circ}$  S., and afterwards W. N. W.; and if this was indeed his route, the proof that there is no main land to the northward of  $35^{\circ}$  S. is irrefragable. Mr. Dalrymple indeed supposes his route to have been different, and that from Easter Isle he steered N. W., taking a course afterwards very little different from that of La Maire; but I think it is highly improbable that a man who, at his own request, was sent to discover a southern continent, should take a course in which La Maire had already proved no continent could be found: it must, however, be confessed, that Roggewein's track cannot certainly be ascertained, because, in the accounts that have been published of his voyage, neither longitudes nor latitudes are mentioned. As to myself, I saw nothing that I thought a sign of land in my route, either to the northward, southward, or westward, till a few days before I made the east coast of New Zealand. I did indeed frequently see large flocks of birds, but they were generally such as are found at a very remote distance from any coast; and it is also true that I frequently saw pieces of rock-weed, but I could not infer the vicinity of land from these, because I have been informed, upon indubitable authority, that a considerable quantity of the beans called *ox-eyes*, which are known to grow nowhere but in the West Indies, are

every year thrown up on the coast of Ireland, which is not less than twelve hundred leagues distant.

Thus have I given my reasons for thinking that there is no continent to the northward of latitude  $40^{\circ}$  S. Of what may lie farther to the southward than  $40^{\circ}$ , I can give no opinion; but I am so far from wishing to discourage any future attempt, finally to determine a question which has long been an object of attention to many nations, that now this voyage has reduced the only possible site of a continent in the southern hemisphere, north of latitude  $40^{\circ}$ , to so small a space, I think it would be pity to leave that any longer unexamined, especially as the voyage may turn to good account, besides determining the principal question, if no continent should be found, by the discovery of new islands in the tropical regions, of which there is probably a great number that no European vessel has ever yet visited. Tupia from time to time gave us an account of about one hundred and thirty; and, in a chart drawn by his own hand, he actually laid down no less than seventy-four.

### BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.—THE RUN FROM NEW ZEALAND TO BOTANY BAY, ON THE EAST COAST OF NEW HOLLAND, NOW CALLED NEW SOUTH WALES.—VARIOUS INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED THERE.—WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS.

HAVING sailed from Cape Farewell, which lies in latitude  $40^{\circ} 33'$  S., longitude  $186^{\circ}$  W., on Saturday the 31st of March, 1770, we steered westward, with a fresh gale at N.N.E., and at noon, on the 2d of April, our latitude, by observation, was  $40^{\circ}$ , our longitude from Cape Farewell,  $2^{\circ} 31'$  W.

In the morning of the 9th, being in latitude  $38^{\circ} 29'$  S., we saw a tropic-bird, which in so high a latitude is very uncommon.

In the morning of the 10th, being in latitude  $38^{\circ} 51'$  S., longitude,  $202^{\circ} 43'$  W., we found the variation, by the amplitude, to be  $11^{\circ} 25'$  E., and by the azimuth,  $11^{\circ} 20'$ .

In the morning of the 11th, the variation was  $13^{\circ} 48'$ , which is two degrees and a half more than the day before, though I expected to have found it less.

In the course of the 13th, being in latitude  $39^{\circ} 23'$  S., longitude  $204^{\circ} 2'$  W., I found the variation to be  $12^{\circ} 27'$  E., and in the morning of the 14th it was  $11^{\circ} 30'$ ; this day we also saw some flying-fish. On the 15th we saw an egg-bird and a gannet, and as these are birds that never go far from the land, we continued to sound all night, but had no ground with 130 fathom. At noon, on the 16th, we were in latitude  $39^{\circ} 45'$  S., longitude  $208^{\circ}$  W. At about two o'clock the wind came about to the W.S.W., upon which we tacked and stood to the N.W.; soon after a small land-bird perched upon the rigging, but we had no ground with 120 fathom. At eight we wore, and stood to the southward till twelve at night, and then wore and stood to the N.W. till four in the morning, when we again stood to the southward, having a fresh gale at W.S.W., with squalls and dark weather till nine, when the weather became clear, and there being little wind, we had an opportunity to take several observations of the sun and moon, the mean result of which gave  $207^{\circ} 56'$  W. long.: our latitude at noon was  $39^{\circ} 36'$  S. We had now a hard gale from the southward, and a great sea from the same quarter, which obliged us to run under our fore-sail and mizen all night, during which we sounded every two hours, but had no ground with 120 fathom.

In the morning of the 18th, we saw two Port Egmont hens, and a pintado bird, which are certain signs of approaching land, and, indeed, by our reckoning, we could not be far from it, for our longitude was now one degree to the westward of the east side of Van Diemen's Land, according to the longitude laid down by Tasman, whom we could not suppose to have erred much in so short a run as from this land to New Zealand; and by our latitude, we could not be above fifty or fifty-five leagues from the place whence he took his departure. All this day we had frequent squalls and a great swell. At one in the



morning we brought to and sounded, but had no ground with 130 fathom; at six we saw land extending from N.E. to W. at the distance of five or six leagues, having eighty fathom water, with a fine sandy bottom.

We continued standing westward, with the wind at S.S.W., till eight, when we made all the sail we could, and bore away along the shore N.E. for the easternmost land in sight, being at this time in latitude  $37^{\circ} 58'$  S., and longitude  $210^{\circ} 39'$  W. The southernmost point of land in sight, which bore from us W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S., I judged to lie in latitude  $38^{\circ}$ , longitude  $211^{\circ} 7'$ , and gave it the name of POINT HICKS, because Mr. Hicks, the first lieutenant, was the first who discovered it. To the southward of this point no land was to be seen, though it was very clear in that quarter, and by our longitude, compared with that of Tasman, not as it is laid down in the printed charts, but in the extracts from Tasman's journal, published by Rembrantse, the body of Van Diemen's Land ought to have borne due south; and, indeed, from the sudden falling of the sea after the wind abated, I had reason to think it did; yet as I did not see it, and as I found this coast trend N.E. and S.W., or rather more to the eastward, I cannot determine whether it joins to Van Diemen's Land or not.

At noon we were in latitude  $37^{\circ} 5'$ , longitude  $210^{\circ} 29'$  W. The extremes of the land extended from N.W. to E.N.E., and a remarkable point bore N. 20 E., at the distance of about four leagues. This point rises in a round hillock, very much resembling the Ram Head at the entrance of Plymouth Sound, and therefore I called it by the same name. The variation by an azimuth, taken this morning, was  $3^{\circ} 7'$  E.; and what we had now seen of the land appeared low and level: the sea-shore was a white sand, but the country within was green and woody. About one o'clock, we saw three water-spouts at once; two were between us and the shore, and the third at some distance, upon our larboard quarter: this phenomenon is so well known, that it is not necessary to give a particular description of it here.

At six o'clock in the evening we shortened sail, and brought to for the night, having fifty-six fathom water, and a fine sandy bottom. The northernmost land in sight then bore N. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., and a small island lying close to a point on the main bore W., distant two leagues. This point, which I called CAPE HOWE, may be known by the trending of the coast, which is north on the one side and south-west on the other; it may also be known by some round hills upon the main, just within it.

We brought to for the night, and at four in the morning made sail along-shore to the northward. At six the northernmost land in sight bore N.N.W., and we were at this time about four leagues from the shore. At noon we were in latitude  $36^{\circ} 51'$  S., longitude  $209^{\circ} 53'$  W., and about three leagues distant from the shore. The weather being clear, gave us a good view of the country, which has a very pleasing appearance: it is of a moderate height, diversified by hills and valleys, ridges and plains, interspersed with a few lawns of no great extent, but in general covered with wood: the ascent of the hills and ridges is gentle, and the summits are not high. We continued to sail along the shore to the northward, with a southerly wind, and in the afternoon we saw smoke in several places, by which we knew the country to be inhabited. At six in the evening we shortened sail, and sounded: we found forty-four fathom water, with a clear sandy bottom, and stood on under an easy sail till twelve, when we brought-to for the night, and had ninety fathom water.

At four in the morning we made sail again, at the distance of about five leagues from the land, and at six we were abreast of a high mountain, lying near the shore, which, on account of its figure, I called MOUNT DROMEDARY. Under this mountain the shore forms a point to which I gave the name of POINT DROMEDARY, and over it there is a peaked hillock. At this time, being in latitude  $36^{\circ} 18'$  S., longitude  $209^{\circ} 55'$  W., we found the variation to be  $10^{\circ} 42'$  E.

Between ten and eleven, Mr. Green and I took several observations of the sun and moon, the mean result of which gave  $209^{\circ} 17'$  longitude W. By an observation made the day before, our longitude was  $210^{\circ} 9'$  W., from which  $20'$  being subtracted, there remains  $209^{\circ} 49'$ , the longitude of the ship this day at noon, the mean of which, with this day's observation, gives  $209^{\circ} 33'$ , by which I fix the longitude of this coast. At noon our latitude was  $35^{\circ} 49'$  S., Cape Dromedary bore S. 30 W., at the distance of twelve leagues, and an open

bay, in which were three or four small islands, bore N.W. by W., at the distance of five or six leagues. This bay seemed to afford but little shelter from the sea winds, and yet it is the only place where there appeared a probability of finding anchorage upon the whole coast. We continued to steer along the shore N. by E. and N.N.E., at the distance of about three leagues, and saw smoke in many places near the beach. At five in the evening we were abreast of a point of land which rose in a perpendicular cliff, and which, for that reason, I called POINT UPRIGHT. Our latitude was  $35^{\circ} 35'$  S. when this point bore from us due west, distant about two leagues: in this situation, we had about thirty-one fathom water, with a sandy bottom. At six in the evening, the wind falling, we hauled off E.N.E., and at this time the northernmost land in sight bore N. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. At midnight, being in seventy fathom water, we brought to till four in the morning, when we made sail in for the land; but at day-break found our situation nearly the same as it had been at five the evening before, by which it was apparent that we had been driven about three leagues to the southward, by a tide or current, during the night. After this we steered along the shore N.N.E. with a gentle breeze at S.W., and were so near the land as to distinguish several of the natives upon the beach, who appeared to be of a black, or very dark colour. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $35^{\circ} 27'$  S. and longitude  $209^{\circ} 23'$  W.; Cape Dromedary bore S.  $28^{\circ}$  W., distant nineteen leagues; a remarkable peaked hill, which resembled a square dove-house, with a dome at the top, and which for that reason I called the PIGEON HOUSE, bore N.  $32^{\circ} 30'$  W.; and a small low island, which lay close under the shore, bore N.W., distant about two or three leagues. When I first discovered this island, in the morning, I was in hopes, from its appearance, that I should have found shelter for the ship behind it; but when we came near it, it did not promise security even for the landing of a boat. I should however have attempted to send a boat on shore, if the wind had not veered to that direction, with a large hollow sea rolling in upon the land from the S.E., which indeed had been the case ever since we had been upon it. The coast still continued to be of a moderate height, forming alternately rocky points and sandy beaches; but within, between Mount Dromedary and the Pigeon House, we saw high mountains, which, except two, are covered with wood: these two lie inland behind the Pigeon House, and are remarkably flat at the top, with steep rocky cliffs all round them, as far as we could see. The trees, which almost everywhere clothe this country, appear to be large and lofty. This day the variation was found to be  $9^{\circ} 50'$  E., and for the two last days, the latitude, by observation, was twelve or fourteen miles to the southward of the ship's account, which could have been the effect of nothing but a current setting in that direction. About four in the afternoon, being near five leagues from the land, we tacked, and stood off S.E. and E., and the wind having veered in the night, from E. to N.E. and N., we tacked about four in the morning, and stood in, being then about nine or ten leagues from the shore. At eight, the wind began to die away, and soon after it was calm. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $35^{\circ} 38'$ , and our distance from the land about six leagues. Cape Dromedary bore S.  $37^{\circ}$  W., distant seven-leagues, and the Pigeon House N.  $40^{\circ}$  W. In this situation we had 74 fathom water. In the afternoon, we had variable light airs and calms, till six in the evening, when a breeze sprung up at N. by W.: at this time, being about four or five leagues from the shore, we had seventy fathom water. The Pigeon House bore N.  $45^{\circ}$  W., Mount Dromedary S.  $30^{\circ}$  W., and the northernmost land in sight N.  $19^{\circ}$  E.

We stood to the north-east till noon the next day, with a gentle breeze at N.W., and then we tacked and stood westward. At this time our latitude, by observation, was  $35^{\circ} 10'$  S., and longitude  $208^{\circ} 51'$  W. A point of land which I had discovered on St. George's day, and which therefore I called CAPE GEORGE, bore W. distant nineteen miles, and the Pigeon House (the latitude and longitude of which I found to be  $35^{\circ} 19'$  S. and  $209^{\circ} 42'$  W.) S.  $75^{\circ}$  W. In the morning we had found the variation, by amplitude, to be  $7^{\circ} 50'$  E., and by several azimuths  $7^{\circ} 54'$  E. We had a fresh breeze at N.W. from noon till three; it then came to the west, when we tacked and stood to the northward. At five in the evening, being about five or six leagues from the shore, with the Pigeon House bearing W.S.W. distant about nine leagues, we had eighty-six fathom water; and at eight, having thunder and lightning, with heavy squalls, we brought to in 120 fathom.



At three in the morning, we made sail again to the northward, having the advantage of a fresh gale at S.W. At noon we were about three or four leagues from the shore, and in latitude  $34^{\circ} 22'$  S., longitude  $208^{\circ} 36'$  W. In the course of this day's run from the preceding noon, which was forty-five miles north-east, we saw smoke in several places near the beach. About two leagues to the northward of Cape George, the shore seemed to form a bay, which promised shelter from the north-east winds; but as the wind was with us, it was not in my power to look into it without beating up, which would have cost me more time than I was willing to spare. The north point of this bay, on account of its figure, I named *Long Nose*; its latitude is  $35^{\circ} 6'$ , and about eight leagues north of it there lies a point, which, from the colour of the land about it, I called *RED POINT*: its latitude is  $34^{\circ} 29'$ , and longitude  $208^{\circ} 45'$  W. To the north-west of Red Point, and a little way inland, stands a round hill, the top of which looks like the crown of a hat. In the afternoon of this day we had a light breeze at N.N.W. till five in the evening, when it fell calm. At this time, we were between three and four leagues from the shore, and had forty-eight fathom water: the variation by azimuth was  $8^{\circ} 48'$  E. and the extremities of this land were from N.E. by N. to S.W. by S. Before it was dark, we saw smoke in several places along the shore, and a fire two or three times afterwards. During the night we lay becalmed, driving in before the sea till one in the morning, when we got a breeze from the land, with which we steered N.E., being then in thirty-eight fathom. At noon it veered to N.E. by N., and we were then in latitude  $34^{\circ} 10'$  S., longitude  $208^{\circ} 27'$  W.: the land was distant about five leagues, and extended from S.  $37'$  W. to N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. In this latitude there are some white cliffs, which rise perpendicularly from the sea to a considerable height. We stood off the shore till two o'clock, and then tacked and stood in till six, when we were within four or five miles of it, and at that distance had fifty fathom water. The extremities of the land bore from S.  $28'$  W. to N.  $25^{\circ} 30'$  E. We now tacked and stood off till twelve, then tacked and stood in again till four in the morning, when we made a trip off till day-light; and during all this time we lost ground, owing to the variableness of the winds. We continued at the distance of between four and five miles from the shore, till the afternoon, when we came within two miles, and I then hoisted out the pinnace and yawl to attempt a landing, but the pinnace proved to be so leaky that I was obliged to hoist her in again. At this time we saw several of the natives walking briskly along the shore, four of whom carried a small canoe upon their shoulders. We flattered ourselves that they were going to put her into the water, and come off to the ship, but finding ourselves disappointed, I determined to go on shore in the yawl, with as many as it would carry. I embarked, therefore, with only Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and four rowers: we pulled for that part of the shore where the Indians appeared, near which four small canoes were lying at the water's edge. The Indians sat down upon the rocks, and seemed to wait for our landing; but to our great regret, when we came within about a quarter of a mile, they ran away into the woods. We determined, however, to go on shore, and endeavour to procure an interview; but in this we were again disappointed, for we found so great a surf beating upon every part of the beach, that landing with our little boat was altogether impracticable. We were therefore obliged to be content with gazing at such objects as presented themselves from the water. The canoes, upon a near view, seemed very much to resemble those of the smaller sort at New Zealand. We observed, that among the trees on shore, which were not very large, there was no underwood; and could distinguish that many of them were of the palm kind, and some of them cabbage trees: after many a wishful look we were obliged to return, with our curiosity rather excited than satisfied, and about five in the evening got on board the ship. About this time it fell calm, and our situation was by no means agreeable. We were now not more than a mile and a half from the shore, and within some breakers, which lay to the southward; but happily a light breeze came off the land, and carried us out of danger. With this breeze we stood to the northward, and at day-break we discovered a bay, which seemed to be well sheltered from all winds, and into which, therefore, I determined to go with the ship. The pinnace being repaired, I sent her, with the master, to sound the entrance, while I kept turning up, having the wind right out. At noon, the mouth of the bay bore N.N.W., distant about a mile, and seeing a smoke on the shore, we

directed our glasses to the spot, and soon discovered ten people, who, upon our nearer approach, left their fire, and retired to a little eminence, whence they could conveniently observe our motions. Soon after two canoes, each having two men on board, came to the shore just under the eminence, and the men joined the rest on the top of it. The pinnace, which had been sent a-head to sound, now approached the place, upon which all the Indians retired farther up the hill, except one, who hid himself among some rocks near the landing-place. As the pinnace proceeded along the shore, most of the people took the same route, and kept abreast of her at a distance. When she came back, the master told us, that in a cove a little within the harbour, some of them had come down to the beach, and invited him to land by many signs and words, of which he knew not the meaning; but that all of them were armed with long pikes, and a wooden weapon shaped somewhat like a cimeter. The Indians who had not followed the boat, seeing the ship approach, used many threatening gestures and brandished their weapons; particularly two, who made a very singular appearance, for their faces seemed to have been dusted with a white powder, and their bodies painted with broad streaks of the same colour, which passing obliquely over their breasts and backs, looked not unlike the cross-belts worn by our soldiers; the same kind of streaks were also drawn round their legs and thighs, like broad garters. Each of these men held in his hand the weapon that had been described to us as like a cimeter\*, which appeared to be about two feet and a half long; and they seemed to talk to each other with great earnestness.



NATIVE OF NEW HOLLAND WITH BOOMERANG.

We continued to stand into the bay, and early in the afternoon anchored under the south shore, about two miles within the entrance, in six fathom water, the south point bearing S.E., and the north point East. As we came in we saw, on both points of the bay, a few huts, and several of the natives, men, women, and children. Under the south head we saw four small canoes, with each one man on board, who were very busily employed in striking fish with a long pike or spear. They ventured almost into the surf, and were so intent upon what they were doing, that although the ship passed within a quarter of a mile of them, they scarcely turned their eyes toward her; possibly, being deafened by the surf, and their attention wholly fixed upon their business or sport, they neither saw nor heard her go past them.

The place where the ship had anchored was abreast of a small village, consisting of about six or eight houses; and while we were preparing to hoist out the boat, we saw an old woman, followed by three children, come out of the wood; she was loaded with fire-wood, and each of the children had also its little burden. When she came to the houses, three more children, younger than the others, came out to meet her: she often looked at the ship, but expressed neither fear nor surprise. In a short time she kindled a fire, and the four canoes came in from fishing. The men landed, and having hauled up their boats, began to dress their dinner, to all appearance, wholly unconcerned about us, though we were within half a mile of them. We thought it remarkable that all of the people we had yet seen, not

\* This is the singular weapon known as the *boomerang*, the use of which has been rendered familiar by its introduction among us as an instructive toy. It is described by Captain King as very formidable in its effects. It is used by the natives with success in killing the kangaroo; but is used more as a hunting than a warlike weapon. It is a short, curved piece of heavy wood, and is propelled through the air in a direction opposite to the point aimed at, and rising in rapid whirls, it passes over

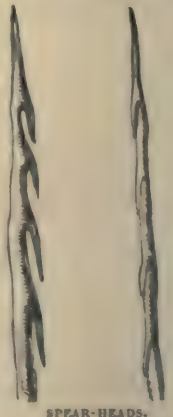
the head of the thrower, and strikes a point behind him. The natives are remarkably skilful in its use. The size varies from eighteen to thirty inches in length, and from two to three inches broad. The shape is that of an obtuse angle. One in Captain King's possession was twenty-six inches long, its greatest breadth two inches and a half, thickness half an inch, and the angle formed from the centre 140 degrees.—Eo.



one had the least appearance of clothing, the old woman herself being destitute even of a fig-leaf.

After dinner the boats were manned, and we set out from the ship, having Tupia of our party. We intended to land where we saw the people, and began to hope that as they had so little regard to the ship's coming into the bay, they would as little regard our coming on shore. In this, however, we were disappointed; for as soon as we approached the rocks, two of the men came down upon them to dispute our landing, and the rest ran away. Each of the two champions was armed with a lance about ten feet long, and a short stick, which he seemed to handle as if it was a machine to assist him in managing or throwing the lance. They called to us in a very loud tone, and in a harsh dissonant language, of which neither we nor Tupia understood a single word: they brandished their weapons, and seemed resolved to defend their coast to the uttermost, though they were but two, and we were forty. I could not but admire their courage, and being very unwilling that hostilities should commence with such inequality of force between us, I ordered the boat to lie upon her oars: we then parleyed by signs for about a quarter of an hour, and to bespeak their good-will, I threw them nails, beads, and other trifles, which they took up, and seemed to be well pleased with. I then made signs that I wanted water, and, by all the means that I could devise, endeavoured to convince them that we would do them no harm. They now waved to us, and I was willing to interpret it as an invitation; but upon our putting the boat in, they came again to oppose us. One appeared to be a youth about nineteen or twenty, and the other a man of middle age; as I had now no other resource, I fired a musket between them. Upon the report, the youngest dropped a bundle of lances upon the rock, but recollecting himself in an instant, he snatched them up again with great haste. A stone was then thrown at us, upon which I ordered a musket to be fired with small-shot, which struck the eldest upon the legs, and he immediately ran to one of the houses, which was distant about a hundred yards. I now hoped that our contest was over, and we immediately landed; but we had scarcely left the boat when he returned, and we then perceived that he had left the rock only to fetch a shield or target for his defence. As soon as he came up, he threw a lance at us, and his comrade another; they fell where we stood thickest, but happily hurt nobody. A third musket with small-shot was then fired at them, upon which one of them threw another lance, and both immediately ran away; if we had pursued, we might probably have taken one of them; but Mr. Banks suggesting that the lances might be poisoned, I thought it not prudent to venture into the woods. We repaired immediately to the huts, in one of which we found the children, who had hidden themselves behind a shield and some bark; we peeped at them, but left them in their retreat, without their knowing that they had been discovered, and we threw into the house, when we went away, some beads, ribbons, pieces of cloth, and other presents, which we hoped would procure us the good-will of the inhabitants when they should return; but the lances which we found lying about, we took away with us, to the number of about fifty: they were from six to fifteen feet long, and all of them had four prongs in the manner of a fish-gig, each of which was pointed with fish-bone, and very sharp: we observed that they were smeared with a viscous substance of a green colour, which favoured the opinion of their being poisoned, though we afterwards discovered that it was a mistake: they appeared, by the sea-weed that we found sticking to them, to have been used in striking fish. Upon examining the canoes that lay upon the beach, we found them to be the worst we had ever seen: they were between twelve and fourteen feet long, and made of the bark of a tree in one piece, which was drawn together and tied up at each end, the middle being kept open by sticks, which were placed across them from gunwale to gunwale as thwarts. We then searched for fresh water, but found none, except in a small hole which had been dug in the sand.

Having re embarked in our boat, we deposited our lances on board the ship, and then went over to the north point of the bay, where we had seen several of the inhabitants when we



SPEAR-HEADS.

were entering it, but which we now found totally deserted. Here, however, we found fresh water, which trickled down from the top of the rocks, and stood in pools among the hollows at the bottom ; but it was situated so as not to be procured for our use without difficulty.

In the morning, therefore, I sent a party of men to that part of the shore where we first landed, with orders to dig holes in the sand where the water might gather ; but going ashore myself with the gentlemen soon afterwards, we found, upon a more diligent search, a small stream, more than sufficient for our purpose. Upon visiting the hut where we had seen the children, we were greatly mortified to find that the beads and ribbons which we had left there the night before had not been moved from their places, and that not an Indian was to be seen. Having sent some empty water-casks on shore, and left a party of men to cut wood, I went myself in the pinnace to sound, and examine the bay ; during my excursion I saw several of the natives, but they all fled at my approach. In one of the places where I landed, I found several small fires, and fresh muscles broiling upon them ; here also I found some of the largest oyster-shells I had ever seen.

As soon as the wooders and waterers came on board to dinner, ten or twelve of the natives came down to the place, and looked with great attention and curiosity at the casks, but did not touch them : they took away, however, the canoes which lay near the landing-place, and again disappeared. In the afternoon, when our people were again ashore, sixteen or eighteen Indians, all armed, came boldly within about a hundred yards of them, and then stopped : two of them advanced somewhat nearer ; and Mr. Hicks, who commanded the party on shore, with another, advanced to meet them, holding out presents to them as he approached, and expressing kindness and amity by every sign he could think of, but all without effect ; for before he could get up with them they retired, and it would have answered no purpose to pursue. In the evening I went with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander to a sandy cove on the



NATIVES OF NEW HOLLAND.

north side of the bay, where, in three or four hauls with the seine, we took above three hundred-weight of fish, which was equally divided among the ship's company. The next morning, before day-break, the Indians came down to the houses that were abreast of the ship, and were heard frequently to shout very loud. As soon as it was light, they were seen walking along the beach ; and soon after they retired to the woods, where, at the distance of about a mile from the shore, they kindled several fires.



Our people went ashore as usual, and with them Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, who, in search of plants, repaired to the woods. Our men, who were employed in cutting grass, being the farthest removed from the main body of the people, a company of fourteen or fifteen Indians advanced towards them, having sticks in their hands, which, according to the report of the serjeant of marines, shone like a musket. The grass-cutters, upon seeing them approach, drew together, and repaired to the main body. The Indians, being encouraged by this appearance of a flight, pursued them; they stopped, however, when they were within about a furlong of them, and after shouting several times, went back into the woods. In the evening they came again in the same manner, stopped at the same distance, shouted, and retired. I followed them myself, alone and unarmed, for a considerable way along the shore, but I could not prevail upon them to stop. This day Mr. Green took the sun's meridian altitude a little within the south entrance of the bay, which gave the latitude  $34^{\circ}$  S.; the variation of the needle was  $11^{\circ} 3'$  E.

Early the next morning, the body of Forby Sutherland, one of our seamen, who died the evening before, was buried near the watering-place; and from this incident I called the south point of this bay Sutherland Point. This day we resolved to make an excursion into the country. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, myself, and seven others, properly accoutred for the expedition, set out, and repaired first to the huts near the watering-place, whither some of the natives continued every day to resort; and though the little presents which we had left there before had not yet been taken away, we left others of somewhat more value, consisting of cloth, looking-glasses, combs, and beads, and then went up into the country. We found the soil to be either swamp or light sand, and the face of the country finely diversified by wood and lawn. The trees are tall, straight, and without underwood, standing at such a distance from each other, that the whole country, at least where the swamps do not render it incapable of cultivation, might be cultivated without cutting down one of them. Between the trees the ground is covered with grass, of which there is great abundance, growing in tufts about as big as can well be grasped in the hand, which stand very close to each other. We saw many houses of the inhabitants, and places where they had slept upon the grass without any shelter; but we saw only one of the people, who, the moment he discovered us, ran away. At all these places we left presents, hoping that at length they might produce confidence and good-will. We had a transient and imperfect view of a quadruped, about as big as a rabbit. Mr. Banks's greyhound, which was with us, got sight of it, and would probably have caught it, but the moment he set off he lamed himself against a stump which lay concealed in the long grass. We afterwards saw the dung of an animal which fed upon grass, and which we judged could not be less than a deer; and the footsteps of another, which was clawed like a dog, and seemed to be about as big as a wolf. We also tracked a small animal, whose foot resembled that of a polecat or weasel. The trees over our head abounded with birds of various kinds, among which were many of exquisite beauty, particularly loriquets and cockatoos, which flew in flocks of several scores together. We found some wood which had been felled by the natives with a blunt instrument, and some that had been barked. The trees were not of many species; among others there was a large one which yielded a gum not unlike the *sanguis draconis*; and in some of them steps had been cut at about three feet distant from each other, for the convenience of climbing them.

From this excursion we returned between three and four o'clock, and having dined on board, we went ashore again at the watering-place, where a party of men were filling casks. Mr. Gore, the second lieutenant, had been sent out in the morning with a boat to dredge for oysters at the head of the bay; when he had performed this service, he went ashore, and having taken a midshipman with him, and sent the boat away, set out to join the waterers by land. In his way he fell in with a body of two-and-twenty Indians, who followed him, and were often not more than twenty yards distant. When Mr. Gore perceived them so near, he stopped, and faced about, upon which they stopped also; and when he went on again, continued their pursuit. They did not, however, attack him, though they were all armed with lances, and he and the midshipman got in safety to the watering-place. The Indians, who had slackened their pursuit when they came in sight of the main body of our people, halted at about the distance of a quarter of a mile, where they

stood still. Mr. Monkhouse and two or three of the waterers took it into their head to march up to them; but seeing the Indians keep their ground till they came pretty near them, they were seized with a sudden fear very common to the rash and fool-hardy, and made a hasty retreat. This step, which insured the danger that it was taken to avoid, encouraged the Indians, and four of them running forward, discharged their lances at the fugitives, with such force, that flying no less than forty yards, they went beyond them. As the Indians did not pursue, our people, recovering their spirits, stopped to collect the lances when they came up to the place where they lay; upon which the Indians, in their turn, began to retire. Just at this time I came up, with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia; and being desirous to convince the Indians that we were neither afraid of them, nor intended them any mischief, we advanced towards them, making signs of expostulation and entreaty; but they could not be persuaded to wait till we could come up. Mr. Gore told us, that he had seen some of them up the bay, who had invited him by signs to come on shore, which he, certainly with great prudence, declined.

The morning of the next day was so rainy, that we were all glad to stay on board. In the afternoon, however, it cleared up, and we made another excursion along the sea-coast to the southward: we went ashore, and Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander gathered many plants; but besides these we saw nothing worthy of notice. At our first entering the woods, we met with three of the natives, who instantly ran away: more of them were seen by some of the people, but they all disappeared, with great precipitation, as soon as they found that they were discovered. By the boldness of these people at our first landing, and the terror that seized them at the sight of us afterwards, it appears that they were sufficiently intimidated by our fire-arms: not that we had any reason to think the people much hurt by the small-shot which we were obliged to fire at them, when they attacked us at our coming out of the boat; but they had probably seen the effects of them, from their lurking-places, upon the birds that we had shot. Tupia, who was now become a good marksman, frequently strayed from us to shoot parrots; and he had told us, that while he was thus employed, he had once met with nine Indians, who, as soon as they perceived he saw them, ran from him, in great confusion and terror.

The next day, twelve canoes, in each of which was a single Indian, came towards the watering-place, and were within half a mile of it a considerable time: they were employed in striking fish, upon which, like others that we had seen before, they were so intent, that they seemed to regard nothing else. It happened, however, that a party of our people were out a-shooting near the place, and one of the men, whose curiosity might at length, perhaps, be roused by the report of the fowling-pieces, was observed by Mr. Banks to haul up his canoe upon the beach, and go towards the shooting-party. In something more than a quarter of an hour, he returned, launched his canoe, and went off in her to his companions. This incident makes it probable that the natives acquired a knowledge of the destructive power of our fire-arms, when we knew nothing of the matter; for this man was not seen by any of the party whose operations he had reconnoitred.

While Mr. Banks was gathering plants near the watering-place, I went with Dr. Solander and Mr. Monkhouse to the head of the bay, that I might examine that part of the country, and make farther attempts to form some connexion with the natives. In our way we met with eleven or twelve small canoes, with each a man in it, probably the same that were afterwards abreast of the shore, who all made into shoal water upon our approach. We met other Indians on shore the first time we landed, who instantly took to their canoes, and paddled away. We went up the country to some distance, and found the face of it nearly the same with that which has been described already, but the soil was much richer; for, instead of sand, I found a deep black mould, which I thought very fit for the production of grain of any kind. In the woods we found a tree which bore fruit that in colour and shape resembled a cherry: the juice had an agreeable tartness, though but little flavour. We found also interspersed some of the finest meadows in the world: some places, however, were rocky, but these were comparatively few: the stone is sandy, and might be used with advantage for building. When we returned to the boat, we saw some smoke upon another part of the coast, and went thither in hopes of meeting with the people, but at our approach,



these also ran away. We found six small canoes, and six fires very near the beach, with some muscles roasting upon them, and a few oysters lying near: by this we judged that there had been one man in each canoe, who having picked up some shell-fish, had come ashore to eat it, and made his separate fire for that purpose. We tasted of their cheer, and left them in return some strings of beads, and other things which we thought would please them. At the foot of a tree in this place we found a small well of fresh water, supplied by a spring; and the day being now far spent, we returned to the ship. In the evening, Mr. Banks made a little excursion with his gun, and found such a number of quails resembling those in England, that he might have shot as many as he pleased; but his object was variety and not number.

"The next morning, as the wind would not permit me to sail, I sent out several parties into the country to try again whether some intercourse could not be established with the natives. A midshipman, who belonged to one of these parties, having straggled a long way from his companions, met with a very old man and woman, and some little children; they were sitting under a tree by the water-side, and neither party saw the other till they were close together. The Indians showed signs of fear, but did not attempt to run away. The man happened to have nothing to give them but a parrot that he had shot; this he offered, but they refused to accept it, withdrawing themselves from his hand either through fear or aversion. His stay with them was but short, for he saw several canoes near the beach fishing, and being alone, he feared they might come ashore and attack him. He said, that these people were very dark-coloured, but not black; that the man and woman appeared to be very old, being both grey-headed; that the hair of the man's head was bushy, and his beard long and rough; that the woman's hair was cropped short; and both of them were stark-naked. Mr. Monkhouse, the surgeon, and one of the men, who were with another party near the watering-place, also strayed from their companions, and as they were coming out of a thicket, observed six Indians standing together, at the distance of about fifty yards. One of them pronounced a word very loud, which was supposed to be a signal, for a lance was immediately thrown at him out of the wood, which very narrowly missed him. When the Indians saw that the weapon had not taken effect, they ran away with the greatest precipitation; but on turning about towards the place whence the lance had been thrown, he saw a young Indian, whom he judged to be about nineteen or twenty years old, come down from a tree, and he also ran away with such speed as made it hopeless to follow him. Mr. Monkhouse was of opinion that he had been watched by these Indians in his passage through the thicket, and that the youth had been stationed in the tree to discharge the lance at him, upon a signal, as he should come by; but however this be, there could be no doubt but that he was the person who threw the lance.

In the afternoon, I went myself with a party over to the north shore; and while some of our people were hauling the seine, we made an excursion a few miles into the country, proceeding afterwards in the direction of the coast. We found this place without wood, and somewhat resembling our moors in England; the surface of the ground, however, was covered with a thin brush of plants about as high as the knees. The hills near the coast are low, but others rise behind them, increasing by a gradual ascent to a considerable distance, with marshes and morasses between. When we returned to the boat, we found that our people had caught with the seine a great number of small fish, which are well known in the West Indies, and which our sailors call leather-jackets, because their skin is remarkably thick. I had sent the second-lieutenant out in the yawl a-striking, and when we got back to the ship, we found that he also had been very successful. He had observed that the large sting-rays, of which there is great plenty in the bay, followed the flowing tide into very shallow water; he therefore took the opportunity of flood, and struck several in not more than two or three feet water: one of them weighed no less than two hundred and forty pounds after his entrails were taken out. The next morning, as the wind still continued northerly, I sent out the yawl again, and the people struck one still larger; for when his entrails were taken out, he weighed three hundred and thirty-six pounds.

The great quantity of plants which Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander collected in this place, induced me to give it the name of BOTANY BAY. It is situated in the latitude of 34° S.,

longitude  $208^{\circ} 37'$  W. It is capacious, safe, and convenient, and may be known by the land on the sea-coast, which is nearly level, and of a moderate height ; in general higher than it is farther inland, with steep rocky cliffs next the sea, which have the appearance of a long island lying close under the shore. The harbour lies about the middle of this land, and in approaching it from the southward, is discovered before the ship comes abreast of it ; but from the northward it is not discovered so soon. The entrance is a little more than a quarter of a mile broad, and lies in W.N.W. To sail into it, the southern shore should be kept on board till the ship is within a small bare island which lies close under the north shore ; within this island the deepest water on that side is seven fathom, shallowing to five a good way up. At a considerable distance from the south shore there is a shoal reaching from the inner south point quite to the head of the harbour ; but over towards the north and north-west shore there is a channel of twelve or fourteen feet at low-water for three or four leagues up, to a place where there is three or four fathom ; but here I found very little fresh



BOTANY BAY.

water. We anchored near the south shore, about a mile within the entrance, for the convenience of sailing with a southerly wind, and because I thought it the best situation for watering ; but I afterwards found a very fine stream on the north shore, in the first sandy cove within the island, before which a ship might lie almost land-locked, and procure wood as well as water in great abundance. Wood, indeed, is everywhere plenty, but I saw only two kinds which may be considered as timber. These trees are as large or larger than the English oak, and one of them has not a very different appearance ; this is the same that yields the reddish gum like *sanguis draconis*, and the wood is heavy, hard, and dark-coloured, like *lignum vite* : the other grows tall and straight, something like the pine ; and the wood of this, which has some resemblance to the live-oak of America, is also hard and heavy. There are a few shrubs, and several kinds of the palm ; mangroves also grow in great plenty near the head of the bay. The country in general is level, low, and woody, as far as we could see. The woods, as I have before observed, abound with birds of exquisite beauty, particularly of the parrot kind ; we found also crows here, exactly the same with those in England. About the head of the harbour, where there are large flats of sand and mud, there is great plenty of water-fowl, most of which were altogether unknown to us : one of the most remarkable was black and white, much larger than a swan, and in shape somewhat resembling a pelican. On these banks of sand and mud there are great quantities of oysters, muscles, cockles, and other shell-fish, which seem to be the principal subsistence of the inhabitants, who go into shoal-



water with their little canoes, and pick them out with their hands. We did not observe that they eat any of them raw, nor do they always go on shore to dress them, for they have frequently fires in their canoes for that purpose. They do not, however, subsist wholly upon this food, for they catch a variety of other fish, some of which they strike with gigs, and some they take with hook and line. All the inhabitants that we saw were stark-naked; they did not appear to be numerous, nor to live in societies, but, like other animals, were scattered about along the coast, and in the woods. Of their manner of life, however, we could know but little, as we were never able to form the least connexion with them. After the first contest at our landing, they would never come near enough to parley; nor did they touch a single article of all that we had left at their huts, and the places they frequented, on purpose for them to take away.

During my stay in this harbour I caused the English colours to be displayed on shore every day, and the ship's name and the date of the year to be inscribed upon one of the trees near the watering-place. It is high-water here, at the full and change of the moon, about eight o'clock, and the tide rises and falls perpendicularly between four and five feet.

#### CHAPTER II.—THE RANGE FROM BOTANY BAY TO TRINITY BAY; WITH A FARTHER ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY, ITS INHABITANTS, AND PRODUCTIONS.

At day-break, on Sunday, the 6th of May, 1770, we set sail from Botany Bay, with a light breeze at N.W., which soon after coming to the southward, we steered along the shore N.N.E.; and at noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $33^{\circ} 50' S.$  At this time we were between two and three miles distant from the land, and abreast of a bay or harbour, in which there appeared to be good anchorage, and which I called **PORT JACKSON**\*. This harbour lies three leagues to the northward of Botany Bay: the variation, by several azimuths, appeared to be  $8^{\circ} E.$  At sunset, the northernmost land in sight bore N.  $26^{\circ} E.$ , and some broken land, that seemed to form a bay, bore N.  $40^{\circ} W.$ , distant four leagues. This bay, which lies in latitude  $33^{\circ} 42'$ , I called **BROKEN BAY**. We steered along the shore N.N.E. all night, at the distance of about three leagues from the land, having from thirty-two to thirty-six fathom water, with a hard sandy bottom.

Soon after sunrise on the 7th, I took several azimuths, with four needles belonging to the azimuth compass, the mean result of which gave the variation  $7^{\circ} 56' E.$  At noon our latitude, by observation, was  $33^{\circ} 22' S.$ : we were about three leagues from the shore, the northernmost land in sight bore N.  $19^{\circ} E.$ , and some lands which projected in three bluff points, and which, for that reason, I called **CAPE THREE POINTS**, bore S.W., distant five leagues. Our longitude from **BOTANY BAY** was  $19' E.$  In the afternoon, we saw smoke in several places upon the shore, and in the evening, found the variation to be  $8^{\circ} 25' E.$  At this time we were between two and three miles from the shore, in twenty-eight fathom; and at noon, the next day, we had not advanced one step to the northward. We stood off shore, with the winds northerly, till twelve at night, and at the distance of about five leagues, had seventy fathom; at the distance of six leagues we had eighty fathom, which is the extent of the soundings; for at the distance of ten leagues, we had no ground with 150 fathom.

The wind continuing northerly till the morning of the 10th, we continued to stand in and off the shore, with very little change of situation in other respects; but a gale then springing up at S.W., we made the best of our way along the shore to the northward. At sunrise, our latitude was  $33^{\circ} 2' S.$ , and the variation  $8^{\circ} E.$  At nine in the forenoon, we passed a remarkable hill, which stood a little way inland, and somewhat resembled the crown of a hat; and at noon our latitude, by observation, was  $32^{\circ} 53' S.$ , and our longitude  $208^{\circ} W.$  We were about two leagues distant from the land, which extended from N.  $41^{\circ} E.$  to S.  $41^{\circ}$

\* It is almost unnecessary to point out Port Jackson as the site of the first English settlement in New Holland, now the well-known town of Sydney. The first convoy of convicts arrived at Botany Bay on the 20th of January,

1788, after a voyage of eight months and one week; but that spot not affording all the accommodations needed, Port Jackson was fixed on as the position of the future capital of Australia.—Ed.

W., and a small round rock, or island, which lay close under the land, bore S. 82 W., distant between three and four leagues. At four in the afternoon, we passed, at the distance of about a mile, a low rocky point, which I called POINT STEPHENS; on the north side of which is an inlet, which I called PORT STEPHENS: this inlet appeared to me, from the mast-head, to be sheltered from all winds. It lies in latitude  $32^{\circ} 40'$ , longitude  $207^{\circ} 51'$ , and at the entrance are three small islands, two of which are high; and on the main near the shore are some high round hills, which at a distance appear like islands. In passing this bay, at the distance of two or three miles from the shore, our soundings were from thirty-three to twenty-seven fathom, from which I conjectured that there must be a sufficient depth of water within it. At a little distance within land, we saw smoke in several places; and at half an hour past five, the northernmost land in sight bore N. 36 E., and Point Stephens S.W., distant four leagues. Our soundings in the night were from forty-eight to sixty-two fathom, at the distance of between three and four leagues from the shore, which made in two hillocks. This point I called CAPE HAWKE: it lies in the latitude of  $32^{\circ} 14'$  S., longitude  $207^{\circ} 30'$  W.; and at four o'clock in the morning bore W., distant about eight miles; at the same time the northernmost land in sight bore N. 6 E. and appeared like an island. At noon, this land bore N. 8 E., the northernmost land in sight N. 13 E., and Cape Hawke S. 37 W. Our latitude, by observation, was  $32^{\circ} 2'$  S., which was twelve miles to the southward of that given by the log; so that probably we had a current setting that way: by the morning amplitude and azimuth, the variation was  $9^{\circ} 10'$  E. During our run along the shore, in the afternoon, we saw smoke in several places, at a little distance from the beach, and one upon the top of a hill, which was the first we had seen upon elevated ground since our arrival upon the coast. At sunset, we had twenty-three fathom, at the distance of a league and a half from the shore: the northernmost land then bore N. 13 E., and three hills, remarkably large and high, lying contiguous to each other, and not far from the beach, N.N.W. As these hills bore some resemblance to each other, we called them THE THREE BROTHERS. They lie in latitude  $31^{\circ} 40'$ , and may be seen fourteen or sixteen leagues. We steered N.E. by N. all night, having from twenty-seven to sixty-seven fathom, at the distance of between two and six leagues from the shore.

At daybreak, we steered north, for the northernmost land in sight. At noon, we were four leagues from the shore, and, by observation, in latitude  $31^{\circ} 18'$  S., which was fifteen miles to the southward of that given by the log; our longitude  $206^{\circ} 58'$  W. In the afternoon, we stood in for the land, where we saw smoke in several places, till six in the evening, when, being within three or four miles of it, and in twenty-four fathom of water, we stood off with a fresh breeze at N. and N.N.W. till midnight, when we had 118 fathom, at the distance of eight leagues from the land, and then tacked. At three in the morning, the wind veered to the westward, when we tacked and stood to the northward. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $30^{\circ} 43'$  S., and our longitude  $206^{\circ} 45'$  W. At this time we were between three and four leagues from the shore, the northernmost part of which bore from us N. 13 W. and a point, or headland, on which we saw fires that produced a great quantity of smoke, bore W., distant four leagues. To this point I gave the name of SMOKY CAPE\*; it is of a considerable height, and over the pitch of the point is a round hillock; within it are two others, much higher and larger, and within them the land is very low. Our latitude was  $30^{\circ} 31'$  S., longitude  $206^{\circ} 54'$  W.: this day the observed latitude was only five miles south of the log. We saw smoke in several parts along the coast, besides that seen upon Smoky Cape.

In the afternoon, the wind being at N.E., we stood off and on, and at three or four miles distance from the shore had thirty fathom water; the wind afterwards coming cross off land, we stood to the northward, having from thirty to twenty-one fathom, at the distance of four or five miles from the shore. At five in the morning, the wind veered to the north, and blew fresh, attended with squalls: at eight it began to thunder and rain, and in about an hour it fell calm, which gave us an opportunity to sound, and we had eighty-six fathom at between four and five leagues from the shore. Soon after this we had a gale from the southward, with which we steered N. by W. for the northernmost land in sight. At noon

\* Smoky Cape lies a little to the north of the present penal settlement of Port Macquarrie.—Ed.



we were about four leagues from the shore, and by observation, in latitude  $30^{\circ} 22'$ , which was nine miles to the southward of our reckoning, longitude  $206^{\circ} 39' W.$  Some lands near the shore, of a considerable height, bore  $W.$

As we advanced to the northward from Botany Bay, the land gradually increased in height, so that in this latitude it may be called a hilly country. Between this latitude and the Bay, it exhibits a pleasing variety of ridges, hills, valleys, and plains, all clothed with wood, of the same appearance with that which has been particularly described. The land near the shore is in general low and sandy, except the points, which are rocky, and over many of them are high hills, which, at their first rising out of the water, have the appearance of islands. In the afternoon, we had some small rocky islands between us and the land, the southernmost of which lies in latitude  $30^{\circ} 10'$ , and the northernmost in  $29^{\circ} 58'$ , and somewhat more than two leagues from the land: about two miles without the northernmost island we had thirty-three fathom water. Having the advantage of a moon, we steered along the shore all night, in the direction of  $N.$  and  $N. by E.$ , keeping at the distance of about three leagues from the land, and having from twenty to twenty-five fathom water. As soon as it was light, having a fresh gale, we made all the sail we could; and at nine o'clock in the morning, being about a league from the shore, we discovered smoke in many places, and having recourse to our glasses, we saw about twenty of the natives, who had each a large bundle upon his back, which we conjectured to be palm-leaves for covering their houses. We continued to observe them above an hour, during which they walked upon the beach, and up a path that led over a hill of a gentle ascent, behind which we lost sight of them: not one of them was observed to stop and look towards us, but they trudged along, to all appearance without the least emotion, either of curiosity or surprise, though it is impossible they should not have seen the ship by a casual glance as they walked along the shore; and though she must, with respect to every other object they had yet seen, have been little less stupendous and unaccountable than a floating mountain with all its woods would have been to us. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $28^{\circ} 39' S.$ , and longitude  $206^{\circ} 27' W.$  A high point of land, which I named **CAPE BYRON**, bore  $N.W. by W.$ , at the distance of three miles. It lies in latitude  $28^{\circ} 37' 30'' S.$ , longitude  $206^{\circ} 30' W.$ , and may be known by a remarkable sharp-peaked mountain, which lies inland, and bears from it  $N.W. by W.$  From this point the land trends  $N. 13 W.$ : inland it is high and hilly, but low near the shore: to the southward of the point it is also low and level. We continued to steer along the shore with a fresh gale, till sunset, when we suddenly discovered breakers ahead, directly in the ship's course, and also on our larboard bow. At this time we were about five miles from the land, and had twenty fathom water: we hauled up east till eight, when we had run eight miles, and increased our depth of water to forty-four fathom; we then brought to, with the ship's head to the eastward, and lay upon this tack till ten, when, having increased our sounding to seventy-eight fathom, we wore and lay with the ship's head to the land till five in the morning, when we made sail, and, at daylight, were greatly surprised to find ourselves farther to the southward than we had been the evening before, though the wind had been southerly, and blown fresh all night. We now saw the breakers again within us, and passed them at the distance of one league. They lie in latitude  $28^{\circ} 8' S.$ , stretching off east two leagues from a point of land, under which is a small island. Their situation may always be known by the peaked mountain which has been just mentioned, and which bears from them  $S.W. by W.$ : for this reason I have named it **MOUNT WARNING**. It lies seven or eight leagues inland, in latitude  $28^{\circ} 22' S.$  The land about it is high and hilly, but it is of itself sufficiently conspicuous to be at once distinguished from every other object. The point off which these shoals lie I have named **POINT DANGER**. To the northward of this point the land is low, and trends  $N.W. by N.$ ; but it soon turns again more to the northward.

At noon we were about two leagues from the land, and, by observation, in latitude  $27^{\circ} 46' S.$ , which was seventeen miles to the southward of the log: our longitude was  $206^{\circ} 26' W.$  Mount Warning bore  $S. 26 W.$ , distant fourteen leagues, and the northernmost land in sight bore  $N.$  We pursued our course along the shore, at the distance of about two leagues, in the direction of  $N. \frac{3}{4} E.$  till between four and five in the afternoon, when we discovered breakers on our larboard bow. Our depth of water was thirty-seven

fathom; and at sunset the northernmost land bore N. by W., the breakers N.W. by W., distant four miles, and the northernmost land set at noon, which formed a point, and to which I gave the name of POINT LOOK-OUT, W., distant five or six miles, in the latitude of  $27^{\circ} 6'$ . On the north side of this point, the shore forms a wide open bay, which I called MORETON'S BAY, in the bottom of which the land is so low, that I could but just see it from the topmast head. The breakers lie between three or four miles from Point Look-out; and at this time we had a great sea from the southward, which broke upon them very high. We stood on N.N.E. till eight o'clock, when having passed the breakers, and deepened our water to fifty-two fathom, we brought to till midnight, when we made sail again to the N.N.E. At four in the morning we had 135 fathom; and when the day broke, I perceived that during the night I had got much farther northward, and from the shore, than I expected from the course we steered, for we were distant at least seven leagues; I therefore hauled in N.W. by W., with a fresh gale at S.S.W. The land that was farthest to the north the night before now bore S.S.W., distant six leagues; and I gave it the name of CAPE MORETON, it being the north point of Moreton's Bay; its latitude is  $26^{\circ} 56'$ , and its longitude is  $206^{\circ} 28'$ . From Cape Moreton the land trends away west, farther than can be seen, for there is a small space, where at this time no land is visible; and some on board having also observed that the sea looked paler than usual, were of opinion that the bottom of Moreton's Bay opened into a river\*. We had here thirty-four fathom water, and a fine sandy bottom: this alone would have produced the change that had been observed in the colour of the water; and it was by no means necessary to suppose a river to account for the land at the bottom of the bay not being visible; for supposing the land there to be as low as we knew it to be in a hundred other parts of the coast, it would have been impossible to see it from the station of the ship; however, if any future navigator should be disposed to determine the question, whether there is or is not a river in this place, which the wind would not permit us to do, the situation may always be found by three hills which lie to the northward of it, in the latitude of  $26^{\circ} 53'$ . These hills lie but a little way inland, and not far from each other: they are remarkable for the singular form of their elevation, which very much resembles a glass-house, and for which reason I called them the GLASS-HOUSES. The northernmost of the three is the highest and largest: there are also several other peaked hills inland to the northward of these, but they are not nearly so remarkable. At noon our latitude was, by observation,  $26^{\circ} 28'$  S., which was ten miles to the northward of the log, a circumstance which had never before happened upon this coast; our longitude was  $206^{\circ} 46'$ . At this time we were between two and three leagues from the land, and had twenty-four fathom water. A low bluff point, which was the south head of a sandy bay, bore N.  $62^{\circ}$  W., distant three leagues, and the northernmost point of land in sight bore N.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. This day we saw smoke in several places, and some at a considerable distance inland.

In steering along the shore at the distance of two leagues, our soundings were from twenty-four to thirty-two fathom, with a sandy bottom. At six in the evening the northernmost point of the land bore N.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W., distant four leagues; at ten it bore N.W. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W.; and as we had seen no land to the northward of it, we brought to, not well knowing which way to steer. At two in the morning, however, we made sail with the wind at S.W., and at daylight we saw the land extending as far as N.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E.: the point we had set the night before bore S.W. by W., distant between three and four leagues. It lies in latitude  $25^{\circ} 58'$ , longitude  $206^{\circ} 48'$  W.: the land within it is of a moderate and equal height, but the point itself is so unequal, that it looks like two small islands lying under the land, for which reason I gave it the name of DOUBLE ISLAND POINT: it may also be known by the white cliffs on the north side of it. Here the land trends to the N.W., and forms a large open bay, the bottom of which is so low a flat, that from the deck it could scarcely be seen. In crossing this bay, our depth of water was from thirty to twenty-two fathom, with a white sandy bottom. At noon we were about three leagues from the shore, in latitude  $25^{\circ} 34'$  S., longitude  $206^{\circ} 45'$  W.: Double Island Point bore S.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W., and the northernmost land in sight N.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. This part of the coast, which is of a moderate height,

\* Brisbane River empties itself into Moreton's Bay.—Ed.



is more barren than any we had seen, and the soil more sandy. With our glasses we could discover that the sands, which lay in great patches of many acres, were moveable, and that some of them had not been long in the place they possessed; for we saw in several parts trees half buried, the tops of which were still green; and in others, the naked trunks of such as the sand had surrounded long enough to destroy. In other places the woods appeared to be low and shrubby, and we saw no signs of inhabitants. Two water-snakes swam by the ship; they were beautifully spotted, and in every respect like land snakes, except that their tails were broad and flat, probably to serve them instead of fins in swimming. In the morning of this day the variation was  $8^{\circ} 20'$  E., and in the evening  $8^{\circ} 36'$ . During the night we continued our course to the northward, with a light breeze from the land, being distant from it between two and three leagues, and having from twenty-three to twenty-seven fathom, with a fine sandy bottom.

At noon on the 19th we were about four miles from the land, with only thirteen fathom. Our latitude was  $25^{\circ} 4'$ , and the northernmost land in sight bore N. 21 W., distant eight miles. At one o'clock, being still four miles distant from the shore, but having seventeen fathom water, we passed a black bluff head, or point of land, upon which a great number of the natives were assembled, and which therefore I called INDIAN HEAD: it lies in latitude  $25^{\circ} 3'$ . About four miles N. by W. of this head is another very like it, from whence the land trends away somewhat more to the westward: next to the sea it is low and sandy; and behind it nothing was to be seen, even from the mast-head. Near Indian Head we saw more of the natives, and upon the neighbouring shore fires by night, and smoke by day. We kept to the northward all night, at the distance of from four miles to four leagues from the shore, and with a depth of water from seventeen to thirty-four fathom. At daybreak the northernmost land bore from us W.S.W., and seemed to end in a point, from which we discovered a reef running out to the northward as far as we could see. We had hauled our wind to the westward before it was light, and continued the course till we saw the breakers upon our lee-bow. We now edged away N.W. and N.N.W. along the east side of the shoal, from two to one mile distant, having regular soundings from thirteen to seven fathom, with a fine sandy bottom. At noon our latitude, by observation, was  $20^{\circ} 26'$ , which was thirteen miles to the northward of the log: we judged the extreme point of the shoal to bear from us about N.W., and the point from which it seemed to run out bore S.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W., distant twenty miles. This point I named SANDY CAPE, from two very large patches of white sand which lay upon it. It is sufficiently high to be seen at the distance of twelve leagues, in clear weather, and lies in latitude  $24^{\circ} 45'$ , longitude  $206^{\circ} 51'$ : the land trends from it S.W. as far as can be seen. We kept along the east side of the shoal till two in the afternoon, when, judging that there was a sufficient depth of water upon it to allow passage for the ship, I sent the boat ahead to sound, and upon her making the signal for more than five fathom, we hauled our wind, and stood over the tail of it in six fathom. At this time we were in latitude  $24^{\circ} 22'$ , and Sandy Cape bore S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., distant eight leagues; but the direction of the shoal is nearest N.N.W. and S.S.E. It is remarkable that when on board the ship we had six fathom, the boat, which was scarcely a quarter of a mile to the southward, had little more than five, and that immediately after six fathom we had thirteen, and then twenty, as fast as the man could cast the lead: from these circumstances I conjectured that the west side of the shoal was steep. This shoal I called the BREAK SEA SPIT, because we had now smooth water, and to the southward of it we had always a high sea from the S.E. At six in the evening the land of Sandy Cape extended from S. 17 E. to S. 27 E., at the distance of eight leagues; our depth of water was twenty-three fathom: with the same soundings we stood to the westward all night. At seven in the morning we saw from the mast-head the land of Sandy Cape bearing S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., distant about thirteen leagues: at nine we discovered land to the westward, and soon after saw smoke in several places. Our depth of water was now decreased to seventeen fathom, and by noon we had no more than thirteen, though we were seven leagues from the land, which extended from S. by W. to W.N.W. Our latitude at this time was  $24^{\circ} 28'$  S. For a few days past we had seen several of the sea-birds called boobies, not having met with any of them before; last night a small flock of them passed the ship, and went away to the N.W.; and in the

morning, from about half an hour before sunrise to half an hour after, flights of them were continually coming from the N.N.W., and flying to the S.S.E.; nor was one of them seen to fly in any other direction; we therefore conjectured that there was a lagoon, river, or inlet of shallow water, in the bottom of the deep bay, to the southward of us, whither these birds resorted to feed in the day, and that not far to the northward there were some islands, to which they repaired in the night. To this bay I gave the name of HERVEY'S BAY, in honour of Captain Hervey. In the afternoon we stood in for the land, steering S.W., with a gentle breeze at S.E. till four o'clock, when, being in latitude  $24^{\circ} 36'$ , about two leagues from the shore, and having nine fathom water, we bore away along the coast N.W. by W., and at the same time could see land extending to the S.S.E. about eight leagues. Near the sea the land is very low, but within there are some lofty hills, all thickly clothed with wood. While we were running along the shore, we shallowed our water from nine to seven fathom, and at one time we had but six, which determined us to anchor for the night.

At six in the morning we weighed, with a gentle breeze from the southward, and steered N.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W., edging in for the land, till we got within two miles of it, with water from seven to eleven fathom; we then steered N.N.W. as the land lay, and at noon our latitude was  $24^{\circ} 19'$ . We continued in the same course, at the same distance, with from twelve fathom to seven, till five in the evening, when we were abreast of the south point of a large open bay, in which I intended to anchor. During this course, we discovered with our glasses that the land was covered with palm-nut trees, which we had not seen from the time of our leaving the islands within the tropic: we also saw two men walking along the shore, who did not condescend to take the least notice of us. In the evening, having hauled close upon a wind, and made two or three trips, we anchored about eight o'clock in five fathom, with a fine sandy bottom. The south point of the bay bore E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  S., distant two miles, the north point N.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N., and about the same distance from the shore.

Early the next morning I went ashore, with a party of men, in order to examine the country, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, the other gentlemen, and Tupia: the wind blew fresh, and we found it so cold, that being at some distance from the shore, we took our cloaks as a necessary equipment for the voyage. We landed a little within the south point of the bay, where we found a channel leading into a large lagoon: this channel I proceeded to examine, and found three fathom water till I got about a mile up it, where I met with a shoal, upon which there was little more than one fathom, but having passed over it, I had three fathom again. The entrance of this channel lies close to the south point of the bay, being formed by the shore on the east, and on the west by a large spit of sand: it is about a quarter of a mile broad, and lies in S. by W. In this place there is room for a few ships to lie in great security, and a small stream of fresh water: I would have rowed into the lagoon, but was prevented by shallows. We found several bogs, and swamps of salt water, upon which, and by the sides of the lagoon, grows the true mangrove, such as is found in the West Indies, and the first of the kind that we had met with. In the branches of these mangroves there were many nests of a remarkable kind



MANGROVE TREE.



of ant, that was as green as grass : when the branches were disturbed they came out in great numbers, and punished the offender by a much sharper bite than ever we had felt from the same kind of animal before. Upon these mangroves also we saw small green caterpillars in great numbers: their bodies were thick-set with hairs, and they were ranged upon the leaves side by side like a file of soldiers, to the number of twenty or thirty together : when we touched them, we found that the hair of their bodies had the quality of a nettle, and gave us a much more acute, though less durable pain. The country here is manifestly worse than about Botany Bay : the soil is dry and sandy, but the sides of the hills are covered with trees, which grow separately, without underwood. We found here the tree that yields a gum like the *sanguis draconis* ; but it is somewhat different from the trees of the same kind which we had seen before, for the leaves are longer, and hang down like those of the weeping-willow. We found also much less gum upon them, which is contrary to the established opinion, that the hotter the climate the more gums exude. Upon a plant also, which yielded a yellow gum, there was less than upon the same kind of plant in Botany Bay. Among the shoals and sand-banks we saw many large birds, some in particular of the same kind that we had seen in Botany Bay, much bigger than swans, which we judged to be pelicans ; but they were so shy that we could not get within gunshot of them. Upon the shore we saw a species of the bustard, one of which we shot : it was as large as a turkey, and weighed seventeen pounds and a half.\* We all agreed that this was the best bird we had eaten since we left England ; and in honour of it we called this inlet BUSTARD BAY. It lies in latitude  $24^{\circ} 4'$ , longitude  $208^{\circ} 18'$ . The sea seemed to abound with fish ; but, unhappily, we tore our seine all to pieces at the first haul. Upon the mud-banks, under the mangroves, we found innumerable oysters of various kinds ; among others, the hammer-oyster, and a large proportion of small pearl-oysters : if in deeper water there is equal plenty of such oysters at their full growth, a pearl fishery might certainly be established here to very great advantage.

The people who were left on board the ship said, that while we were in the woods about twenty of the natives came down to the beach, abreast of her, and having looked at her some time, went away ; but we that were ashore, though we saw smoke in many places, saw no people ; the smoke was at places too distant for us to get to them by land, except one, to which we repaired : we found ten small fires still burning within a few paces of each other ; but the people were gone. We saw near them several vessels of bark, which we supposed to have contained water, and some shells and fish-bones, the remains of a recent meal. We saw also, lying upon the ground, several pieces of soft bark, about the length and breadth of a man, which we imagined might be their beds ; and, on the windward side of the fires, a small shade about a foot and a half high, of the same substance. The whole was in a thicket of close trees, which afforded good shelter from the wind. The place seemed to be much trodden, and as we saw no house, nor any remains of a house, we were inclined to believe that, as these people had no clothes, they had no dwelling, but spent their nights, among the other commoners of nature, in the open air ; and Tupia himself, with an air of superiority and compassion, shook his head, and said, that they were *Taata Enos*, "poor wretches." I measured the perpendicular height of the last tide, and found it to be eight feet above low water-mark ; and from the time of low-water this day, I found that it must be high-water at the full and change of the moon at eight o'clock.

At four o'clock in the morning we weighed, and with a gentle breeze at south, made sail out of the bay. In standing out, our soundings were from five to fifteen fathom ; and at daylight, when we were in the greatest depth, and abreast of the north head of the bay, we discovered breakers stretching out from it N.N.E. between two and three miles, with a rock at the outermost point of them, just above water. While we were passing these rocks, at the distance of about half a mile, we had from fifteen to twenty fathom, and as soon as we had passed them, we hauled along shore W.N.W. for the farthest land we had in sight. At noon our latitude, by observation, was  $23^{\circ} 52'$  S. ; the north part of Bustard Bay bore S. 62 E., distant ten miles, and the northernmost land in sight N. 60 W. ; the longitude was  $208^{\circ} 37'$ , and our distance from the nearest shore six miles, with fourteen fathom water. Till five in the afternoon it was calm, but afterwards we steered before the wind N.W. as

\* This bird, a species of the lesser *Otis*, is abundant in the country.—Ed.

the land lay till ten at night, and then brought to, having had all along fourteen and fifteen fathom. At five in the morning we made sail; and at daylight the northernmost point of the main bore N. 70 W. Soon after we saw more land, making like islands, and bearing N.W. by N. At nine we were abreast of the point, at the distance of one mile, with fourteen fathom water. This point I found to lie directly under the tropic of Capricorn; and for that reason I called it CAPE CAPRICORN: its longitude is 208° 58' W.: it is of a considerable height, looks white and barren, and may be known by some islands which lie to the N.W. of it, and some small rocks at the distance of about a league S.E. On the west side of the Cape there appeared to be a lagoon, and on the two spits which formed the entrance, we saw an incredible number of the large birds that resemble a pelican. The northernmost land now in sight bore from Cape Capricorn N. 24 W., and appeared to be an island; but the mainland trended W. by N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N.; which course we steered, having from fifteen to six fathom, and from six to nine, with a hard sandy bottom. At noon our latitude, by observation, was 23° 24' S.; Cape Capricorn bore S. 60 E., distant two leagues; and a small island N. by E. two miles: in this situation we had nine fathom, being about four miles from the main, which, next the sea, is low and sandy, except the points which are high and rocky. The country inland is hilly, but by no means of a pleasing aspect. We continued to stand to the N.W. till four o'clock in the afternoon, when it fell calm; and we soon after anchored in twelve fathom, having the mainland and islands in a manner all round us, and Cape Capricorn bearing S. 54 E., distant four leagues. In the night we found the tide rise and fall near seven feet; and the flood to set to the westward, and the ebb to the eastward, which is just contrary to what we found when we were at anchor to the eastward of Bustard Bay.

At six in the morning we weighed, with a gentle breeze at south, and stood away to the N.W., between the outermost range of islands and the main, leaving several small islands between the main and the ship, which we passed at a very little distance; our soundings being irregular, from twelve to four fathom, I sent a boat ahead to sound. At noon we were about three miles from the main, and about the same distance from the islands without us; our latitude, by observation, was 23° 7' S. The mainland here is high and mountainous; the islands which lie off it are also most of them high, and of a small circuit, having an appearance rather of barrenness than fertility. At this time we saw smoke in many places at a considerable distance inland, and therefore conjectured that there might be a lagoon, river, or inlet, running up the country, the rather as we had passed two places which had the appearance of being such; but our depth of water was too little to encourage me to venture where I should probably have less. We had not stood to the northward above an hour, before we suddenly fell into three fathom; upon which I anchored, and sent away the master to sound the channel which lay to leeward of us, between the northernmost island and the main: it appeared to be pretty broad, but I suspected that it was shallow, and so indeed it was found; for the master reported at his return that in many places he had only two fathom and a half, and where we lay at anchor we had only sixteen feet, which was not two feet more than the ship drew. While the master was sounding the channel, Mr. Banks tried to fish from the cabin windows with hook and line. The water was too shallow for fish; but the ground was almost covered with crabs, which readily took the bait, and sometimes held it so fast in their claws, that they did not quit their hold till they were considerably above water. These crabs were of two sorts, and both of them such as we had not seen before: one of them was adorned with the finest blue that can be imagined, in every respect equal to the ultramarine, with which all his claws and every joint was deeply tinged: the under part of him was white, and so exquisitely polished, that in colour and brightness it exactly resembled the white of old china. The other was also marked with the ultramarine upon his joints and his toes, but somewhat more sparingly; and his back was marked with three brown spots, which had a singular appearance. The people who had been out with the boat to sound, reported, that, upon an island where we had observed two fires, they had seen several of the inhabitants, who called to them, and seemed very desirous that they should land. In the evening the wind veered to E.N.E., which gave us an opportunity to stretch three or four miles back by the way we came; after which, the wind shifted to the south, and obliged us again to anchor in six fathom.



At five in the morning I sent away the master to search for a passage between the islands, while we got the ship under sail; and as soon as it was light we followed the boat, which made a signal that a passage had been found. As soon as we had got again into deep water, we made sail to the northward, as the land lay, with soundings from nine fathom to fifteen, and some small islands still without us. At noon we were about two leagues distant from the main; and, by observation, in latitude  $22^{\circ} 53'$  S. The northernmost point of land in sight now bore N.N.W., distant ten miles. To this point I gave the name of CAPE MANIFOLD, from the number of high hills which appeared over it: it lies in latitude  $22^{\circ} 43'$  S., and distant about seventeen leagues from Cape Capricorn, in the direction of N. 26 W. Between these capes the shore forms a large bay, which I called KEPPEL BAY; and I also distinguished the islands by the name of KEPPEL'S ISLANDS. In this bay there is good anchorage; but what refreshments it may afford I know not: we caught no fish, though we were at anchor; but probably there is fresh water in several places, as both the islands and the main are inhabited. We saw smoke and fires upon the main; and upon the islands we saw people. At three in the afternoon we passed Cape Manifold, from which the land trends N.N.W. The land of the cape is high, rising in hills directly from the sea; and may be known by three islands which lie off it, one of them near the shore, and the other two eight miles out at sea. One of these islands is low and flat, and the other high and round. At six o'clock in the evening we brought to, when the northernmost part of the main in sight bore N.W., and some islands which lie off it N. 31 W. Our soundings after twelve o'clock were from twenty to twenty-five fathom, and in the night from thirty to thirty-four.

At daybreak we made sail, Cape Manifold bearing S. by E., distant eight leagues, and the islands which I had set the night before were distant four miles in the same direction. The farthest visible point of the main bore N. 67 W., at the distance of twenty-two miles; but we could see several islands to the northward of this direction. At nine o'clock in the forenoon we were abreast of the point, which I called CAPE TOWNSHEND. It lies in latitude  $22^{\circ} 15'$ , longitude  $209^{\circ} 43'$ : the land is high and level, and rather naked than woody. Several islands lie to the northward of it, at the distance of four or five miles out at sea; three or four leagues to the S.E. the shore forms a bay, in the bottom of which there appeared to be an inlet or harbour. To the westward of the cape the land trends S.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S., and there forms a very large bay, which turns to the eastward, and probably communicates with the inlet, and makes the land of the cape an island. As soon as we got round this cape, we hauled our wind to the westward, in order to get within the islands, which lie scattered in the bay in great numbers, and extend out to sea as far as the eye could reach even from the mast-head. These islands vary, both in height and circuit, from each other; so that, although they are very numerous, no two of them are alike. We had not stood long upon a wind before we came into shoal water, and were obliged to tack at once to avoid it. Having sent a boat ahead, I bore away W. by N., many small islands, rocks, and shoals, lying between us and the main, and many of a larger extent without us. Our soundings till near noon were from fourteen to seventeen fathom, when the boat made the signal for meeting with shoal water. Upon this we hauled close upon a wind to the eastward, but suddenly fell into three fathom and a quarter: we immediately dropped an anchor, which brought the ship up with all her sails standing. When the ship was brought up we had four fathom, with a coarse sandy bottom, and found a strong tide setting to the N.W. by W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W., at the rate of near three miles an hour, by which we were so suddenly carried upon the shoal. Our latitude by observation was  $22^{\circ} 8'$  S.; Cape Townshend bore E. 16 S., distant thirteen miles; and the westernmost part of the main in sight W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N. At this time a great number of islands lay all round us.

In the afternoon, having sounded round the ship, and found that there was water sufficient to carry her over the shoal, we weighed, and about three o'clock made sail and stood to the westward, as the land lay, having sent a boat ahead to sound. At six in the evening we anchored in ten fathom, with a sandy bottom, at about two miles' distance from the main; the westernmost part of which bore W.N.W., and a great number of islands, lying a long way without us, were still in sight.

At five o'clock the next morning I sent away the master with two boats to sound the entrance of an inlet which bore from us west, at about the distance of a league, into which I intended to go with the ship, that I might wait a few days till the moon should increase, and in the mean time examine the country. As soon as the ship could be got under sail, the boats made the signal for anchorage; upon which we stood in, and anchored in five fathom water, about a league within the entrance of the inlet; which, as I observed a tide to flow and ebb considerably, I judged to be a river that ran up the country to a considerable distance. In this place I had thoughts of laying the ship ashore, and cleaning her bottom; I therefore landed with the master in search of a convenient place for that purpose, and was accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. We found walking here exceedingly troublesome, for the ground was covered with a kind of grass, the seeds of which were very sharp, and bearded backwards; so that whenever they stuck into our clothes, which, indeed, was at every step, they worked forwards by means of the beard, till they got at the flesh; and at the same time we were surrounded by a cloud of mosquitoes, which incessantly tormented us with their stings. We soon met with several places where the ship might conveniently be laid ashore; but to our great disappointment we could find no fresh water. We proceeded, however, up the country, where we found gum-trees like those that we had seen before, and observed that here also the gum was in very small quantities. Upon the branches of these trees, and some others, we found ants' nests, made of clay, as big as a bushel, something like those described in Sir Hans Sloane's *Natural History of Jamaica*, vol. ii., p. 221, tab. 258, but not so smooth: the ants which inhabited these nests were small, and their bodies white. But upon another species of the tree we found a small black ant, which perforated all the twigs, and having worked out the pith, occupied the pipe which had contained it; yet the parts in which these insects had thus formed a lodgment, and in which they swarmed in amazing numbers, bore leaves and flowers, and appeared to be in as flourishing a state as those that were sound. We found also an incredible number of butterflies, so that for the space of three or four acres the air was so crowded with them, that millions were to be seen in every direction, at the same time that every branch and twig was covered with others that were not upon the wing\*. We found here also a small fish of a singular kind; it was about the size of a minnow, and had two very strong breast fins: we found it in places that were quite dry, where we supposed it might have been left by the tide; but it did not seem to have become languid by the want of water; for upon our approach it leaped away, by the help of the breast fins, as nimbly as a frog: neither, indeed, did it seem to prefer water to land; for when we found it in the water, it frequently leaped out, and pursued its way upon dry ground: we also observed, that when it was in places where small stones were standing above the surface of the water at a little distance from each other, it chose rather to leap from stone to stone, than to pass through the water;

\* The butterflies here mentioned, appear to have been a singular species of moth, called Bugong by the natives, with whom it is a favourite article of food. Captain King (in his survey of the coasts of Australia, vol i., p. 195) mentions it, and states that it is a new species, and had been described by his friend Mr. W. S. Macleay, under the name of *Euplexa hamata*.

Mr. George Bennett, in his "Wanderings in New South Wales," gives a particular description of it. They are found congregating at certain months of the year about masses of granite, in various parts of a range of mountain land, named from that circumstance the "Bugong Mountain." The months of November, December, and January, are quite a season of festivity among the native blacks, who assemble from far and near to collect the Bugong; the bodies of these insects contain a quantity of oil, and they are sought after as a luscious and fattening food. They are confined to particular places "on insulated and peculiar masses of granite;" on the surface and in the crevices of these masses they collect in incredible quantities; to procure them with greater facility, the natives make smothered fires underneath those rocks about which they are collected, and suffocate them with smoke, at the same

time sweeping them off frequently in bushels-full at a time. When they have collected a sufficient quantity, a circular space is cleared upon the ground, and a fire lighted and kept burning until the earth is considered sufficiently heated, when "on the fire being removed, and the ashes cleared away, the moths are placed upon the heated ground, and stirred about until the down and wings are removed from them; they are then placed on pieces of bark, and winnowed to separate the dust and wings mixed with the bodies; they are then eaten, or placed in a wooden vessel called a *walbin* or *culibun*, and pounded by a piece of wood into masses or cakes resembling lumps of fat, and may be compared in colour and consistence to dough made from smutty wheat mixed with fat. The bodies of the moths are large, and filled with a yellowish oil, resembling in taste a sweet nut. These masses will not keep above a week, and seldom even for that time; but by smoking they are able to preserve them for a much longer period. The first time this diet is used by the native tribes, violent vomiting and other debilitating effects are produced; but after a few days, they become accustomed to its use, and then thrive and fatten exceedingly upon it."—Ed.



and we saw several of them pass entirely over puddles in this manner, till they came to dry ground, and then leap away.

In the afternoon, we renewed our search after fresh water, but without success; and therefore I determined to make my stay here but short: however, having observed from an eminence that the inlet penetrated a considerable way into the country, I determined to trace it in the morning. At sunrise I went ashore, and climbing a considerable hill, I took a view of the coast and the islands that lie off it, with their bearings, having an azimuth compass with me for that purpose; but I observed that the needle differed very considerably in its position, even to thirty degrees, in some places more, in others less; and once I found it differ from itself no less than two points in the distance of fourteen feet. I took up some of the loose stones that lay upon the ground, and applied them to the needle, but they produced no effect; and I therefore concluded that there was iron ore in the hills, of which I had remarked other indications both here and in the neighbouring parts. After I had made my observations upon the hill, I proceeded with Dr. Solander up the inlet; I set out with the first of the flood, and long before high-water I had advanced above eight leagues. Its breadth thus far was from two to five miles, upon a S.W. by S. direction; but here it opened everyway, and formed a large lake, which to the N.W. communicated with the sea; and I not only saw the sea in this direction, but found the tide of flood coming strongly in from that point: I also observed an arm of this lake extending to the eastward, and it is not improbable that it may communicate with the sea in the bottom of the bay, which lies to the westward of Cape Townshend. On the south side of the lake is a ridge of high hills, which I was very desirous to climb; but it being high-water, and the day far spent, I was afraid of being bewildered among the shoals in the night, especially as the weather was dark and rainy; and therefore I made the best of my way to the ship. In this excursion I saw only two people, and they were at a distance; they followed the boat along the shore a good way, but the tide running strongly in my favour, I could not prudently wait for them; I saw, however, several fires in one direction, and smoke in another, but they also were at a distance. While I was tracing the inlet with Dr. Solander, Mr. Banks was endeavouring to penetrate into the country, where several of the people who had leave to go ashore were also rambling about. Mr. Banks and his party found their course obstructed by a swamp, covered with mangroves, which, however, they resolved to pass; the mud was almost knee-deep, yet they resolutely went on; but before they got half way, they repented of their undertaking: the bottom was covered with branches of trees interwoven with each other, sometimes they kept their footing upon them, sometimes their feet slipped through, and sometimes they were so entangled among them, that they were forced to free themselves by groping in the mud and slime with their hands. In about an hour, however, they crossed it, and judged it might be about a quarter of a mile over. After a short walk, they came up to a place where there had been four small fires, and near them some shells and bones of fish that had been roasted: they found also heaps of grass laid together, where four or five people appeared to have slept. The second lieutenant, Mr. Gore, who was at another place, saw a little water lying in the bottom of a gully, and near it the track of a large animal: some bustards were also seen, but none of them shot, nor any other bird except a few of the beautiful loriquets which we had seen in Botany Bay. Mr. Gore, and one of the midshipmen, who were in different places, said that they had heard the voices of Indians near them, but had seen none: the country in general appeared sandy and barren, and being destitute of fresh water, it cannot be supposed to have any settled inhabitants. The deep gulleys, which were worn by torrents from the hills, prove, that at certain seasons the rains here are very copious and heavy.

The inlet in which the ship lay, I called THIRSTY SOUND, because it afforded us no fresh water. It lies in latitude  $22^{\circ} 10'$  S., and longitude  $210^{\circ} 18'$  W.; and may be known by a group of small islands lying under the shore, from two to five leagues distant, in the direction of N.W., and by another group of islands that lie right before it, between three and four leagues out at sea. Over each of the points that form the entrance is a high round hill, which, on the N.W., is a peninsula that at high-water is surrounded by the sea: they

are bold to both the shores, and the distance between them is about two miles. In this inlet is good anchorage in seven, six, five, and four fathom; and places very convenient for laying a ship down, where, at spring-tides, the water does not rise less than sixteen or eighteen feet. The tide flows at the full and change of the moon about eleven o'clock. I have already observed that here is no fresh water, nor could we procure refreshment of any other kind: we saw two turtles, but we were not able to take either of them: neither did we catch either fish or wild-fowl, except a few small land birds: we saw indeed the same sorts of water-fowl as in Botany Bay, but they were so shy that we could not get a shot at them.

As I had not therefore a single inducement to stay longer in this place, I weighed anchor at six o'clock in the morning of Thursday the 31st of May, and put to sea. We stood to the N.W. with a fresh breeze at S.S.E., and kept without the group of islands that lie in shore, and to the N.W. of Thirsty Sound, as there appeared to be no safe passage between them and the main; at the same time we had a number of islands without us, extending as far as we could see: during our run in this direction, our depth of water was ten, eight, and nine fathom. At noon, the west point of Thirsty Sound, which I have called **PIER HEAD**, bore S. 36 E., distant five leagues; the east point of the other inlet, which communicates with the Sound, bore S. by W., distant two leagues; the group of islands just mentioned lay between us and the point, and the farthest part of the main in sight, on the other side of the inlet, bore N.W. Our latitude by observation was  $21^{\circ} 53'$ . At half an hour after twelve, the boat, which was sounding ahead, made the signal for shoal-water, and we immediately hauled our wind to the N.E. At this time we had seven fathom, at the next cast five, and at the next three, upon which we instantly dropped an anchor, that brought the ship up. Pier-head, the north-west point of Thirsty Sound, bore S.E. distant six leagues, being half-way between the islands which lie off the east point of the western inlet, and three small islands which lie directly without them. It was now the first of the flood, which we found to set N.W. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W.; and having sounded about the shoal, upon which we had three fathom, and found deep water all round it, we got under sail, and having hauled round the three islands that have been just mentioned, came to an anchor under the lee of them, in fifteen fathom water; and the weather being dark, hazy, and rainy, we remained there till seven o'clock in the morning. At this time we got again under sail, and stood to the N.W. with a fresh breeze at S.S.E.; having the mainland in sight, and a number of islands all round us, some of which lay out at sea as far as the eye could reach. The western inlet, which, in the chart, is distinguished by the name of Broad Sound, we had now all open; at the entrance, it is at least nine or ten leagues wide: in it, and before it, lie several islands, and probably shoals also; for our soundings were very irregular, varying suddenly from ten to four fathom. At noon, our latitude by observation was  $21^{\circ} 29'$  S.; a point of land which forms the north-west entrance into Broad Sound and which I have named **CAPE PALMERSTON**, lying in latitude  $21^{\circ} 30'$ , longitude  $210^{\circ} 54'$  W. bore W. by N. distant three leagues. Our latitude was  $21^{\circ} 27'$ , our longitude  $210^{\circ} 57'$ . Between this Cape and Cape Townshend lies the bay which I have called the **BAY OF INLETS**. We continued to stand to the N.W. and N.W. by N., as the land lay, under an easy sail, having a boat ahead to sound: at first the soundings were very irregular, from nine to four fathom; but afterwards they were regular, from nine to eleven. At eight in the evening, being about two leagues from the main land, we anchored in eleven fathom, with a sandy bottom; and soon after, we found the tide setting with a slow motion to the westward. At one o'clock, it was slack, or low water; and at half an hour after two, the ship tended to the eastward, and rode so till six in the morning, when the tide had risen eleven feet. We now got under sail, and stood away in the direction of the coast, N.N.W. From what we had observed of the tide during the night, it is plain, that the flood came from the N.W.; whereas, the preceding day, and several days before, it came from the S.E.; nor was this the first, or even second time, that we had remarked the same thing. At sunrise this morning, we found the variation to be  $6^{\circ} 45'$  E.; and in steering along the shore, between the island and the main, at the distance of about two leagues from the main, and three or four from the island, our soundings were regular from twelve to nine fathom; but



about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, we were again embarrassed with shoal water, having at one time not more than three fathom; yet we got clear, without casting anchor. At noon we were about two leagues from the main, and four from the islands without us. Our latitude by observation was  $20^{\circ} 56'$ , and a high promontory, which I named CAPE HILLSBOROUGH, bore W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N., distant seven miles. The land here is diversified by mountains, hills, plains, and valleys, and seems to be well clothed with herbage and wood: the islands which lie parallel to the coast, and from five to eight or nine miles distant, are of various height and extent; scarcely any of them are more than five leagues in circumference, and many are not four miles: besides this chain of islands, which lies at a distance from the coast, there are others much less, which lie under the land, from which we saw smoke rising in different places. We continued to steer along the shore at the distance of about two leagues, with regular soundings from nine to ten fathom. At sunset, the farthest point of the main bore N. 48 W., and to the northward of this lay some high land, which I took to be an island, and of which the north-west point bore 41 W.; but not being sure of a passage, I came to an anchor about eight o'clock in the evening, in ten fathom water, with a muddy bottom. About ten we had a tide setting to the northward, and at two it had fallen nine feet; after this it began to rise, and the flood came from the northward, in the direction of the islands which lay out to sea; a plain indication that there was no passage to the N.W. This however, had not appeared at daybreak, when we got under sail and stood to the N.W. At eight o'clock in the morning, we discovered low land quite across what we took for an opening, which proved to be a bay, about five or six leagues deep; upon this we hauled our wind to the eastward round the north point of the bay, which at this time bore from us N.E. by N., distant four leagues: from this point we found the land trend away N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., and a strait or passage between it and a large island, or islands, lying parallel to it. Having the tide of ebb in our favour, we stood for this passage, and at noon were just within the entrance: our latitude by observation was  $20^{\circ} 26'$  S.; Cape Hillsborough bore S. by E., distant ten leagues; and the north point of the bay S. 19 W., distant four miles. This point, which I named CAPE CONWAY, lies in latitude  $26^{\circ} 36'$  S., longitude  $211^{\circ} 28'$  W.; and the bay which lies between this Cape and Cape Hillsborough, I called REPULSE BAY. The greatest depth of water which we found in it was thirteen fathom, and the least eight. In all parts there was safe anchorage, and I believe that, upon proper examination, some good harbours would be found in it; especially at the north side within Cape Conway; for just within that Cape, there lie two or three small islands, which alone would shelter that side of the bay from the southerly and south-easterly winds, that seem to prevail here as a Trade. Among the many islands that lie upon this coast, there is one more remarkable than the rest; it is of a small circuit, very high and peaked, and lies E. by S. ten miles from Cape Conway, at the south end of the passage. In the afternoon, we steered through this passage, which we found to be from three to seven miles broad, and eight or nine leagues in length, N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., S. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. It is formed by the main on the west, and by the islands on the east, one of which is at least five leagues in length: our depth of water in running through was from twenty to five-and-twenty fathom, with good anchorage, everywhere, and the whole passage may be considered as one safe harbour, exclusive of the small bays and coves which abound on each side, where ships might lie as in a basin. The land, both upon the main and islands, is high, and diversified by hill and valley, wood and lawn, with a green and pleasant appearance. On one of the islands, we discovered with our glasses two men and a woman, and a canoe with an outrigger, which appeared to be larger, and of a construction very different from those of bark tied together at the ends, which we had seen upon other parts of the coast; we hoped therefore that the people here had made some farther advances beyond mere animal life than those that we had seen before. At six o'clock in the evening, we were nearly the length of the north end of the passage; the north-westernmost point of the main in sight bore N. 54 W., and the north end of the island N.N.E., with an open sea between the two points. As this passage was discovered on Whitsunday, I called it WHITSUNDAY'S PASSAGE; and I called the islands that form it CUMBERLAND ISLANDS, in honour of his Royal Highness the Duke. We kept under an easy sail, with the lead going all night, being at the distance of about

three leagues from the shore, and having from twenty-one to twenty-three fathom water. At daybreak we were abreast of the point which had been the farthest in sight to the north-west the evening before, which I named **CAPE GLOUCESTER**. It is a lofty promontory\*, in latitude  $19^{\circ} 59' S.$ , longitude  $211^{\circ} 49' W.$ , and may be known by an island which lies out at sea N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2} W.$  at the distance of five or six leagues from it, and which I called **HOLBORNE ISLE**; there are also islands lying under the land between Holborne Isle and Whitsunday's Passage. On the west side of Cape Gloucester the land trends away S.W. and S.S.W., and forms a deep bay, the bottom of which I could but just see from the mast-head: it is very low, and a continuation of the low land which we had seen at the bottom of Repulse Bay. This bay I called **EDGE CUMBE BAY**, but without staying to look into it, we continued our course to the westward, for the farthest land we could see in that direction, which bore W. by N.  $\frac{1}{2} N.$  and appeared very high. At noon, we were about three leagues from the shore, by observation in latitude  $19^{\circ} 47' S.$ , and Cape Gloucester bore S.  $63^{\circ} E.$ , distant seven leagues and a half. At six in the evening, we were abreast of the westernmost point just mentioned, at about three miles distance; and because it rises abruptly from the low lands which surround it, I called it **CAPE UPSTART**. It lies in latitude  $19^{\circ} 39' S.$ , longitude  $212^{\circ} 32' W.$ , fourteen leagues W.N.W. from Cape Gloucester, and is of a height sufficient to be seen at the distance of twelve leagues: inland there are some high hills or mountains, which, like the Cape, afford but a barren prospect. Having passed this Cape, we continued standing to the W.N.W. as the land lay, under an easy sail, having from sixteen to ten fathom, till two o'clock in the morning, when we fell into seven fathom; upon which we hauled our wind to the northward, judging ourselves to be very near land: at daybreak, we found our conjecture to be true, being within little more than two leagues of it. In this part of the coast, the land, being very low, is nearer than it appears to be, though it is diversified with here and there a hill. At noon, we were about four leagues from the land, in fifteen fathom water, and our latitude, by observation, was  $19^{\circ} 12' S.$ , Cape Upstart bearing S.  $32^{\circ} 30' E.$ , distant twelve leagues. About this time some very large columns of smoke were seen rising from the lowlands. At sunset, the preceding night, when we were close under Cape Upstart, the variation was nearly  $9^{\circ} E.$ , and at sunrise this day it was no more than  $5^{\circ} 35'$ ; I judged therefore that it had been influenced by iron ore, or other magnetical matter, contained under the surface of the earth†.

We continued to steer W.N.W. as the land lay, with twelve or fourteen fathom water, till noon on the 6th, when our latitude by observation was  $19^{\circ} 1' S.$  and we had the mouth of a bay all open, extending from S.  $\frac{1}{2} E.$  to S.W.  $\frac{1}{2} S.$  distant two leagues. This bay, which I named **CLEVELAND BAY**, appeared to be about five or six miles in extent every way: the east point I named **CAPE CLEVELAND**, and the west, which had the appearance of an island, **MAGNETICAL ISLE**, as we perceived that the compass did not traverse well when we were near it‡: they are both high, and so is the mainland within them, the whole forming a surface the most rugged, rocky, and barren of any we had seen upon the coast; it was not however without inhabitants, for we saw smoke in several parts of the bottom of the bay. The northernmost land that was in sight at this time bore N.W., and it had the appearance of an island, for we could not trace the mainland farther than W. by N. We steered W.N.W. keeping the mainland on board, the outermost part of which, at sunset, bore W. by N.; but without it lay high land, which we judged not to be part of it. At

\* This is in reality an island (now known as Gloucester Island) of five miles long. It is separated from the real Cape by a strait, a mile and a half wide. See King's Survey of the coasts of Australia.—Ed.

† “The variation observed by Captain Cook off Mount Upstart was  $9^{\circ} E.$ ; but by an azimuth observed by me close to the Cape, it was found not more than  $6^{\circ} 16' E.$  The result of Captain Cook's observation must therefore be attributed to some other cause than, as he supposed, to a magnetical power in the hills of this promontory.”—King's Survey of the Coast of Australia, vol. i. p. 190.

‡ In reference to this passage, Captain King remarks that in taking some bearings when on shore in Cleveland

Bay, “a remarkable observation was here made upon the magnetic influence of this land; the variation was observed to be  $10^{\circ} 32' W.$ ; but on removing the compass eight yards off, it only gave  $2^{\circ} 50' E.$  This in some degree corresponds with Captain Cook's record of the irregularity of his compass when he passed near this part of the coast, in consequence of which, he called the peaked island to the westward of the cape, Magnetical Island: this irregularity, however, was not noticed by me in my observations near the same spot; and the difference observed by him may very probably have been occasioned by the ship's local attraction, which in those days was unknown.”—Ed.



daybreak, we were abreast of the eastern part of this land, which we found to be a group of islands, lying about five leagues from the main: at this time, being between the two shores, we advanced slowly to the N.W. till noon, when our latitude, by observation, was  $18^{\circ} 49'$  S. and our distance from the main about five leagues: the north-west part of it bore from us N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., the islands extending from N. to E., and the nearest being distant about two miles: Cape Cleveland bore S. 50 E. distant eighteen leagues. Our soundings, in the course that we had sailed between this time and the preceding noon, were from fourteen to eleven fathom.

In the afternoon, we saw several large columns of smoke upon the main; we saw also some people and canoes, and upon one of the islands what had the appearance of cocoa-nut trees. As a few of these nuts would now have been very acceptable, I sent Lieutenant Hicks ashore, and with him went Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, to see what refreshment could be procured, while I kept standing in for the island with the ship. About seven o'clock in the evening they returned, with an account that what we had taken for cocoa-nut trees were a small kind of cabbage-palm, and that, except about fourteen or fifteen plants, they had met with nothing worth bringing away. While they were ashore they saw none of the people; but just as they had put off, one of them came very near the beach, and shouted with a loud voice. It was so dark that they could not see him; however, they turned towards the shore; but when he heard the boat putting back, he ran away or hid himself, for they could not get a glimpse of him; and though they shouted, he made no reply. After the return of the boats, we stood away N. by W. for the northernmost land in sight, of which we were abreast at three o'clock in the morning, having passed all the islands three or four hours before. This land, on account of its figure, I named POINT HILLOCK; it is of a considerable height, and may be known by a round hillock, or rock, which joins to the point, but appears to be detached from it. Between this cape and Magnetical Isle, the shore forms a large bay, which I called HALIFAX BAY: before it lay the group of islands which has been just mentioned, and some others at a less distance from the shore. By these islands the bay is sheltered from all winds, and it affords good anchorage. The land near the beach, in the bottom of the bay, is low and woody; but farther back it is one continued ridge of high land, which appeared to be barren and rocky. Having passed Point Hillock, we continued standing to the N.N.W., as the land trended, having the advantage of a light moon. At six, we were abreast of a point of land which lies N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., distant eleven miles from Point Hillock, which I named CAPE SANDWICH. Between these two points the land is very high, and the surface is craggy and barren. Cape Sandwich may be known not only by the high craggy land over it, but by a small island which lies east of it, at the distance of a mile, and some others that lie about two leagues to the northward. From Cape Sandwich the land trends W., and afterwards N., forming a fine large bay, which I called ROCKINGHAM BAY, where there appears to be good shelter and good anchorage, but I did not stay to examine it. I kept ranging along the shore to the northward for a cluster of small islands which lie off the northern point of the bay. Between the three outermost of these islands, and those near the shore, I found a channel of about a mile broad, through which I passed; and, upon one of the nearest islands, we saw with our glasses about thirty of the natives, men, women, and children, all standing together, and looking with great attention at the ship,—the first instance of curiosity that we had seen among them. They were all stark naked, with short hair, and of the same complexion with those that we had seen before. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $17^{\circ} 59'$ , and we were abreast of the north point of Rockingham Bay, which bore from us W., at the distance of about two miles. This boundary of the bay is formed by an island of considerable height, which in the chart is distinguished by the name of DUNK ISLE, and which lies so near the shore as not to be easily distinguished from it. Our longitude was  $213^{\circ} 57'$  W.; Cape Sandwich bore S. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., distant nineteen miles; and the northernmost land in sight, N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. Our depth of water for the last ten hours had not been more than sixteen, nor less than seven, fathom. At sunset, the northern extremity of the land bore N. 25 W., and we kept our course N. by W. along the coast, at the distance of between three and four leagues, with an easy sail all night, having from twelve to fifteen fathom water.

At six o'clock in the morning, we were abreast of some small islands, which we called FRANKLAND'S ISLES, and which lie about two leagues distant from the mainland. The most distant point in sight to the northward bore N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., and we thought it was part of the main, but afterwards found it to be an island of considerable height, and about four miles in circuit. Between this island and a point on the main, from which it is distant about two miles, I passed with the ship. At noon, we were in the middle of the channel, and, by observation, in the latitude of  $16^{\circ} 57' S.$ , with twenty fathom water. The point on the main, of which we were now abreast, I called CAPE GRAFTON; its latitude is  $16^{\circ} 57' S.$ , and longitude  $214^{\circ} 6' W.$ ; and the land here, as well as the whole coast for about twenty leagues to the southward, is high, has a rocky surface, and is thinly covered with wood. During the night we had seen several fires, and about noon some people. Having hauled round Cape Grafton, we found the land trend away N.W. by W.; and three miles to the westward of the cape we found a bay, in which we anchored about two miles from the shore, in four fathom water, with an oozy bottom. The east point of the bay bore S.  $74^{\circ} E.$ , the west point S.  $83^{\circ} W.$ , and a low, green, woody island, which lies in the offing, N.  $35^{\circ} E.$  This island, which lies N. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., distant three or four leagues from Cape Grafton, is called in the chart GREEN ISLAND.

As soon as the ship was brought to an anchor, I went ashore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. As my principal view was to procure some fresh water, and as the bottom of the bay was low land covered with mangroves, where it was not probable fresh water was to be found, I went out towards the cape, and found two small streams, which, however, were rendered very difficult of access by the surf and rocks upon the shore. I saw also, as I came round the cape, a small stream of water run over the beach in a sandy cove; but I did not go in with the boat, because I saw that it would not be easy to land. When we got ashore, we found the country everywhere rising into steep rocky hills; and as no fresh water could conveniently be procured, I was unwilling to lose time by going in search of lower land elsewhere. We therefore made the best of our way back to the ship; and about midnight we weighed, and stood to the N.W., having but little wind, with some showers of rain. At four in the morning, the breeze freshened at S. by E., and the weather became fair. We continued steering N.N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. as the land lay, at about three leagues distance, with ten, twelve, and fourteen fathom water. At ten, we hauled off north, in order to get without a small low island, which lay at about two leagues distance from the main, and great part of which at this time, it being high-water, was overflowed. About three leagues to the north-west of this island, close under the mainland, is another island, the land of which rises to a greater height, and which at noon bore from us N.  $55^{\circ} W.$ , distant seven or eight miles. At this time our latitude was  $16^{\circ} 20' S.$ ; Cape Grafton bore S.  $29^{\circ} E.$ , distant forty miles; and the northernmost point of land in sight, N.  $20^{\circ} W.$ : our depth of water was fifteen fathom. Between this point and Cape Grafton, the shore forms a large, but not a very deep bay, which being discovered on Trinity Sunday, I called TRINITY BAY.

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#### CHAPTER III.—DANGEROUS SITUATION OF THE SHIP IN HER COURSE FROM TRINITY BAY TO ENDEAVOUR RIVER.

HITHERTO we had safely navigated this dangerous coast, where the sea in all parts conceals shoals that suddenly project from the shore, and rocks that rise abruptly like a pyramid from the bottom, for an extent of two-and-twenty degrees of latitude, more than one thousand three hundred miles; and therefore hitherto none of the names which distinguish the several parts of the country that we saw, are memorials of distress; but here we became acquainted with misfortune, and we therefore called the point which we had just seen farthest to the northward, CAPE TRIBULATION.

This cape lies in latitude  $16^{\circ} 6' S.$ , and longitude  $214^{\circ} 39' W.$  We steered along the shore N. by W., at the distance of between three and four leagues, having from fourteen to twelve, and ten fathom water: in the offing we saw two islands, which lie in latitude  $16^{\circ} S.$ , and about six or seven leagues from the main. At six in the evening the northernmost land



in sight bore N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., and two low woody islands, which some of us took to be rocks above water, bore N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. At this time we shortened sail, and hauled off shore E.N.E. and N.E. by E. close upon a wind; for it was my design to stretch off all night, as well to avoid the danger we saw ahead, as to see whether any islands lay in the offing, especially as we were now near the latitude assigned to the islands which were discovered by Quiros, and which some geographers, for what reason I know not, have thought fit to join to this land. We had the advantage of a fine breeze, and a clear moonlight night, and in standing off from six till near nine o'clock, we deepened our water from fourteen to twenty-one fathom; but while we were at supper, it suddenly shoaled, and we fell into twelve, ten, and eight fathom, within the space of a few minutes; I immediately ordered everybody to their station, and all was ready to put about and come to an anchor, but meeting at the next cast of the lead with deep water again, we concluded that we had gone over the tail of the shoals which we had seen at sunset, and that all danger was past: before ten we had twenty and one-and-twenty fathom, and this depth continuing, the gentlemen left the deck in great tranquillity, and went to bed; but a few minutes before eleven, the water shallowed at once from twenty to seventeen fathom; and before the lead could be cast again, the ship struck, and remained immoveable, except by the heaving of the surge that beat her against the crags of the rock upon which she lay. In a few moments everybody was upon the deck, with countenances which sufficiently expressed the horrors of our situation. We had stood off the shore three hours and a half, with a pleasant breeze, and therefore knew that we could not be very near it, and we had too much reason to conclude that we were upon a rock of coral, which is more fatal than any other, because the points of it are sharp, and every part of the surface so rough, as to grind away whatever is rubbed against it, even with the gentlest motion. In this situation all the sails were immediately taken in, and the boats hoisted out to examine the depth of water round the ship: we soon discovered that our fears had not aggravated our misfortune, and that the vessel had been lifted over a ledge of the rock, and lay in a hollow within it: in some places there was from three to four fathom, and in others not so many feet. The ship lay with her head to the N.E.; and at the distance of about thirty yards on the starboard side, the water deepened to eight, ten, and twelve fathom. As soon as the long-boat was out, we struck our yards and topmasts, and carried out the stream anchor on the starboard bow, got the coasting-anchor and cable into the boat, and were going to carry it out the same way; but upon sounding a second time round the ship, the water was found to be deepest astern: the anchor, therefore, was carried out from the starboard quarter instead of the starboard bow,—that is, from the stern instead of the head,—and having taken ground, our utmost force was applied to the capstan, hoping that if the anchor did not come home, the ship would be got off; but, to our great misfortune and disappointment, we could not move her: during all this time she continued to beat with great violence against the rock, so that it was with the utmost difficulty that we kept upon our legs; and to complete the scene of distress, we saw by the light of the moon the sheathing-boards from the bottom of the vessel floating away all round her, and at last her false keel, so that every moment was making way for the sea to rush in which was to swallow us up. We had now no chance but to lighten her, and we had lost the opportunity of doing that to the greatest advantage, for unhappily we went on shore just at high water, and by this time it had considerably fallen, so that after she should be lightened so as to draw as much less water as the water had sunk, we should be but in the same situation as at first; and the only alleviation of this circumstance was, that as the tide ebbed the ship settled to the rocks, and was not beaten against them with so much violence. We had indeed some hope from the next tide, but it was doubtful whether she would hold together so long, especially as the rock kept grating her bottom under the starboard bow with such force as to be heard in the fore store-room. This, however, was no time to indulge conjecture, nor was any effort remitted in despair of success: that no time might be lost, the water was immediately started in the hold, and pumped up; six of our guns, being all we had upon the deck, our iron and stone ballast, casks, hoop-staves, oil-jars, decayed stores, and many other things that lay in the way of heavier materials, were thrown overboard with the utmost expedition, every one exerting himself with an alacrity almost approaching to

cheerfulness, without the least repining or discontent ; yet the men were so far impressed with a sense of their situation, that not an oath was heard among them, the habit of profaneness, however strong, being instantly subdued by the dread of incurring guilt when death seemed to be so near.

While we were thus employed day broke upon us, and we saw the land at about eight leagues distance, without any island in the intermediate space, upon which, if the ship should have gone to pieces, we might have been set ashore by the boats, and from which they might have taken us by different turns to the main: the wind, however, gradually died away, and early in the forenoon it was a dead calm ; if it had blown hard the ship must inevitably have been destroyed. At eleven in the forenoon we expected high water, and anchors were got out, and everything made ready for another effort to heave her off if she should float, but to our inexpressible surprise and concern, she did not float by a foot and a half, though we had lightened her near fifty ton ; so much did the day-tide fall short of that in the night. We now proceeded to lighten her still more, and threw overboard everything that it was possible for us to spare : hitherto she had not admitted much water, but as the tide fell, it rushed in so fast, that two pumps, incessantly worked, could scarcely keep her free. At two o'clock she lay heeling two or three streaks to starboard, and the pinnacle, which lay under her bows, touched the ground : we had now no hope but from the tide at midnight, and to prepare for it we carried out our two bower-anchors, one on the starboard quarter, and the other right astern, got the blocks and tackle which were to give us a purchase upon the cables in order, and brought the falls, or ends of them, in abaft, straining them tight, that the next effort might operate upon the ship, and by shortening the length of the cable between that and the anchors, draw her off the ledge upon which she rested, towards the deep water. About five o'clock in the afternoon, we observed the tide begin to rise, but we observed at the same time that the leak increased to a most alarming degree, so that two more pumps were manned, but unhappily only one of them would work. Three of the pumps, however, were kept going, and at nine o'clock the ship righted ; but the leak had gained upon us so considerably, that it was imagined she must go to the bottom as soon as she ceased to be supported by the rock. This was a dreadful circumstance, so that we anticipated the floating of the ship not as an earnest of deliverance, but as an event that would probably precipitate our destruction. We well knew that our boats were not capable of carrying us all on shore, and that when the dreadful crisis should arrive, as all command and subordination would be at an end, a contest for preference would probably ensue, that would increase even the horrors of shipwreck, and terminate in the destruction of us all by the hands of each other ; yet we knew that if any should be left on board to perish in the waves, they would probably suffer less upon the whole than those who should get on shore, without any lasting or effectual defence against the natives, in a country where even nets and fire-arms would scarcely furnish them with food : and where, if they should find the means of subsistence, they must be condemned to languish out the remainder of life in a desolate wilderness, without the possession, or even hope, of any domestic comfort, and cut off from all commerce with mankind, except the naked savages who prowled the desert, and who perhaps were some of the most rude and uncivilised upon the earth.

To those only who have waited in a state of such suspense, death has approached in all his terrors ; and as the dreadful moment that was to determine our fate came on, every one saw his own sensations pictured in the countenances of his companions : however, the capstan and windlass were manned with as many hands as could be spared from the pumps, and the ship floating about twenty minutes after ten o'clock, the effort was made, and she was heaved into deep water. It was some comfort to find that she did not now admit more water than she had done upon the rock ; and though, by the gaining of the leak upon the pumps, there was no less than three feet nine inches water in the hold, yet the men did not relinquish their labour, and we held the water as it were at bay ; but having now endured excessive fatigue of body and agitation of mind for more than four-and-twenty hours, and having but little hope of succeeding at last, they began to flag : none of them could work at the pump more than five or six minutes together, and then, being totally exhausted, they threw themselves down upon the deck, though a stream of water was running over it from



the pumps, between three and four inches deep ; when those who succeeded them had worked their spell, and were exhausted in their turn, they threw themselves down in the same manner, and the others started up again, and renewed their labour ; thus relieving each other till an accident was very near putting an end to their efforts at once. The planking which lines the inside of the ship's bottom is called the ceiling, and between this and the outside planking there is a space of about eighteen inches : the man who till this time had attended the well to take the depth of water, had taken it only to the ceiling, and gave the measure accordingly ; but he being now relieved, the person who came in his stead reckoned the depth to the outside planking, by which it appeared in a few minutes to have gained upon the pumps eighteen inches, the difference between the planking without and within. Upon this, even the bravest was upon the point of giving up his labour with his hope, and in a few minutes everything would have been involved in all the confusion of despair. But this accident, however dreadful in its first consequences, was eventually the cause of our preservation : the mistake was soon detected, and the sudden joy which every man felt upon finding his situation better than his fears had suggested, operated like a charm, and seemed to possess him with a strong belief that scarcely any real danger remained. New confidence and new hope, however founded, inspired new vigour ; and though our state was the same as when the men first began to slacken in their labour through weariness and despondency, they now renewed their efforts with such alacrity and spirit, that before eight o'clock in the morning the leak was so far from having gained upon the pumps, that the pumps had gained considerably upon the leak. Everybody now talked of getting the ship into some harbour as a thing not to be doubted, and as hands could be spared from the pumps, they were employed in getting up the anchors : the stream-anchor and best bower we had taken on board ; but it was found impossible to save the little bower, and therefore it was cut away at a whole cable : we lost also the cable of the stream-anchor among the rocks ; but in our situation these were trifles which scarcely attracted our notice. Our next business was to get up the fore-topmast and fore-yard, and warp the ship to the south-east, and at eleven, having now a breeze from the sea, we once more got under sail and stood for the land.

It was, however, impossible long to continue the labour by which the pumps had been made to gain upon the leak ; and as the exact situation of it could not be discovered, we had no hope of stopping it within. In this situation Mr. Monkhouse, one of my midshipmen, came to me, and proposed an expedient that he had once seen used on board a merchant-ship, which sprung a leak that admitted above four feet water an hour, and which, by this expedient, was brought safely from Virginia to London ; the master having such confidence in it, that he took her out of harbour, knowing her condition, and did not think it worth while to wait till the leak could be otherwise stopped. To this man, therefore, the care of the expedient, which is called fothering the ship, was immediately committed, four or five of the people being appointed to assist him, and he performed it in this manner : he took a lower studdingsail, and having mixed together a large quantity of oakum and wool, chopped pretty small, he stitched it down in handfals upon the sail, as lightly as possible, and over this he spread the dung of our sheep and other filth ; but horse-dung, if we had had it, would have been better. When the sail was thus prepared, it was hauled under the ship's bottom by ropes, which kept it extended, and when it came under the leak, the suction which carried in the water, carried in with it the oakum and wool from the surface of the sail, which in other parts the water was not sufficiently agitated to wash off. By the success of this expedient our leak was so far reduced, that instead of gaining upon three pumps, it was easily kept under with one. This was a new source of confidence and comfort ; the people could scarcely have expressed more joy if they had been already in port ; and their views were so far from being limited to running the ship ashore in some harbour, either of an island or the main, and building a vessel out of her materials to carry us to the East Indies, which had so lately been the utmost object of our hope, that nothing was now thought of but ranging along the shore in search of a convenient place to repair the damage she had sustained, and then prosecuting the voyage upon the same plan as if nothing had happened. Upon this occasion I must observe, both in justice and gratitude to the ship's company, and

the gentlemen on board, that although in the midst of our distress every one seemed to have a just sense of his danger, yet no passionate exclamations or frantic gestures were to be heard or seen; every one appeared to have the perfect possession of his mind; and every one exerted himself to the uttermost, with a quiet and patient perseverance, equally distant from the tumultuous violence of terror, and the gloomy inactivity of despair. In the mean time, having light airs at E.S.E., we got up the main-top-mast and main-yard, and kept edging in for the land, till about six o'clock in the evening, when we came to an anchor in seventeen fathom water, at the distance of seven leagues from the shore, and one from the ledge of rocks upon which we had struck.

This ledge or shoal lies in latitude  $15^{\circ} 45'$  S., and between six and seven leagues from the main. It is not, however, the only shoal on this part of the coast, especially to the northward; and at this time we saw one to the southward, the tail of which we passed over, when we had uneven soundings about two hours before we struck. A part of this shoal is always above water, and has the appearance of white sand: a part also of that upon which we had lain is dry at low water, and in that place consists of sandstones; but all the rest of it is a coral rock.

While we lay at anchor for the night, we found that the ship made about fifteen inches water an hour, from which no immediate danger was to be apprehended; and at six o'clock in the morning, we weighed and stood to the N.W., still edging in for the land with a gentle breeze at S.S.E. At nine we passed close without two small islands that lie in latitude  $15^{\circ} 41'$  S., and about four leagues from the main: to reach these islands had, in the height of our distress, been the object of our hope, or perhaps rather of our wishes, and therefore I called them HOPE ISLANDS. At noon we were about three leagues from the land, and in latitude  $15^{\circ} 37'$  S.; the northernmost part of the main in sight bore N. 30 W.; and Hope Islands extended from S. 30 E. to S. 40 E. In this situation we had twelve fathom water, and several sand-banks without us. At this time the leak had not increased; but that we might be prepared for all events, we got the sail ready for another fothering. In the afternoon, having a gentle breeze at S.E. by E., I sent out the master with two boats, as well to sound ahead of the ship, as to look out for a harbour where we might repair our defects, and put the ship in a proper trim. At three o'clock, we saw an opening that had the appearance of a harbour, and stood off and on while the boats examined it; but they soon found that there was not depth of water in it sufficient for the ship. When it was near sunset, there being many shoals about us, we anchored in four fathom, at the distance of about two miles from the shore, the land extending from N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. to S. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. The pinnacle was still out with one of the mates; but at nine o'clock she returned, and reported, that about two leagues to leeward she had discovered just such a harbour as we wanted, in which there was a sufficient rise of water, and every other convenience that could be desired, either for laying the ship ashore, or heaving her down.

In consequence of this information, I weighed at six o'clock in the morning, and having sent two boats ahead, to lie upon the shoals that we saw in our way, we ran down to the place; but notwithstanding our precaution, we were once in three fathom water. As soon as these shoals were passed, I sent the boats to lie in the channel that led to the harbour, and by this time it began to blow. It was happy for us that a place of refuge was at hand; for we soon found that the ship would not work, having twice missed stays: our situation, however, though it might have been much worse, was not without danger; we were entangled among shoals, and I had great reason to fear being driven to leeward, before the boats could place themselves so as to prescribe our course. I therefore anchored in four fathom, about a mile from the shore, and then made the signal for the boats to come on board. When this was done, I went myself and buoyed the channel, which I found very narrow; the harbour also I found smaller than I expected, but most excellently adapted to our purpose; and it is remarkable, that in the whole course of our voyage we had seen no place which, in our present circumstances, could have afforded us the same relief. At noon, our latitude was  $15^{\circ} 26'$  S. During all the rest of this day, and the whole night, it blew too fresh for us to venture from our anchor and run into the harbour; and for our farther security, we got down the topgallant yards, unbent the mainsail and some of the small sails; got down the fore-



topgallant-mast, and the jib-boom, and spritsail, with a view to lighten the ship forwards as much as possible, in order to come at her leak, which we supposed to be somewhere in that part; for in all the joy of our unexpected deliverance, we had not forgot that at this time there was nothing but a lock of wool between us and destruction. The gale continuing, we kept our station all the 15th. On the 16th, it was somewhat more moderate; and about six o'clock in the morning, we hove the cable short, with a design to get under sail, but were obliged to desist, and veer it out again. It is remarkable that the sea-breeze, which blew fresh when we anchored, continued to do so almost every day while we stayed here; it was calm only while we were upon the rock, except once; and even the gale that afterwards wafted us to the shore, would then certainly have beaten us to pieces. In the evening of the preceding day, we had observed a fire near the beach over against us; and as it would be necessary for us to stay some time in this place, we were not without hope of making an acquaintance with the people. We saw more fires upon the hills to-day, and with our glasses discovered four Indians going along the shore, who stopped and made two fires; but for what purpose it was impossible we should guess.

The scurvy now began to make its appearance among us, with many formidable symptoms. Our poor Indian, Tupia, who had some time before complained that his gums were sore and swelled, and who had taken plentifully of our lemon juice by the surgeon's direction, had now livid spots upon his legs, and other indubitable testimonies that the disease had made a rapid progress, notwithstanding all our remedies, among which the bark had been liberally administered. Mr. Green, our astronomer, was also declining; and these, among other circumstances, embittered the delay which prevented our going ashore.

In the morning of the 17th, though the wind was still fresh, we ventured to weigh, and push in for the harbour; but in doing this we twice ran the ship aground: the first time she went off without any trouble, but the second time she stuck fast. We now got down the fore-yard, fore-top-masts, and booms, and taking them overboard, made a raft of them alongside of the ship. The tide was happily rising, and about one o'clock in the afternoon she floated. We soon warped her into the harbour, and having moored her alongside of a steep beach to the south, we got the anchors, cables, and all the hawsers on shore before night.

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CHAPTER IV.—TRANSACTIONS WHILE THE SHIP WAS REFITTING IN ENDEAVOUR RIVER: A DESCRIPTION OF THE ADJACENT COUNTRY, ITS INHABITANTS, AND PRODUCTIONS.

In the morning of Monday the 18th, a stage was made from the ship to the shore, which was so bold that she floated at twenty feet distance: two tents were also set up, one for the sick, and the other for stores and provisions, which were landed in the course of the day. We also landed all the empty water-casks, and part of the stores. As soon as the tent for the sick was got ready for their reception, they were sent ashore to the number of eight or nine, and the boat was despatched to haul the seine, in hopes of procuring some fish for their refreshment; but she returned without success. In the mean time, I climbed one of the highest hills among those that overlooked the harbour, which afforded by no means a comfortable prospect: the lowland near the river is wholly overrun with mangroves, among which the salt-water flows every tide; and the highland appeared to be everywhere stony and barren. In the mean time, Mr. Banks had also taken a walk up the country, and met with the frames of several old Indian houses, and places where they had dressed shell-fish; but they seemed not to have been frequented for some months. Tupia, who had employed himself in angling, and lived entirely upon what he caught, recovered in a surprising degree; but Mr. Green still continued to be extremely ill.

The next morning I got the four remaining guns out of the hold, and mounted them upon the quarter-deck; I also got a spare anchor and anchor-stock ashore, and the remaining part of the stores and ballast that were in the hold; set up the smith's forge, and employed the armourer and his mate to make nails and other necessities for the repair of the ship. In the afternoon, all the officers' stores and the ground tier of water were got out; so that nothing remained in the fore and main hold, but the coals, and a small quantity of stone ballast. This

day Mr. Banks crossed the river to take a view of the country on the other side : he found it consist principally of sand hills, where he saw some Indian houses, which appeared to have been very lately inhabited. In this walk, he met with vast flocks of pigeons and crows : of the pigeons, which were exceedingly beautiful, he shot several ; but the crows, which were exactly like those in England, were so shy that he could not get within reach of them.

On the 20th, we landed the powder, and got out the stone ballast and wood, which brought the ship's draught of water to eight feet ten inches forward, and thirteen feet abaft ; and this, I thought, with the difference that would be made by trimming the coals aft, would be sufficient ; for I found that the water rose and fell perpendicularly eight feet at the spring-tides : but as soon as the coals were trimmed from over the leak, we could hear the water rush in a little abaft the foremast, about three feet from the keel : this determined me to clear the hold entirely. This evening Mr. Banks observed that in many parts of the inlet there were large quantities of pumice stones, which lay at a considerable distance above high-water mark ; whither they might have been carried either by the freshes or extraordinary high tides, for there could be no doubt but that they came from the sea.

The next morning we went early to work, and by four o'clock in the afternoon had got out all the coals, cast the moorings loose, and warped the ship a little higher up the harbour, to a place which I thought most convenient for laying her ashore, in order to stop the leak. Her draught of water forward was now seven feet nine inches, and abaft thirteen feet six inches. At eight o'clock, it being high-water, I hauled her bow close ashore ; but kept her stern afloat, because I was afraid of neaping her : it was however necessary to lay the whole of her as near the ground as possible.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 22d, the tide left her, and gave us an opportunity to examine the leak, which we found to be at her floor heads, a little before the starboard fore-chains. In this place the rocks had made their way through four planks, and even into the timbers ; three more planks were much damaged, and the appearance of these breaches was very extraordinary : there was not a splinter to be seen, but all was as smooth as if the whole had been cut away by an instrument : the timbers in this place were happily very close, and if they had not, it would have been absolutely impossible to have saved the ship. But after all, her preservation depended upon a circumstance still more remarkable : one of the holes, which was big enough to have sunk us, if we had had eight pumps instead of four, and been able to keep them incessantly going, was in great measure plugged up by a fragment of the rock, which, after having made the wound, was left sticking in it ; so that the water, which at first had gained upon our pumps, was what came in at the interstices, between the stone and the edges of the hole that received it. We found also several pieces of the fothering, which had made their way between the timbers, and in a great measure stopped those parts of the leak which the stone had left open. Upon further examination, we found that, besides the leak, considerable damage had been done to the bottom : great part of the sheathing was gone from under the larboard bow ; a considerable part of the false keel was also wanting ; and these indeed we had seen swim away in fragments from the vessel, while she lay beating against the rock : the remainder of it was in so shattered a condition that it had better have been gone ; and the fore foot and main keel were also damaged, but not so as to produce any immediate danger : what damage she might have received abaft could not yet be exactly known, but we had reason to think it was not much, as but little water made its way into her bottom, while the tide kept below the leak which has already been described. By nine o'clock in the morning the carpenters got to work upon her, while the smiths were busy in making bolts and nails. In the mean time, some of the people were sent on the other side of the water to shoot pigeons for the sick, who at their return reported that they had seen an animal as large as a greyhound, of a slender make, a mouse colour, and extremely swift ; they discovered also many Indian houses, and a fine stream of fresh water.

The next morning, I sent a boat to haul the seine ; but at noon it returned with only three fish, and yet we saw them in plenty leaping about the harbour. This day the carpenter finished the repairs that were necessary on the starboard side ; and at nine o'clock in the evening, we heeled the ship the other way, and hauled her off about two feet for fear of



neaping. This day almost everybody had seen the animal which the pigeon-shooters had brought an account of the day before; and one of the seamen, who had been rambling in the woods, told us at his return, that he verily believed he had seen the devil: we naturally inquired in what form he had appeared, and his answer was in so singular a style that I shall set down his own words: "He was," says John, "as large as a one-gallon keg, and very like it; he had horns and wings, yet he crept so slowly through the grass, that if I had not been *afraid* I might have touched him." This formidable apparition we afterwards discovered to have been a bat; and the bats here must be acknowledged to have a frightful appearance, for they are nearly black, and full as large as a partridge; they have indeed no horns, but the fancy of a man who thought he saw the devil might easily supply that defect.

Early on the 24th, the carpenters began to repair the sheathing under the larboard bow, where we found two planks cut about half through; and in the mean time I sent a party of men, under the direction of Mr. Gore, in search of refreshments for the sick: this party returned about noon, with a few palm cabbages, and a bunch or two of wild plantain; the plantains were the smallest I had ever seen, and the pulp, though it was well tasted, was full of small stones. As I was walking this morning at a little distance from the ship, I saw, myself, one of the animals which had been so often described: it was of a light mouse colour, and in size and shape very much resembling a greyhound; it had a long tail also, which it carried like a greyhound; and I should have taken it for a wild dog, if, instead of running, it had not leapt like a hare or deer: its legs were said to be very slender, and the print of its foot to be like that of a goat; but where I saw it, the grass was so high that the legs were concealed, and the ground was too hard to receive the track. Mr. Banks also had an imperfect view of this animal, and was of opinion that its species was hitherto unknown.

After the ship was hauled ashore, all the water that came into her of course went backwards; so that although she was dry forwards, she had nine feet water abaft: as in this part therefore her bottom could not be examined on the inside, I took the advantage of the tide being out this evening to get the master and two of the men to go under her, and examine her whole larboard side without. They found the sheathing gone about the floor-heads abreast of the mainmast, and part of a plank a little damaged; but all agreed that she had received no other material injury. The loss of her sheathing alone was a great misfortune, as the worm would now be let into her bottom, which might expose us to great inconvenience and danger; but as I knew no remedy for the mischief but heaving her down, which would be a work of immense labour and long time, if practicable at all in our present situation, I was obliged to be content. The carpenters, however, continued to work under her bottom in the evening till they were prevented by the tide; the morning tide did not ebb out far enough to permit them to work at all, for we had only one tolerable high and low tide in four-and-twenty hours, as indeed we had experienced when we lay upon the rock. The position of the ship, which threw the water in her abaft, was very near depriving the world of all the knowledge which Mr. Banks had endured so much labour, and so many risks, to procure; for he had removed the curious collection of plants which he had made during the whole voyage, into the bread-room, which lies in the after-part of the ship, as a place of the greatest security; and nobody having thought of the danger to which laying her head so much higher than the stern would expose them, they were this day found under water. Most of them however were, by indefatigable care and attention, restored to a state of preservation, but some were entirely spoilt and destroyed.

The 25th was employed in filling water and overhauling the rigging; and at low water the carpenters finished the repairs under the larboard bow, and every other place which the tide would permit them to come at: some casks were then lashed under her bows to facilitate her floating; and at night, when it was high water, we endeavoured to heave her off, but without success, for some of the casks that were lashed to her gave way.

The morning of the 26th was employed in getting more casks ready for the same purpose, and in the afternoon we lashed no less than eight-and-thirty under the ship's bottom, but to our great mortification these also proved ineffectual, and we found ourselves reduced to the necessity of waiting till the next spring-tide.

This day, some of our gentlemen who had made an excursion into the woods, brought home the leaves of a plant, which was thought to be the same that in the West Indies is called coco; but upon trial, the roots proved too acrid to be eaten; the leaves however were little inferior to spinage. In the place where these plants were gathered, grew plenty of the cabbage trees which have occasionally been mentioned before, a kind of wild plantain, the fruit of which was so full of stones as scarcely to be eatable; another fruit was also found about the size of a small golden pippin, but flatter, and of a deep purple colour: when first gathered from the tree, it was very hard and disagreeable, but after being kept a few days became soft, and tasted very much like an indifferent damson.

The next morning we began to move some of the weight from the after-part of the ship forward, to ease her; in the mean time the armourer continued to work at the forge, the carpenter was busy in calking the ship, and the men employed in filling water and overhauling the rigging: in the forenoon, I went myself in the pinnace up the harbour, and made several hauls with the seine, but caught only between twenty and thirty fish, which were given to the sick and convalescent.

On the 28th, Mr. Banks went with some of the seamen up the country, to show them the plant which in the West Indies is called Indian kale, and which served us for greens. Tupia had much meliorated the root of the cocos, by giving them a long dressing in his country oven; but they were so small that we did not think them an object for the ship. In their walk they found one tree which had been notched for the convenience of climbing it, in the same manner with those we had seen in Botany Bay: they saw also many nests of white ants, which resemble those of the East Indies, the most pernicious insects in the world. The nests were of a pyramidical figure, from a few inches to six feet high, and very much resembled the stones in England which are said to be monuments of the Druids. Mr. Gore, who was also this day four or five miles up the country, reported that he had seen the footsteps of men, and tracked animals of three or four different sorts, but had not been fortunate enough to see either man or beast.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 29th, I observed, in conjunction with Mr. Green, an emersion of Jupiter's first satellite; the time here was  $2^h 18' 53''$ , which gave the longitude of this place  $214^\circ 42' 30''$  W.: its latitude is  $15^\circ 26'$  S. At break of day, I sent the boat out again with the seine, and, in the afternoon it returned with as much fish as enabled me to give every man a pound and a half. One of my midshipmen, an American, who was this day abroad with his gun, reported that he had seen a wolf, exactly like those which he had been used to see in his own country, and that he had shot at it, but did not kill it\*.

The next morning, encouraged by the success of the day before, I sent the boat again to haul the seine, and another party to gather greens: I sent also some of the young gentlemen to take a plan of the harbour, and went myself upon a hill, which lies over the south point, to take a view of the sea. At this time it was low water, and I saw, with great concern, innumerable sandbanks and shoals lying all along the coast in every direction. The innermost lay about three or four miles from the shore, the outermost extended as far as I could see with my glass, and many of them did but just rise above water. There was some appearance of a passage to the northward, and I had no hope of getting clear but in that direction, for, as the wind blows constantly from the S. E., it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to return back to the southward.

Mr. Gore reported, that he had this day seen two animals like dogs, of a straw colour, that they ran like a hare, and were about the same size. In the afternoon, the people returned from hauling the seine, with still better success than before, for I was now able to distribute two pounds and a half to each man: the greens that had been gathered I ordered to be boiled among the pease, and they made an excellent mess, which, with two copious supplies of fish, afforded us unspeakable refreshment.

The next day, July the 1st, being Sunday, everybody had liberty to go ashore, except

\* This was probably a "dingo," or native dog, the *Warragul* of the aborigines, (*Canis Australasiae*, Dem.) as no species of the wolf is found throughout the country. The dingo is remarkable for its extreme tenacity of life,

some singular instances of which are related by Mr. Bennett, in his *Wanderings in New South Wales*; which may account for the bad success of the American marksman.—Ed.



one from each mess, who were again sent out with the seine. The seine was again equally successful, and the people who went up the country gave an account of having seen several animals, though none of them were to be caught. They saw a fire also about a mile up the river, and Mr. Gore, the second lieutenant, picked up the husk of a cocoa-nut, which had been cast upon the beach, and was full of barnacles: this probably might come from some island to windward, perhaps from the Terra del Espirito Santo of Quiros, as we were now in the latitude where it is said to lie\*. This day the thermometer in the shade rose to 87, which was higher than it had been on any day since we came upon this coast.

Early the next morning, I sent the master in the pinnace out of the harbour, to sound about the shoals in the offing, and look for channel to the northward: at this time we had a breeze from the land, which continued till about nine o'clock, and was the first we had since our coming into the river. At low water we lashed some empty casks under the ship's bows, having some hope that, as the tides were rising, she would float the next high water. We still continued to fish with great success, and at high water we again attempted to heave the ship off, but our utmost efforts were still ineffectual.

The next day at noon, the master returned, and reported, that he had found a passage out to sea between the shoals, and described its situation. The shoals, he said, consisted of coral rocks, many of which were dry at low water, and upon one of which he had been ashore. He found here some cockles of so enormous a size, that one of them was more than two men could eat, and a great variety of other shell-fish, of which he brought us a plentiful supply: in the evening, he had also landed in a bay about three leagues to the northward of our station, where he disturbed some of the natives who were at supper: they all fled with the greatest precipitation at his approach, leaving some fresh sea eggs, and a fire ready kindled behind them, but there was neither house nor hovel near the place. We observed, that although the shoals that lie just within sight of the coast abound with shell-fish, which may be easily caught at low water, yet we saw no such shells about the fireplaces on shore. This day an alligator was seen to swim about the ship for some time, and at high water we made another effort to float her, which happily succeeded: we found however that by lying so long with her head aground and her stern afloat, she had sprung a plank between decks, abreast of the main chains, so that it was become necessary to lay her ashore again.

The next morning was employed in trimming her upon an even keel, and in the afternoon, having warped her over, and waited for high-water, we laid her ashore on the sand-bank on the south side of the river, for the damage she had received already from the great descent of the ground made me afraid to lay her broadside to the shore in the same place from which we had just floated her. I was now very desirous to make another trial to come at her bottom, where the sheathing had been rubbed off; but though she had scarcely four feet water under her when the tide was out, yet that part was not dry.

On the 5th, I got one of the carpenter's crew, a man in whom I could confide, to go down again to the ship's bottom, and examine the place. He reported, that three streaks of the sheathing, about eight feet long, were wanting, and that the main plank had been a little rubbed; this account perfectly agreed with the report of the master, and others, who had been under her bottom before: I had the comfort however to find the carpenter of opinion that this would be of little consequence, and therefore the other damage being repaired, she was again floated at high-water, and moored alongside the beach, where the stores had been deposited; we then went to work to take the stores on board, and put her in a condition for the sea. This day, Mr. Banks crossed to the other side of the harbour, where, as he walked along a sandy beach, he found innumerable fruits, and many of them such as no plants which he had discovered in this country produced: among others were some cocoanuts, which Tupia said had been opened by a kind of crab, which from his description we judged to be the same that the Dutch call *Bears Krabbe*, and which we had not seen in these seas. All the vegetable substances which he found in this place were encrusted with

\* Captain King remarks upon this passage: "From the prevailing winds, it would appear more likely to have drifted from New Caledonia, which island was at that time unknown to Cook: the fresh appearance of the cocoa-nut

seen by us (at Cape Cleveland) renders, however, even this conclusion doubtful. Captain Flinders also found one as far to the south as Shoalwater Bay."

marine productions, and covered with barnacles ; a sure sign that they must have come far by sea, and, as the trade-wind blows right upon the shore, probably from Terra del Espirito Santo, which has been mentioned already.

The next morning, Mr. Banks, with Lieutenant Gore, and three men, set out in a small boat up the river, with a view to spend two or three days in an excursion, to examine the country, and kill some of the animals which had been so often seen at a distance.

On the 7th, I sent the master again out to sound about the shoals, the account which he had brought me of the channel being by no means satisfactory ; and we spent the remainder of this day, and the morning of the next, in fishing, and other necessary occupations.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Banks and his party returned, and gave us an account of their expedition. Having proceeded about three leagues among swamps and mangroves, they went up into the country, which they found to differ but little from what they had seen before : they pursued their course therefore up the river, which at length was contracted into a narrow channel, and was bounded, not by swamps and mangroves, but by steep banks, that were covered with trees of a most beautiful verdure, among which was that which in the West Indies is called Mohoe, or the bark-tree, the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* ; the land within was in general low, and had a thick covering of long grass : the soil seemed to be such as promised great fertility, to any who should plant and improve it. In the course of the day, Tupia saw an animal, which, by his description, Mr. Banks judged to be a wolf : they also saw three other animals, but could neither catch nor kill one of them, and a kind of bat, as large as a partridge, but this also eluded all their diligence and skill. At night, they took up their lodging close to the banks of the river, and made a fire, but the mosquitoes swarmed about them in such numbers, that their quarters were almost untenable ; they followed them into the smoke, and almost into the fire, which, hot as the climate was, they could better endure than the stings of these insects, which were an intolerable torment. The fire, the flies, and the want of a better bed than the ground, rendered the night extremely uncomfortable, so that they passed it, not in sleep, but in restless wishes for the return of day. With the first dawn they set out in search of game, and in a walk of many miles they saw four animals of the same kind, two of which Mr. Banks's greyhound fairly chased, but they threw him out at a great distance, by leaping over the long thick grass, which prevented his running : this animal was observed, not to run upon four legs, but to bound or hop forward upon two, like the *Jerboa*, or *Mus Jaculus*. About noon, they returned to the boat, and again proceeded up the river, which was soon contracted into a fresh-water brook, where, however, the tide rose to a considerable height : as evening approached, it became low-water, and it was then so shallow that they were obliged to get out of the boat and drag her along, till they could find a place in which they might, with some hope of rest, pass the night. Such a place at length offered, and while they were getting the things out of the boat, they observed a smoke at the distance of about a furlong : as they did not doubt but that some of the natives, with whom they had so long and earnestly desired to become personally acquainted, were about the fire, three of the party went immediately towards it, hoping that so small a number would not put them to flight : when they came up to the place, however, they found it deserted, and therefore they conjectured, that before they had discovered the Indians, the Indians had discovered them. They found the fire still burning, in the hollow of an old tree that was become touchwood, and several branches of trees newly broken down, with which children appeared to have been playing : they observed also many footsteps upon the sand, below high-water mark, which were certain indications that the Indians had been recently upon the spot. Several houses were found at a little distance, and some ovens dug in the ground, in the same manner as those of Otahete, in which victuals appeared to have been dressed since the morning, and scattered about them lay some shells of a kind of clam, and some fragments of roots, the refuse of the meal. After regretting their disappointment, they repaired to their quarters, which was a broad sandbank, under the shelter of a bush. Their beds were plantain leaves, which they spread upon the sand, and which were as soft as a mattress ; their cloaks served them for bed-clothes, and some bunches of grass for pillows : with these accommodations they hoped to pass a better night than the last, especially as, to their great comfort, not



a mosquito was to be seen. Here then they lay down, and, such is the force of habit, they resigned themselves to sleep, without once reflecting upon the probability and danger of being found by the Indians in that situation. If this appears strange, let us for a moment reflect, that every danger, and every calamity, after a time, becomes familiar, and loses its effect upon the mind. If it were possible that a man should first be made acquainted with his mortality, or even with the inevitable debility and infirmities of old age, when his understanding had arrived at its full strength, and life was endeared by the enjoyments of youth, and vigour, and health, with what an agony of terror and distress would the intelligence be received! yet, being gradually acquainted with these mournful truths, by insensible degrees, we scarce know when, they lose all their force, and we think no more of the approach of old age and death, than these wanderers of an unknown desert did of a less obvious and certain evil,—the approach of the native savages, at a time when they must have fallen an easy prey to their malice or their fears. And it is remarkable, that the greater part of those who have been condemned to suffer a violent death, have slept the night immediately preceding their execution, though there is perhaps no instance of a person accused of a capital crime having slept the first night of his confinement. Thus is the evil of life in some degree a remedy for itself, and though every man at twenty deprecates fourscore, almost every man is as tenacious of life at fourscore as at twenty; and if he does not suffer under any painful disorder, loses as little of the comforts that remain by reflecting that he is upon the brink of the grave, where the earth already crumbles under his feet, as he did of the pleasures of his better days, when his dissolution, though certain, was supposed to be at a distance.

Our travellers having slept, without once awaking till the morning, examined the river, and finding the tide favoured their return, and the country promised nothing worthy of a farther search, they re-embarked in their boat, and made the best of their way to the ship.

Soon after the arrival of this party, the master also returned, having been seven leagues out to sea; and he was now of opinion that there was no getting out where before he thought there had been a passage. His expedition, however, was by no means without its advantage; for having been a second time upon the rock where he had seen the large cockles, he met with a great number of turtle, three of which he caught, that together weighed seven hundred and ninety-one pounds, though he had no better instrument than a boat-hook.

The next morning, therefore, I sent him out again, with proper instruments for taking them, and Mr. Banks went with him; but the success did not at all answer our expectations; for, by the unaccountable conduct of the officer, not a single turtle was taken, nor could he be persuaded to return: Mr. Banks, however, went ashore upon the reef, where he saw several of the large cockles, and having collected many shells and marine productions, he returned at eleven o'clock at night in his own small boat, the master still continuing with the large one upon the rock. In the afternoon, seven or eight of the natives had appeared on the south side of the river, and two of them came down to the sandy point opposite to the ship; but upon seeing me put off in a boat to speak with them, they all ran away with the greatest precipitation.

As the master continued absent with the boat all night, I was forced to send the second lieutenant for him, early the next morning in the yawl; and soon after four of the natives appeared upon the sandy point, on the north side of the river, having with them a small wooden canoe, with out-riggers: they seemed for some time to be busily employed in striking fish: some of our people were for going over to them in a boat; but this I would by no means permit, repeated experience having convinced me that it was more likely to prevent than procure an interview. I was determined to try what could be done by a contrary method, and accordingly let them alone, without appearing to take the least notice of them: this succeeded so well, that at length two of them came in the canoe within a musket-shot of the ship, and there talked a great deal in a very loud tone: we understood nothing that they said, and therefore could answer their harangue only by shouting, and making all the signs of invitation and kindness that we could devise. During this conference they came insensibly nearer and nearer, holding up their lances, not in a threatening manner, but as if to intimate that if we offered them any injury, they had weapons to revenge it. When they

were almost alongside of us, we threw them some cloth, nails, beads, paper, and other trifles, which they received without the least appearance of satisfaction: at last one of the people happened to throw them a small fish; at this they expressed the greatest joy imaginable, and intimating by signs that they would fetch their companions, immediately paddled away towards the shore. In the mean time, some of our people, and among them Tupia, landed on the opposite side of the river: the canoe, with all the four Indians, very soon returned to the ship, and came quite alongside, without expressing any fear or distrust. We distributed some more presents among them, and soon after they left us, and landed on the same side of the river where our people had gone ashore: every man carried in his hand two lances, and a stick, which is used in throwing them, and advanced to the place where Tupia and the rest of our people were sitting. Tupia soon prevailed upon them to lay down their arms, and come forward without them: he then made signs that they should sit down by him, with which they complied, and seemed to be under no apprehension or constraint: several more of us then going ashore, they expressed some jealousy lest we should get between them and their arms; we took care, however, to show them that we had no such intention, and having joined them, we made them some more presents, as a farther testimony of our goodwill, and our desire to obtain theirs. We continued together, with the utmost cordiality, till dinner-time, and then giving them to understand that we were going to eat, we invited them by signs to go with us: this, however, they declined, and as soon as we left them, they went away in their canoe. One of these men was somewhat above the middle age, the other three were young; they were in general of the common stature, but their limbs were remarkably small; their skin was of the colour of wood-soot, or what would be called a dark chocolate colour; their hair was black, but not woolly; it was short cropped, in some lank, and in others curled. Dampier says that the people whom he saw on the western coast of this country wanted two of their fore teeth, but these had no such defect: some part of their bodies had been painted red, and the upper lip and breast of one of them was painted with streaks of white, which he called *Carbanda*\*; their features were far from disagreeable, their eyes were lively, and their teeth even and white; their voices were soft and tunable, and they repeated many words after us with great facility. In the night, Mr. Gore and the master returned with the long-boat, and brought one turtle and a few shell-fish. The yawl had been left upon the shoal with six men, to make a farther trial for turtle.

The next morning we had another visit from four of the natives; three of them had been with us before, but the fourth was a stranger, whose name, as we learnt from his companions who introduced him, was YAPARICO. This gentleman was distinguished by an ornament of a very striking appearance: it was the bone of a bird, nearly as thick as a man's finger, and five or six inches long, which he had thrust into a hole, made in the gristle that divides the nostrils; of this we had seen one instance, and only one, in New Zealand; but, upon examination, we found that among all these people this part of the nose was perforated, to receive an ornament of the same kind: they had also holes in their ears, though nothing was then hanging to them, and had bracelets upon the upper part of their arms, made of platted hair, so that, like the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, they seem to be fond of ornament, though they are absolutely without apparel; and one of them, to whom I had given part of an old shirt, instead of throwing it over any part of his body, tied it as a fillet round his head. They brought with them a fish, which they gave us, as we supposed, in return for the fish that we had given them the day before. They seemed to be much pleased, and in no haste to leave us; but seeing some of our gentlemen examine their canoe with great curiosity and attention, they were alarmed, and jumping immediately into it, paddled away without speaking a word.

About two the next morning, the yawl, which had been left upon the shoal, returned with

\* This mode of painting is a sign of mourning. The practice of striking out one or more of the front teeth on arriving at the age of puberty, and being admitted into the society of men, is still prevalent among many of the tribes, but does not appear ever to have been universal,

nor has the origin of the practice been accounted for. It is probably regarded as a propitiatory sacrifice to some supernatural power, whose evil influence is dreaded; such as their *Buckee-buckee*, or devil-devil, a spirit they are in great fear of.—ED.



three turtles and a large skate. As it seemed now probable that this fishery might be prosecuted with advantage, I sent her out again after breakfast, for a further supply. Soon after, three Indians ventured down to Tupia's tent, and were so well pleased with their reception, that one of them went with the canoe to fetch two others whom we had never seen: when he returned, he introduced the strangers by name, a ceremony which, upon such occasions, was never omitted. As they had received the fish that was thrown into their canoe, when they first approached the ship, with so much pleasure, some fish was offered to them now, and we were greatly surprised to see that it was received with the greatest indifference: they made signs, however, to some of the people that they should dress it for them, which was immediately done; but after eating a little of it, they threw the rest to Mr. Banks's dog. They staid with us all the forenoon, but would never venture above twenty yards from their canoe. We now perceived that the colour of their skin was not so dark as it appeared, what we had taken for their complexion being the effects of dirt and smoke, in which we imagined they contrived to sleep, notwithstanding the heat of the climate, as the only means in their power to keep off the mosquitoes. Among other things that we had given them when we first saw them were some medals, which we had hung round their necks by a riband; and these ribands were so changed by smoke, that we could not easily distinguish of what colour they had been: this incident led us more narrowly to examine the colour of their skin. While these people were with us, we saw two others on the point of land that lay on the opposite side of the river, at the distance of about two hundred yards, and by our glasses discovered them to be a woman and a boy; the woman, like the rest, being stark naked. We observed that all of them were remarkably clean-limbed, and exceedingly active and nimble. One of these strangers had a necklace of shells, very prettily made, and a bracelet upon his arm, formed of several strings, so as to resemble what in England is called gymp: both of them had a piece of bark tied over the forehead, and were disfigured by the bone in the nose. We thought their language more harsh than that of the islanders in the South Sea, and they were continually repeating the word *chercau*, which we imagined to be a term expressing admiration, by the manner in which it was uttered: they also cried out, when they saw anything new, *cher, tut, tut, tut, tut!* which probably had a similar signification. Their canoe was not above ten feet long, and very narrow, but it was fitted with an outrigger, much like those of the islands, though in every respect very much inferior: when it was in shallow water, they set it on with poles; and when in deep, they worked it with paddles about four feet long: it contained just four people; so that the people who visited us to-day went away at two turns. Their lances were like those that we had seen in Botany Bay, except that they had but a single point, which in some of them was the sting of the ray, and barbed with two or three sharp bones of the same fish: it was indeed a most terrible weapon, and the instrument which they used in throwing it seemed to be formed with more art than any we had seen before. About twelve o'clock next day the yawl returned with another turtle, and a large sting-ray, and in the evening was sent out again.

The next morning two of the Indians came on board, but, after a short stay, went along the shore, and applied themselves with great diligence to the striking of fish. Mr. Gore, who went out this day with his gun, had the good fortune to kill one of the animals which had been so much the subject of our speculation: an idea of it will best be conceived by the cut, *Kanguroo*, without which the most accurate verbal description would answer very little purpose, as it has not similitude enough to any animal already known to admit of illustration by reference. In form, it is most like the Jerboa, which it also resembles in its motion, as has been observed already; but it greatly differs in size, the Jerboa not being larger than a common rat, and this animal, when full grown, being as big as a sheep: this individual was a young one, much under its full growth, weighing only thirty-eight pounds. The head, neck, and shoulders are very small in proportion to the other parts of the body; the tail is nearly as long as the body, thick near the rump, and tapering towards the end: the fore-legs of this individual were only eight inches long, and the hind-legs two-and-twenty: its progress is by successive leaps or hops, of a great length, in an erect posture; the fore-legs are kept bent close to the breast, and seemed to be of use only for

digging : the skin is covered with a short fur, of a dark mouse or grey colour, excepting the head and ears, which bear a slight resemblance to those of a hare. This animal is called by the natives *Kanguroo* \*.

The next day our kanguroo was dressed for dinner, and proved most excellent meat ; we might now indeed be said to fare sumptuously every day ; for we had turtle in great plenty, and we all agreed that they were much better than any we had tasted in England, which we imputed to their being eaten fresh from the sea, before their natural fat had been wasted, or their juices changed by a diet and situation so different from what the sea affords them, as garbage and a tub. Most of those that we caught here were of the kind called green turtle, and weighed from two to three hundred weight, and when these were killed, they were always found to be full of turtle grass, which our naturalists took to be a kind of *Confervea* : two of them were logger-heads, the flesh of which was much less delicious, and in their stomachs nothing was to be found but shells.



KANGUROO.

In the morning of the 16th, while the people were employed as usual in getting the ship ready for the sea, I climbed one of the hills on the north side of the river, from which I had an extensive view of the inland country, and found it agreeably diversified by hills, valleys, and large plains, which in many places were richly covered with wood. This evening we observed an emersion of Jupiter's first satellite, which gave  $214^{\circ} 53' 45''$  of longitude. The observation which was made on the 29th of June gave  $214^{\circ} 42' 30''$ , the mean is  $214^{\circ} 48' 7\frac{1}{2}''$ , the longitude of this place west of Greenwich.

On the 17th, I sent the master and one of the mates in the pinnace to look for a channel to the northward ; and I went myself with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander into the woods on the other side of the water. Tupia, who had been thither by himself, reported that he had seen three Indians who had given him some roots about as thick as a man's finger, in shape not much unlike a radish, and of a very agreeable taste. This induced us to go over, hoping that we should be able to improve our acquaintance with the natives ; in a very little time we discovered four of them in a canoe, who, as soon as they saw us come ashore, and though they were all strangers, walked up to us without any signs of suspicion or fear. Two of these had necklaces of shells, which we could not persuade them to part with for anything we could give them : we presented them, however, with some beads, and after a short stay they departed. We attempted to follow them, hoping that they would conduct us to some place where we should find more of them, and have an opportunity of seeing their women ; but they made us understand, by signs, that they did not desire our company.

At eight o'clock the next morning, we were visited by several of the natives, who were now become quite familiar. One of them, at our desire, threw his lance, which was about eight feet long : it flew with a swiftness and steadiness that surprised us, and though it was never more than four feet from the ground, it entered deeply into a tree at fifty paces' distance. After this they ventured on board, where I left them, to all appearance much

\* This seems to have been a mistake. See note page 269.—Ed.



entertained, and went again with Mr. Banks to take a view of the country ; but chiefly to indulge an anxious curiosity by looking round us upon the sea, of which our wishes almost persuaded us we had formed an idea more disadvantageous than the truth. After having walked about seven or eight miles along the shore to the northward, we ascended a very high hill, and were soon convinced that the danger of our situation was at least equal to our apprehensions ; for in whatever direction we turned our eyes, we saw rocks and shoals without number, and no passage out to sea but through the winding channels between them, which could not be navigated without the last degree of difficulty and danger. We returned therefore to the ship, not in better spirits than when we left it : we found several natives still on board, and we were told that the turtles, of which we had no less than twelve upon the deck, had fixed their attention more than anything else in the ship.

On the 19th, in the morning, we were visited by ten of the natives, the greater part from the other side of the river, where we saw six or seven more, most of them women, and, like all the rest of the people we had seen in this country, they were stark naked. Our guests brought with them a greater number of lances than they had ever done before, and having laid them up in a tree, they set a man and a boy to watch them : the rest then came on board, and we soon perceived that they had determined to get one of our turtle, which was probably as great a dainty to them as to us. They first asked us by signs to give them one ; and being refused, they expressed, both by looks and gestures, great disappointment and anger. At this time we happened to have no victuals dressed, but I offered one of them some biscuit, which he snatched and threw overboard with great disdain. One of them renewed his request to Mr. Banks, and upon a refusal stamped with his foot, and pushed him from him in a transport of resentment and indignation. Having applied by turns to almost every person who appeared to have any command in the ship, without success, they suddenly seized two of the turtles and dragged them towards the side of the ship where their canoe lay : our people soon forced them out of their hands, and replaced them with the rest. They would not however relinquish their enterprise, but made several other attempts of the same kind, in all which being equally disappointed, they suddenly leaped into their canoe in a rage, and began to paddle towards the shore. At the same time, I went into the boat with Mr. Banks and five or six of the ship's crew, and we got ashore before them, where many more of our people were already engaged in various employments. As soon as they landed, they seized their arms, and before we were aware of their design, they snatched a brand from under a pitch-kettle which was boiling, and making a circuit to the windward of the few things we had on shore, they set fire to the grass in their way, with surprising quickness and dexterity : the grass, which was five or six feet high, and as dry as stubble, burnt with amazing fury ; and the fire made a rapid progress towards a tent of Mr. Banks's, which had been set up for Tupia when he was sick, taking in its course a sow and pigs, one of which it scorched to death. Mr. Banks leaped into a boat, and fetched some people from on board, just time enough to save his tent, by hauling it down upon the beach ; but the smith's forge, at least such part of it as would burn, was consumed. While this was doing, the Indians went to a place at some distance, where several of our people were washing, and where our nets, among which was the seine and a great quantity of linen, were laid out to dry ; here they again set fire to the grass, entirely disregarding both threats and entreaties. We were therefore obliged to discharge a musket, loaded with small shot, at one of them, which drew blood at the distance of about forty yards, and thus putting them to flight, we extinguished the fire at this place before it had made much progress ; but where the grass had been first kindled, it spread into the woods to a great distance. As the Indians were still in sight, I fired a musket, charged with ball, abreast of them among the mangroves, to convince them that they were not yet out of our reach : upon hearing the ball they quickened their pace, and we soon lost sight of them. We thought they would now give us no more trouble ; but soon after we heard their voices in the woods, and perceived that they came nearer and nearer. I set out, therefore, with Mr. Banks and three or four more to meet them. When our parties came in sight of each other, they halted, except one old man, who came forward to meet us : at length he stopped, and having uttered some words, which we were very sorry we could not understand, he went back to his companions, and

the whole body slowly retreated. We found means, however, to seize some of their darts, and continued to follow them about a mile: we then sat down upon some rocks, from which we could observe their motions, and they also sat down at about a hundred yards' distance. After a short time, the old man again advanced towards us, carrying in his hand a lance without a point: he stopped several times, at different distances, and spoke; we answered by beckoning, and making such signs of amity as we could devise; upon which the messenger of peace, as we supposed him to be, turned and spoke aloud to his companions, who then set up their lances against a tree, and advanced towards us in a friendly manner: when they came up, we returned the darts or lances that we had taken from them, and we perceived with great satisfaction that this rendered the reconciliation complete. We found in this party four persons whom we had never seen before, who as usual were introduced to us by name; but the man who had been wounded in the attempt to burn our nets and linen was not among them; we knew, however, that he could not be dangerously hurt, by the distance at which the shot reached him. We made all of them presents of such trinkets as we had about us, and they walked back with us towards the ship. As we went along, they told us, by signs, that they would not set fire to the grass any more; and we distributed among them some musket-balls, and endeavoured to make them understand their use and effect. When they came abreast of the ship, they sat down, but could not be prevailed upon to come on board; we therefore left them, and in about two hours they went away, soon after which we perceived the woods on fire at about two miles' distance. If this accident had happened a very little while sooner, the consequence might have been dreadful; for our powder had been aboard but a few days, and the store-tent, with many valuable things which it contained, had not been removed many hours. We had no idea of the fury with which grass would burn in this hot climate, nor consequently of the difficulty of extinguishing it; but we determined that if it should ever again be necessary for us to pitch our tents in such a situation, our first measure should be to clear the ground round us.

In the afternoon, we got everything on board the ship, new berthed her, and let her swing with the tide; and at night the master returned with the discouraging account that there was no passage for the ship to the northward.

The next morning, at low water, I went and sounded and buoyed the bar, the ship being now ready for sea. We saw no Indians this day, but all the hills round us for many miles were on fire, which at night made a most striking and beautiful appearance.

The 21st passed without our getting sight of any of the inhabitants, and, indeed, without a single incident worth notice. On the 22nd we killed a turtle for the day's provision, upon opening which we found a wooden harpoon or turtle-peg, about as thick as a man's finger, near fifteen inches long, and bearded at the end, such as we had seen among the natives, sticking through both shoulders: it appeared to have been struck a considerable time, for the wound had perfectly healed up over the weapon.

Early in the morning of the 23rd I sent some people into the country to gather a supply of the greens which have been before mentioned by the name of Indian kale; one of them having straggled from the rest, suddenly fell in with four Indians, three men and a boy, whom he did not see till, by turning short in the wood, he found himself among them. They had kindled a fire, and were broiling a bird of some kind, and part of a kangaroo, the remainder of which, and a cockatoo, hung at a little distance upon a tree. The man, being unarmed, was at first greatly terrified; but he had the presence of mind not to run away, judging, very rightly, that he was most likely to incur danger by appearing to apprehend it; on the contrary, he went and sat down by them, and, with an air of cheerfulness and good-humour, offered them his knife, the only thing he had about him which he thought would be acceptable to them; they received it, and having handed it from one to the other, they gave it him again; he then made an offer to leave them, but this they seemed not disposed to permit; still, however, he dissembled his fears, and sat down again; they considered him with great attention and curiosity, particularly his clothes, and then felt his hands and face, and satisfied themselves that his body was of the same texture with their own. They treated him with the greatest civility, and having kept him about half an hour, they made signs that he might depart: he did not wait for a second dismissal, but when



he left them, not taking the direct way to the ship, they came from their fire and directed him, so that they well knew whence he came.

In the mean time, Mr. Banks, having made an excursion on the other side of the river to gather plants, found the greatest part of the cloth that had been given to the Indians lying in a heap together, probably as useless lumber, not worth carrying away; and perhaps, if he had sought further, he might have found the other trinkets; for they seemed to set very little value upon anything we had, except our turtle, which was a commodity that we were least able to spare.

The blowing weather, which prevented our attempt to get out to sea, still continuing, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went out again on the 24th to see whether any new plant could be picked up: they traversed the woods all day without success; but as they were returning through a deep valley, the sides of which, though almost as perpendicular as a wall, were covered with trees and bushes, they found lying upon the ground several marking nuts, the *Anacardium orientale*; these put them upon a new scent, and they made a most diligent search after the tree that bore them, which perhaps no European botanist ever saw; but to their great mortification they could not find it: so that, after spending much time, and cutting down four or five trees, they returned quite exhausted with fatigue to the ship.

On the 25th, having made an excursion up the river, I found a canoe belonging to our friends the Indians, whom we had not seen since the affair of the turtle; they had left it tied to some mangroves, about a mile distant from the ship, and I could see by their fires that they were retired at least six miles directly inland.

As Mr. Banks was again gleaning the country for his Natural History, on the 26th he had the good fortune to take an animal of the Opossum tribe: it was a female, and with it he took two young ones: it was found much to resemble the remarkable animal of the kind, which Mons. de Buffon has described in his Natural History by the name of *Phalanger*, but it was not the same. Mons. Buffon supposes this tribe to be peculiar to America, but in this he is certainly mistaken; and, probably, as Pallas has observed in his Zoology, the *Phalanger* itself is a native of the East Indies, as the animal which was caught by Mr. Banks resembled it in the extraordinary conformation of the feet, in which it differs from animals of every other tribe.

On the 27th, Mr. Gore shot a kangaroo, which, with the skin, entrails, and head, weighed eighty-four pounds. Upon examination, however, we found that this animal was not at its full growth, the innermost grinders not being yet formed. We dressed it for dinner the next day, but, to our great disappointment, we found it had a much worse flavour than that we had eaten before.

The wind continued in the same quarter, and with the same violence, till five o'clock in the morning of the 29th, when it fell calm; soon after a light breeze sprung up from the land, and it being about two hours' ebb, I sent a boat to see what water was upon the bar; in the mean time we got the anchor up, and made all ready to put to sea. But when the boat came back, the officer reported that there was only thirteen feet water upon the bar, which was six inches less than the ship drew. We were therefore obliged to come to, and the sea-breeze setting in again about eight o'clock, we gave up all hope of sailing that day.

We had fresh gales at S.E., with hazy weather and rain, till two in the morning of the 31st, when the weather being something more moderate, I had thoughts of trying to warp the ship out of the harbour; but upon going out myself first in the boat, I found it still blow too fresh for the attempt. During all this time the pinnace and yawl continued to ply the net and hook with tolerable success; sometimes taking a turtle, and frequently bringing in from two to three hundred weight of fish.

On the 1st of August the carpenter examined the pumps, and, to our great mortification, found them all in a state of decay, owing, as he said, to the sap having been left in the wood; one of them was so rotten, as, when hoisted up, to drop to pieces, and the rest were little better; so that our chief trust was now in the soundness of our vessel, which happily did not admit more than one inch of water in an hour.

At six o'clock in the morning of Friday, the 3rd, we made another unsuccessful attempt to warp the ship out of the harbour; but at five o'clock in the morning of the 4th, our efforts had a better effect, and about seven we got once more under sail, with a light air from the land, which soon died away, and was followed by the sea-breezes from S.E. by S., with which we stood off to sea E. by N., having the pinnace a-head, which was ordered to keep sounding continually. The yawl had been sent to the turtle bank, to take up the net which had been left there; but as the wind freshened, we got out before her. A little before noon we anchored in fifteen fathom water, with a sandy bottom; for I did not think it safe to run in among the shoals till I had well viewed them at low water from the mast-head, which might determine me which way to steer; for, as yet, I was in doubt whether I should beat back to the southward, round all the shoals, or seek a passage to the eastward or the northward, all which at present appeared to be equally difficult and dangerous. When we were at anchor, the harbour from which we sailed bore S. 70 W., distant about five leagues; the northernmost point of the main in sight, which I named CAPE BEDFORD, and which lies in latitude 15° 16' S., longitude 214° 45' W., bore N. 20 W., distant three leagues and a half; but to the N.E. of this cape we could see land which had the appearance of two high islands: the turtle banks bore east, distant one mile: our latitude, by observation, was 15° 32' S., and our depth of water in standing off from the land was from three and a half to fifteen fathom.

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CHAPTER V.—DEPARTURE FROM ENDEAVOUR RIVER; A PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF THE HARBOUR THERE IN WHICH THE SHIP WAS REFITTED; THE ADJACENT COUNTRY, AND SEVERAL ISLANDS NEAR THE COAST.—THE RANGE FROM ENDEAVOUR RIVER TO THE NORTHERN EXTREMITY OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE DANGERS OF THAT NAVIGATION.

To the harbour which we had now left, I gave the name of ENDEAVOUR River. It is only a small bar harbour, or creek, which runs in a winding channel three or four leagues inland, and at the head of which there is a small brook of fresh water. There is not depth of water for shipping above a mile within the bar, and at this distance only on the north side, where the bank is so steep for near a quarter of a mile that a ship may lie afloat at low water, so near the shore as to reach it with a stage, and the situation is extremely convenient for heaving down; but at low water, the depth upon the bar is not more than nine or ten feet, nor more than seventeen or eighteen at the height of the tide; the difference between high and low water at spring-tides being about nine feet. At the new and full of the moon, it is high water between nine and ten o'clock. It must also be remembered, that this part of the coast is so barricaded with shoals as to make the harbour still more difficult of access; the safest approach is from the southward, keeping the main land close upon the board all the way. Its situation may always be found by the latitude, which has been very accurately laid down. Over the south point is some high land, but the north point is formed by a low sandy beach, which extends about three miles to the northward, where the land begins again to be high.

The chief refreshment that we procured here was turtle; but as they were not to be had without going five leagues out to sea, and the weather was frequently tempestuous, we did not abound with this dainty. What we caught, as well as the fish, was always equally divided among us all by weight, the meanest person on board having the same share as myself; and I think every commander, in such a voyage as this, will find it his interest to follow the same rule. In several parts of the sandy beaches, and sand-hills near the sea, we found purslain, and a kind of bean that grows upon a stalk, which creeps along the ground. The purslain we found very good when it was boiled; and the beans are not to be despised, for we found them of great service to our sick. The best greens, however, that could be procured here were the tops of the cocos, which have been mentioned already, as known in the West Indies by the name of *Indian kale*: these were, in our opinion, not much inferior to spinnage, which in taste they somewhat resemble; the roots, indeed, are not good, but they might probably be meliorated by proper cultivation. They are found here chiefly in



boggy ground. The few cabbage-palms that we met with were in general small, and yielded so little cabbage that they were not worth seeking.

Besides the kangaroo, and the opossum, that have been already mentioned, and a kind of polecat, there are wolves upon this part of the coast, if we were not deceived by the tracks upon the ground, and several species of serpents: some of the serpents are venomous, and some harmless. There are no tame animals here except dogs, and of these we saw but two or three, which frequently came about the tents to pick up the scraps and bones that happened to lie scattered near them. There does not, indeed, seem to be many of any animal, except the kangaroo; we scarcely saw any other above once, but this we met with almost every time we went into the woods. Of land fowls, we saw crows, kites, hawks; cockatoos of two sorts, one white and the other black; a very beautiful kind of loriquets, some parrots, pigeons of two or three sorts, and several small birds not known in Europe. The water-fowls are, herons, whistling ducks—which perch, and, I believe, roost upon trees,—wild geese, curlews, and a few others; but these do not abound. The face of the country, which has been occasionally mentioned before, is agreeably diversified by hill and valley, lawn and wood. The soil of the hills is hard, dry, and stony, yet it produces coarse grass besides wood. The soil of the plains and valleys is in some places sand, and in some, clay; in some also it is rocky and stony, like the hills; in general, however, it is well clothed, and has at least the appearance of fertility. The whole country, both hill and valley, wood and plain, abounds with ant-hills, some of which are six or eight feet high, and twice as much in circumference. The trees here are not of many sorts: the gum-tree, which we found on the southern part of the coast, is the most common, but here it is not so large. On each side of the river, through its whole course, there are mangroves in great numbers, which in some places extend a mile within the coast. The country is in all parts well watered, there being several fine rivulets at a small distance from each other, but none in the place where we lay,—at least not during the time we were there, which was the dry season; we were, however, well supplied with water by springs which were not far off.

In the afternoon of the 4th, we had a gentle breeze at S.E., and clear weather; but as I did not intend to sail till the morning, I sent all the boats to the reef to get what turtle and shell-fish they could. At low-water I went up to the mast-head, and took a view of the shoals, which made a very threatening appearance: I could see several at a remote distance, and part of many of them was above water. The sea appeared most open to the north-east of the turtle reef, and I came to a resolution to stretch out that way close upon a wind, because, if we should find no passage, we could always return the way we went. In the evening, the boats brought in a turtle, a sting-ray, and as many large cockles as came to about a pound and a half a man, for in each of them there was not less than two pounds of meat. In the night, also, we caught several sharks, which, though not a dainty, were an acceptable increase of our fresh provision.

In the morning I waited till half ebb before I weighed, because at that time the shoals begin to appear, but the wind then blew so hard that I was obliged to remain at anchor: in the afternoon, however, the gale becoming more moderate, we got under sail, and stood out upon a wind N. E. by E., leaving the turtle reef to windward, and having the pinnacle sounding a-head. We had not kept this course long, before we discovered shoals before us, and upon both the bows; and at half an hour after four, having run about eight miles, the pinnacle made the signal for shoal water, where we little expected it: upon this we tacked, and stood on and off, while the pinnacle stretched farther to the eastward, and night approaching, I came to an anchor in twenty fathom water, with a muddy bottom. Endeavour River then bore S. 52 W.; Cape Bedford W. by N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N., distant five leagues; the northernmost land in sight, which had the appearance of an island N.; and a shoal, a small sandy part of which appeared above water, bore N.E., distant between two and three miles: in standing off from turtle reef to this place, we had from fourteen to twenty fathom water, but when the pinnacle was about a mile farther to the E. N. E. there was no more than four or five feet water, with rocky ground; and yet this did not appear to us in the ship. In the morning of the 6th we had a strong gale, so that instead of weighing, we were obliged to veer away more cable, and strike our top-gallant yards. At low water, myself, with

several of the officers, kept a look-out at the mast-head, to see if any passage could be discovered between the shoals, but nothing was in view except breakers, extending from the S. round by the E. as far as N. W., and out to sea beyond the reach of our sight; these breakers, however, did not appear to be caused by one continued shoal, but by several which lay detached from each other: on that which lay farthest to the eastward the sea broke very high, which made me think it was the outermost, for upon many of these within, the breakers were inconsiderable, and from about half ebb to half flood, they were not to be seen at all, which makes sailing among them still more dangerous, especially as the shoals here consist principally of coral rocks, which are as steep as a wall; upon some of them, however, and generally at the north end, there are patches of sand, which are covered only at high water, and which are to be discerned at some distance. Being now convinced that there was no passage to sea, but through the labyrinth formed by these shoals, I was altogether at a loss which way to steer, when the weather should permit us to get under sail. It was the master's opinion, that we should beat back the way we came, but this would have been an endless labour, as the wind blew strongly from that quarter, almost without intermission; on the other hand, if no passage could be found to the northward, we should be compelled to take that measure at last. These anxious deliberations engaged us till eleven o'clock at night, when the ship drove, and obliged us to veer away to a cable and one-third, which brought her up; but in the morning, the gale increasing, she drove again, and we therefore let go the small bower, and veered away to a whole cable upon it, and two cables on the other anchors, yet she still drove, though not so fast; we then got down top-gallant masts, and struck the yards and top-masts close down, and at last had the satisfaction to find that she rode. Cape Bedford now bore W. S. W. distant three leagues and a half, and in this situation we had shoals to the eastward, extending from the S. E. by S. to the N. N. W., the nearest of which was about two miles distant. As the gale continued, with little remission, we rode till seven o'clock in the morning of the 10th, when, it being more moderate, we weighed, and stood in for the land, having at length determined to seek a passage along the shore to the northward, still keeping the boat ahead: during our run in we had from nineteen to twelve fathom: after standing in about an hour, we edged away for three small islands that lay N. N. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., three leagues from Cape Bedford, which the master had visited while we were in port. At nine o'clock we were abreast of them, and between them and the main: between us and the main there was another low island, which lies N. N. W. four miles from the three islands; and in this channel we had fourteen fathom water. The northernmost point of land in sight now bore N. N. W.  $^1$  W., distant about two leagues. Four or five leagues to the north of this head-land we saw three islands, near which lay some that were still smaller, and we could see the shoals and reefs without us, extending to the northward, as far as these islands: between these reefs and the head-land we directed our course, leaving to the eastward a small island, which lies N. by E., distant four miles from the three islands. At noon we were got between the head-land and the three islands: from the head-land we were distant two leagues, and from the islands four; our latitude, by observation, was  $14^{\circ} 51'$ . We now thought we saw a clear opening before us, and hoped that we were once more out of danger; in this hope, however, we soon found ourselves disappointed, and for that reason I called the head-land CAPE FLATTERY. It lies in latitude  $14^{\circ} 56'$  S., longitude  $214^{\circ} 43'$  W., and is a lofty promontory, making next the sea in two hills, which have a third behind them, with low sandy ground on each side: it may however be still better known by the three islands out at sea: the northernmost and largest lies about five leagues from the cape, in the direction of N. N. E. From Cape Flattery the land trends away N. W., and N. W. by W. We steered along the shore N. W. by W. till one o'clock, for what we thought the open channel, when the petty officer at the mast-head cried out that he saw land ahead, extending quite round to the islands that lay without us, and a large reef between us and them: upon this I ran up to the mast-head myself, from whence I very plainly saw the reef, which was now so far to windward, that we could not weather it, but the land ahead, which he had supposed to be the main, appeared to me to be only a cluster of small islands. As soon as I got down from the mast-head, the master and some others went up, who all insisted that the land



ahead was not islands, but the main, and to make their report still more alarming, they said that they saw breakers all round us. In this dilemma we hauled upon a wind in for the land, and made the signal for the boat that was sounding ahead to come on board, but as she was far to leeward, we were obliged to edge away to take her up, and soon after we came to an anchor, under a point of the main, in somewhat less than five fathom, and at about the distance of a mile from the shore. Cape Flattery now bore S. E., distant three leagues and a half. As soon as the ship was at anchor, I went ashore upon the point, which is high, and afforded me a good view of the sea-coast, trending away N.W. by W. eight or ten leagues, which, the weather not being very clear, was as far as I could see. Nine or ten small low islands, and some shoals, appeared off the coast; I saw also some large shoals between the main and the three high islands, without which I was clearly of opinion there were more islands, and not any part of the main. Except the point I was now upon, which I called POINT LOOK-OUT, and Cape Flattery, the main land, to the northward of Cape Bedford, is low, and chequered with white sand and green bushes, for ten or twelve miles inland, beyond which it rises to a considerable height. To the northward of Point Look-out the coast appeared to be shoal and flat for a considerable distance, which did not encourage the hope that the channel we had hitherto found in with the land would continue. Upon this point, which was narrow, and consisted of the finest white sand we had ever seen, we discovered the footsteps of people, and we saw also smoke and fire at a distance up the country.

In the evening I returned to the ship, and resolved the next morning to visit one of the high islands in the offing, from the top of which, as they lay five leagues out to sea, I hoped to discover more distinctly the situation of the shoals, and the channel between them.

In the morning therefore of the 11th I set out in the pinnace, accompanied by Mr. Banks, (whose fortitude and curiosity made him a party in every expedition,) for the northernmost and largest of the three islands, and at the same time I sent the master in the yawl to leeward, to sound between the low islands and the main. In my way I passed over a reef of coral rock and sand, which lies about two leagues from the island, and I left another to leeward, which lies about three miles from it: on the north part of the reef, to the leeward, there is a low sandy island, with trees upon it; and upon the reef which we passed over, we saw several turtle: we chased one or two, but having little time to spare, and the wind blowing fresh, we did not take any.

About one o'clock we reached the island, and immediately ascended the highest hill, with a mixture of hope and fear, proportioned to the importance of our business, and the uncertainty of the event. When I looked round, I discovered a reef of rocks lying between two and three leagues without the islands, and extending in a line N.W. and S.E. farther than I could see, upon which the sea broke in a dreadful surf; this, however, made me think that there were no shoals beyond them, and I conceived hopes of getting without these, as I perceived several breaks or openings in the reef, and deep water between that and the islands. I continued upon this hill till sunset, but the weather was so hazy during the whole time, that I came down much disappointed. After reflecting upon what I had seen, and comparing the intelligence I had gained with what I expected, I determined to stay upon the island all night, hoping that the morning might be clearer, and afford me a more distinct and comprehensive view. We therefore took up our lodging under the shelter of a bush which grew upon the beach, and at three in the morning, having sent the pinnace with one of the mates whom I had brought out with me, to sound between the island and the reefs, and examine what appeared to be a channel through them, I climbed the hill a second time, but to my great disappointment found the weather much more hazy than it had been the day before. About noon the pinnace returned, having been as far as the reef, and found between fifteen and twenty-eight fathom of water; but it blew so hard, that the mate did not dare to venture into one of the channels, which he said appeared to him to be very narrow: this, however, did not discourage me, for I judged from his description of the place he had been at, that he had seen it to disadvantage. While I was busy in my survey, Mr. Banks was attentive to his favourite pursuit, and picked up several plants which he had

not before seen. We found the island, which is visible at twelve leagues' distance, to be about eight leagues in circumference, and in general very rocky and barren. On the north-west side, however, there are some sandy bays, and some low land, which is covered with long thin grass, and trees of the same kind with those upon the main: this part also abounded with lizards of a very large size, some of which we took. We found also fresh water in two places: one was a running stream, but that was a little brackish where I tasted it, which was close to the sea; the other was a standing pool, close behind the sandy beach, and this was perfectly sweet and good. Notwithstanding the distance of this island from the main, we saw, to our great surprise, that it was sometimes visited by the natives; for we found seven or eight frames of their huts, and vast heaps of shells, the fish of which we supposed had been their food. We observed that all these huts were built upon eminences, and entirely exposed to the S.E., contrary to those which we had seen upon the main; for they were all built either upon the side of a hill, or under some bushes, which afforded them shelter from the wind. From these huts, and their situation, we concluded that at some seasons of the year the weather here is invariably calm and fine; for the inhabitants have no boat which can navigate the sea to so great a distance, in such weather as we had from the time of our first coming upon the coast. As we saw no animals upon this place but lizards, I called it LIZARD ISLAND. The other two high islands, which lie at the distance of four or five miles from it, are comparatively small; and near them lie three others smaller still, and low, with several shoals or reefs, especially to the S. E.: there is, however, a clear passage from Cape Flattery to these islands, and even quite to the outward reefs, leaving Lizard Island to the north-west, and the others to the south-east.

At two in the afternoon, there being no hope of clear weather, we set out from Lizard Island to return to the ship, and in our way landed upon the low sandy island with trees upon it, which we had remarked in our going out. Upon this island we saw an incredible number of birds, chiefly sea-fowl: we found also the nest of an eagle, with young ones, which we killed; and the nest of some other bird, we knew not what, of a most enormous size: it was built with sticks upon the ground, and was no less than six-and-twenty feet in circumference, and two feet eight inches high. We found, also, that this place had been visited by the Indians, probably to eat turtle, many of which we saw upon the island, and a great number of their shells, piled one upon another in different places.

To this spot we gave the name of EAGLE ISLAND; and after leaving it, we steered S.W. directly for the ship, sounding all the way, and we had never less than eight fathom, nor more than fourteen, the same depth of water that I had found between this and Lizard Island.

When I got on board, the master informed me that he had been down to the low islands, between which and the main I had directed him to sound; that he judged them to lie about three leagues from the main; that without them he found from ten to fourteen fathom, and between them and the main, seven; but that a flat, which ran two leagues out from the main, made this channel narrow. Upon one of these low islands he slept, and was ashore upon others; and he reported, that he saw everywhere piles of turtle-shells, and fins hanging upon the trees in many places, with the flesh upon them, so recent, that the boat's crew ate of them: he saw also two spots, clear of grass, which appeared to have been lately dug up, and from the shape and size of them, he conjectured they were graves.

After considering what I had seen myself, and the report of the master, I was of opinion that the passage to leeward would be dangerous, and that, by keeping in with the main, we should run the risk of being locked in by the great reef, and at last be compelled to return back in search of another passage, by which, or any other accident that should cause the same delay, we should infallibly lose our passage to the East Indies, and endanger the ruin of the voyage, as we had now but little more than three months' provisions on board at short allowance.

Having stated this opinion, and the facts and appearances upon which it was founded, to the officers, it was unanimously agreed, that the best thing we could do would be to quit the coast altogether, till we could approach it with less danger.

In the morning, therefore, at break of day, we got under sail, and stood out N.E. for the



north-west end of Lizard Island, leaving Eagle Island to windward, and some other islands and shoals to the leeward, and having the pinnacle ahead to ascertain the depth of water in every part of our course. In this channel we had from nine to fourteen fathom. At noon, the north-west end of Lizard Island bore E.S.E., distant one mile; our latitude by observation was  $14^{\circ} 38'$ , and our depth of water fourteen fathom. We had a steady gale at S.E., and by two o'clock we just fetched to windward of one of the channels or openings in the outer reef, which I had seen from the island. We now tacked and made a short trip to the S.W., while the master in the pinnacle examined the channel: he soon made the signal for the ship to follow, and in a short time she got safe out. As soon as we had got without the breakers, we had no ground with one hundred and fifty fathom, and found a large sea rolling in from the S.E., a certain sign that neither land nor shoals were near us in that direction.

Our change of situation was now visible in every countenance, for it was most sensibly felt in every breast: we had been little less than three months entangled among shoals and rocks, that every moment threatened us with destruction; frequently passing our nights at anchor within hearing of the surge that broke over them: sometimes driving towards them even while our anchors were out, and knowing that if by any accident, to which an almost continual tempest exposed us, they should not hold, we must in a few minutes inevitably perish. But now, after having sailed no less than three hundred and sixty leagues, without once having a man out of the chains heaving the lead, even for a minute, which perhaps never happened to any other vessel, we found ourselves in an open sea, with deep water; and enjoyed a flow of spirits, which was equally owing to our late dangers and our present security: yet the very waves, which by their swell convinced us that we had no rocks or shoals to fear, convinced us also that we could not safely put the same confidence in our vessel as before she had struck; for the blows she received from them so widened her leaks, that she admitted no less than nine inches water an hour, which, considering the state of our pumps, and the navigation that was still before us, would have been a subject of more serious consideration to people whose danger had not so lately been so much more imminent.

The passage or channel through which we passed into the open sea beyond the reef, lies in latitude  $14^{\circ} 32'$  S., and may always be known by the three high islands within it, which I have called the ISLANDS OF DIRECTION, because by these a stranger may find a safe passage through the reef quite to the main. The channel lies from Lizard Island N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N., distant three leagues, and is about one-third of a mile broad, and not more in length. Lizard Island, which is, as I have before observed, the largest and the northernmost of the three, affords safe anchorage under the north-west side, fresh water, and wood for fuel. The low islands and shoals also which lie between it and the main abound with turtle and fish, which may probably be caught in all seasons of the year, except when the weather is very tempestuous; so that, all things considered, there is not perhaps a better place for ships to refresh at upon the whole coast than this island. And, before I dismiss it, I must observe, that we found upon it, as well as upon the beach in and about Endeavour River, bamboos, cocoa-nuts, pumice-stone, and the seeds of plants which are not the produce of this country, and which, it is reasonable to suppose, are brought from the eastward by the trade-winds. The islands which were discovered by Quiros, and called Australia del Espiritu Santa, lie in this parallel; but how far to the eastward cannot now be ascertained: in most charts they are placed in the same longitude with this country, which, as appears by the account of his voyage that has been published, he never saw; for that places his discoveries no less than two-and-twenty degrees to the eastward of it.

As soon as we were without the reef, we brought to, and having hoisted in the boats, we stood off and on upon a wind all night; for I was not willing to run to leeward till I had a whole day before me. In the morning, at daybreak, Lizard Island bore S.  $15^{\circ}$  E., distant ten leagues; and we then made sail, and stood away N.N.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W. till nine o'clock, when we stood N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N., having the advantage of a fresh gale at S.E. At noon, our latitude by observation was  $13^{\circ} 46'$  S., and at this time we had no land in sight. At six in the evening we shortened sail, and brought the ship to, with her head to the N.E.; and at six in the morning made sail, and steered west, in order to get within sight of the land, that I might



be sure not to overshoot the passage, if a passage there was, between this land and New Guinea. At noon, our latitude by observation was  $13^{\circ} 2'$  S., longitude  $216^{\circ}$  W.; which was  $1^{\circ} 23'$  W. of Lizard Island: at this time we had no land in sight; but a little before one o'clock we saw high land from the mast-head, bearing W.S.W. At two, we saw more land to the N.W. of that we had seen before: it appeared in hills, like islands; but we judged it to be a continuation of the main land. About three, we discovered breakers between the land and the ship, extending to the southward farther than we could see; but to the north we thought we saw them terminate abreast of us. What we took for the end of them in this direction, however, soon appeared to be only an opening in the reef; for we presently saw them again, extending northward beyond the reach of our sight. Upon this we hauled close upon a wind, which was now at E.S.E., and we had scarcely trimmed our sails before it came to E. by N., which was right upon the reef, and consequently made our clearing it doubtful. At sunset the northernmost part of it that was in sight bore from us N. by E., and was two or three leagues distant; this, however, being the best tack to clear it, we kept standing to the northward with all the sail we could set till midnight; when, being afraid of standing too far in this direction, we tacked and stood to the southward, our run from sunset to this time being six leagues N. and N. by E. When we had stood about two miles S.S.E. it fell calm; we had sounded several times during the night, but had no bottom with one hundred and forty fathom, neither had we any ground now with the same length of line; yet, about four in the morning, we plainly heard the roaring of the surf, and at break of day saw it foaming to a vast height, at not more than a mile's distance. Our distress now returned upon us with double force; the waves, which rolled in upon the reef, carried us towards it very fast; we could reach no ground with an anchor, and had not a breath of wind for the sail. In this dreadful situation, no resource was left us but the boats; and to aggravate our misfortune, the pinnace was under repair: the long-boat and yawl, however, were put into the water, and sent ahead to tow, which, by the help of our sweeps abaft, got the ship's head round to the northward; which, if it could not prevent our destruction, might at least delay it. But it was six o'clock before this was effected, and we were not then a hundred yards from the rock upon which the same billow which washed the side of the ship, broke to a tremendous height the very next time it rose; so that between us and destruction there was only a dreary valley, no wider than the base of one wave, and even now the sea under us was unfathomable, at least no bottom was to be found with a hundred and twenty fathom. During this scene of distress the carpenter had found means to patch up the pinnace; so that she was hoisted out, and sent ahead, in aid of the other boats, to tow; but all our efforts would have been ineffectual, if, just at this crisis of our fate, a light air of wind had not sprung up—so light, that at any other time we should not have observed it, but which was enough to turn the scale in our favour, and, in conjunction with the assistance which was afforded us by the boats, to give the ship a perceptible motion obliquely from the reef. Our hopes now revived; but in less than ten minutes it was again a dead calm, and the ship was again driven towards the breakers, which were not now two hundred yards distant. The same light breeze, however, returned before we had lost all the ground it had enabled us to gain, and lasted about ten minutes more. During this time we discovered a small opening in the reef, at about the distance of a quarter of a mile: I immediately sent one of the mates to examine it, who reported that its breadth was not more than the length of the ship, but that within it there was smooth water: this discovery seemed to render our escape possible, and that was all, by pushing the ship through the opening, which was immediately attempted. It was uncertain, indeed, whether we could reach it; but if we should succeed thus far, we made no doubt of being able to get through; in this, however, we were disappointed, for having reached it by the joint assistance of our boats and the breeze, we found that in the mean time it had become high water, and to our great surprise we met the tide of ebb rushing out of it like a mill-stream. We gained, however, some advantage, though in a manner directly contrary to our expectations; we found it impossible to go through the opening, but the stream that prevented us, carried us out about a quarter of a mile; it was too narrow for us to keep in it longer; yet this tide of ebb so much assisted the boats, that by noon we had got an offing of near two miles. We had, however,



reason to despair of deliverance, even if the breeze, which had now died away, should revive, for we were still embayed in the reef; and the tide of ebb being spent, the tide of flood, notwithstanding our utmost efforts, again drove the ship into the bight. About this time, however, we saw another opening, near a mile to the westward, which I immediately sent the first lieutenant, Mr. Hicks, in the small boat to examine: in the mean time we struggled hard with the flood, sometimes gaining a little, and sometimes losing; but every man still did his duty, with as much calmness and regularity as if no danger had been near. About two o'clock Mr. Hicks returned, with an account that the opening was narrow and dangerous, but that it might be passed: the possibility of passing it was sufficient encouragement to make the attempt, for all danger was less imminent than that of our present situation. A light breeze now sprung up at E.N.E., with which, by the help of our boats, and the very tide of flood that, without an opening, would have been our destruction, we entered it, and were hurried through with amazing rapidity, by a torrent that kept us from driving against either side of the channel, which was not more than a quarter of a mile in breadth. While we were shooting this gulf, our soundings were from thirty to seven fathom, very irregular, and the ground at bottom very foul.

As soon as we had got within the reef, we anchored in nineteen fathom, over a bottom of coral and shells. And now, such is the vicissitude of life, we thought ourselves happy in having regained a situation which, but two days before, it was the utmost object of our hope to quit. Rocks and shoals are always dangerous to the mariner, even where their situation has been ascertained; they are more dangerous in seas which have never before been navigated, and in this part of the globe they are more dangerous than in any other; for here they are reefs of coral rock, rising like a wall almost perpendicularly out of the unfathomable deep, always overflowed at high water, and at low water dry in many places; and here the enormous waves of the vast Southern Ocean meeting with so abrupt a resistance, break, with inconceivable violence, in a surf which no rocks or storms in the northern hemisphere can produce. The danger of navigating unknown parts of this ocean was now greatly increased by our having a crazy ship, and being short of provisions and every other necessary; yet the distinction of a first discoverer made us cheerfully encounter every danger, and submit to every inconvenience; and we chose rather to incur the censure of imprudence and temerity, which the idle and voluptuous so liberally bestow upon unsuccessful fortitude and perseverance, than leave a country which we had discovered unexplored, and give colour to a charge of timidity and irresolution.

Having now congratulated ourselves upon getting within the reef, notwithstanding we had so lately congratulated ourselves upon getting without it, I resolved to keep the main land on board in my future route to the northward, whatever the consequence might be; for if we had now gone without the reef again, it might have carried us so far from the coast as to prevent my being able to determine, whether this country did, or did not join to New Guinea; a question which I was determined to resolve from my first coming within sight of land. However, as I had experienced the disadvantage of having a boat under repair at a time when it was possible I might want to use her, I determined to remain fast at anchor till the pinnace was perfectly refitted. As I had no employment for the other boats, I sent them out in the morning to the reef, to see what refreshments could be procured, and Mr. Banks, in his little boat, accompanied by Dr. Solander, went with them. In this situation I found the variation by amplitude and azimuth to be  $4^{\circ} 9' E.$ ; and at noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $12^{\circ} 38' S.$ , and our longitude  $216^{\circ} 45' W.$  The main land extended from N. 66 W. to S.W. by S., and the nearest part of it was distant about nine leagues. The opening through which we had passed, I called PROVIDENTIAL CHANNEL; and this bore E.N.E., distant ten or twelve miles; on the main land within us was a lofty promontory, which I called CAPE WEYMOUTH; on the north side of which is a bay, which I called WEYMOUTH BAY: they lie in latitude  $12^{\circ} 42' S.$ , longitude  $217^{\circ} 15' W.$  At four o'clock in the afternoon the boats returned with two hundred and forty pounds of the meat of shell-fish, chiefly of cockles, some of which were as much as two men could move, and contained twenty pounds of good meat. Mr. Banks also brought back many curious shells and *Mollusca*; besides many species of coral, among which was that called the *Tubipora musica*.



At six o'clock in the morning we got under sail, and stood away to the N.W., having two boats ahead to direct us; our soundings were very irregular, varying five or six fathom every cast, between ten and twenty-seven. A little before noon, we passed a low sandy island, which we left on our starboard side, at the distance of two miles. At noon our latitude was  $12^{\circ} 28'$ , and our distance from the main about four leagues: it extended from S. by W. to N.  $71^{\circ}$  W., and some small islands from N.  $40^{\circ}$  W. to  $54^{\circ}$  W. Between us and the main were several shoals, and some without us, besides the main or outermost reef, which we could see from the mast-head, stretching away to the N.E. At two in the afternoon, as we were steering N.W. by N. we saw a large shoal right ahead, extending three or four points upon each bow; upon this we hauled up N.N.E. and N.E. by N. to get round the north point of it, which we reached by four, and then edged away to the westward, and ran between the north end of this shoal and another which lies two miles to the northward of it, having a boat all the way ahead sounding; our depth of water was still very irregular, from twenty-two to eight fathom. At half an hour after six, we anchored in thirteen fathom: the northernmost of the small islands seen at noon bore W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S., distant three miles: these islands are distinguished in the chart by the name of FORBES'S ISLANDS, and lie about five leagues from the main, which here forms a high point that we called BOLT HEAD, from which the land trends more westerly, and is in that direction all low and sandy; to the southward it is high and hilly, even near the sea.

At six in the morning we got again under sail, and steered for an island which lay at a small distance from the main, and at this time bore from us N.  $40^{\circ}$  W., distant about five leagues: our course was soon interrupted by shoals; however, by the help of the boats, and a good look-out from the top of the mast, we got into a fair channel that led us down to the island, between a very large shoal on our starboard side, and several small ones towards the main: in this channel we had from twenty to thirty fathom water. Between eleven and twelve o'clock we hauled round the north-east side of the island, leaving it between us and the main, from which it is distant about seven or eight miles. This island is about a league in circuit, and we saw upon it five of the natives, two of whom had lances in their hands; they came down upon a point, and having looked a little while at the ship, retired. To the N.W. of it are several low islands and quays, which lie not far from the main; and to the northward and eastward are several other islands and shoals; so that we were now encompassed on every side: but having lately been exposed to much greater danger, and rocks and shoals being grown familiar, we looked at them comparatively with little concern. The main land appeared to be low and barren, interspersed with large patches of the very fine white sand which we had found upon Lizard Island and different parts of the main. The boats had seen many turtle upon the shoals which they passed, but it blew too hard for them to take any. At noon our latitude, by observation, was  $12^{\circ}$ , and our longitude  $217^{\circ} 25'$ : our depth of water was fourteen fathom; and our course and distance, reduced to a straight line, was, between this time and the preceding noon, N.  $29^{\circ}$  W. thirty-two miles.

The main land within the islands that have been just mentioned forms a point, which I called CAPE GRENVILLE: it lies in latitude  $11^{\circ} 58'$ , longitude  $217^{\circ} 38'$ ; and between it and Bolt Head is a bay, which I called TEMPLE BAY. At the distance of nine leagues from Cape Grenville, in the direction of E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. lie some high islands, which I called SIR CHARLES HARDY'S ISLES; and those which lie off the Cape I called COCKBURN'S ISLES. Having lain by for the boats, which had got out of their station, till about one o'clock, we then took the yawl in tow; and the pinnace having got ahead, we filled, and stood N. by W. for some small islands which lay in that direction; such at least they were in appearance, but upon approaching them we perceived that they were joined together by a large reef: upon this we edged away N.W. and left them on our starboard hand; we steered between them and the islands that lay off the main, having a clear passage, and from fifteen to twenty-three fathom water. At four o'clock we discovered some low islands and rocks, bearing W.N.W., and stood directly for them: at half an hour after six we anchored on the north-east side of the northernmost of them, at one mile's distance, and in sixteen fathom. These islands lie N.W. four leagues from Cape Grenville, and from the number of birds that I saw upon them, I called them BIRD ISLES. A little before sunset, we were in sight



of the main land, which appeared all very low and sandy, extending as far to the northward as N.W. by N., some shoals, quays, and low sandy isles stretching away to the N.E.

At six o'clock in the morning we got again under sail, with a fresh breeze at E., and stood away N.N.W. for some low islands in that direction, but were soon obliged to haul close upon a wind to weather a shoal which we discovered upon our larboard bow, having, at the same time, others to the eastward: by the time we had weathered this shoal to leeward, we had brought the islands well upon our lee-bow, but, seeing some shoals run off from them, and some rocks on our starboard bow, which we did not discover till we were very near them, I was afraid to go to windward of the islands, and therefore brought to, and having made the signal for the pinnace, which was ahead, to come on board, I sent her to leeward of the islands, with orders to keep along the edge of the shoal, which ran off from the south side of the southernmost island, sending the yawl at the same time to run over the shoal in search of turtle. As soon as the pinnace had got to a proper distance, we wore, and stood after her: as we ran to leeward of this island, we took the yawl in tow, she having seen only one small turtle, and therefore made but little stay upon the shoal. The island we found to be a small spot of sand with some trees upon it, and we could discern many huts, or habitations of the natives, whom we supposed occasionally to visit these islands from the main, they being only five leagues distant, to catch turtle when they come ashore to lay their eggs. We continued to stand after the pinnace N.N.E., and N. by E. for two other low islands, having two shoals without us, and one between us and the main. At noon we were about four leagues from the main, which we saw extending to the northward, as far as N.W. by N., all flat and sandy. Our latitude, by observation, was  $11^{\circ} 23'$  S., and our longitude  $217^{\circ} 46'$  W.; our soundings were from fourteen to twenty-three fathom; but these, as well as the shoals and islands, which are too numerous to be particularly mentioned, will be best seen upon the chart. By one o'clock we had run nearly the length of the southernmost of the two islands in sight, and finding that the going to windward of them would carry us too far from the main, we bore up and ran to leeward, where, finding a fair open passage, we steered N. by W. in a direction parallel to the main, leaving a small island which lay between it and the ship, and some low sandy isles and shoals without us, of all which we lost sight by four o'clock, and saw no more before the sun went down: at this time the farthest part of the land in sight bore N.N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., and soon after we anchored in thirteen fathom, upon soft ground, at the distance of about five leagues from the land, where we lay till daylight.

Early in the morning we made sail again, and steered N.N.W. by compass, for the northernmost land in sight; and at this time, we observed the variation of the needle to be  $3^{\circ} 6'$  E. At eight o'clock we discovered shoals ahead and on our larboard bow, and saw that the northernmost land, which we had taken for the main, was detached from it, and that we might pass between them, by running to leeward of the shoals on our larboard bow, which were now near us: we therefore wore and brought to, sending away the pinnace and yawl to direct us, and then steered N.W. along the S.W. or inside of the shoals, keeping a good look-out from the mast-head, and having another shoal on our larboard side: we found, however, a good channel of a mile broad between them, in which we had from ten to fourteen fathom. At eleven o'clock, we were nearly the length of the land detached from the main, and there appeared to be no obstruction in the passage between them; yet, having the long-boat astern and rigged, we sent her away to keep in-shore upon our larboard bow, and at the same time despatched the pinnace a-starboard; precautions which I thought necessary, as we had a strong flood that carried us on end very fast, and it was near high water: as soon as the boats were ahead, we stood after them, and by noon got through the passage. Our latitude, by observation, was then  $10^{\circ} 36'$ , and the nearest part of the main, which we soon after found to be the northernmost, bore W.  $2^{\circ}$  S., distant between three or four miles: we found the land, which was detached from the main, to be a single island, extending from N. to N.  $75^{\circ}$  E., distant between two and three miles; at the same time we saw other islands at a considerable distance, extending from N. by W. to W.N.W., and behind them another chain of high land, which we judged also to be islands; there were still other islands, extending as far as N.  $71^{\circ}$  W., which at this time we took for the main.



The point of the main which forms the side of the channel through which we passed, opposite to the island, is the northern promontory of the country, and I called it **YORK CAPE**. Its longitude is  $218^{\circ} 24'$  W. ; the latitude of the north point is  $10^{\circ} 37'$ , and of the east point  $10^{\circ} 42'$  S. The land over the east point, and to the southward of it, is rather low, and as far as the eye can reach, very flat, and of a barren appearance. To the southward of the Cape the shore forms a large open bay, which I called **NEWCASTLE BAY**, and in which are some small low islands and shoals ; the land adjacent is also very low, flat, and sandy. The land of the northern part of the Cape is more hilly, the valleys seem to be well clothed with wood, and the shore forms some small bays, in which there appeared to be good anchorage. Close to the eastern point of the Cape are three small islands, from one of which a small ledge of rocks runs out into the sea : there is also an island close to the northern point. The island that forms the strait or channel through which we had passed, lies about four miles without these, which, except two, are very small : the southernmost is the largest, and much higher than any part of the main land. On the north-west side of this island there appeared to be good anchorage, and on shore, valleys that promised both wood and water. These islands are distinguished in the chart by the name of **YORK ISLES**. To the southward and south-east, and even to the eastward and northward of them, there are several other low islands, rocks, and shoals ; our depth of water, in sailing between them and the main, was twelve, thirteen, and fourteen fathom.

We stood along the shore to the westward, with a gentle breeze at S.E. by S., and when we had advanced between three and four miles, we discovered the land ahead, which, when we first saw it, we took for the main, to be islands detached from it by several channels. Upon this we sent away the boats, with proper instructions, to lead us through that channel which was next the main ; but soon after discovering rocks and shoals in this channel, I made a signal for the boats to go through the next channel to the northward, which lay between these islands, leaving some of them between us and the main : the ship followed, and had never less than five fathom water in the narrowest part of the channel, where the distance from island to island was about one mile and a half.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, we anchored, being about a mile and a half, or two miles, within the entrance, in six fathom and a half, with clear ground : the channel here had begun to widen, and the islands on each side of us were distant about a mile : the main land stretched away to the S.W., the farthest point in view bore S.  $48^{\circ}$  W., and the southernmost point of the islands, on the north-west side of the passage, bore S.  $76^{\circ}$  W. Between these two points we could see no land, so that we conceived hopes of having, at last, found a passage into the Indian sea ; however, that I might be able to determine with more certainty, I resolved to land upon the island which lies at the south-east point of the passage. Upon this island we had seen many of the inhabitants when we first came to an anchor ; and when I went into the boat with a party of men, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, in order to go ashore, we saw ten of them upon a hill : nine of them were armed with such lances as we had been used to see, and the tenth had a bow, and a bundle of arrows, which we had never seen in the possession of the natives of this country before : we also observed, that two of them had large ornaments of mother-of-pearl hanging round their necks. Three of these, one of whom was the bowman, placed themselves upon the beach abreast of us, and we expected that they would have opposed our landing, but when we came within about a musket's shot of the beach, they walked leisurely away. We immediately climbed the highest hill, which was not more than three times as high as the mast-head, and the most barren of any we had seen. From this hill, no land could be seen between the S.W. and W.S.W., so that I had no doubt of finding a channel through. The land to the north-west of it consisted of a great number of islands of various extent, and different heights, ranged one behind another, as far to the northward and westward as I could see, which could not be less than thirteen leagues. As I was now about to quit the eastern coast of New Holland, which I had coasted from latitude  $38^{\circ}$  to this place, and which I am confident no European had ever seen before, I once more hoisted English colours, and though I had already taken possession of several particular parts, I now took possession of the whole eastern coast, from latitude  $38^{\circ}$  to this place, latitude  $10\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  S., in right of his Majesty King George the Third, by the name of **NEW**



SOUTH WALES, with all the bays, harbours, rivers, and islands situated upon it: we then fired three volleys of small arms, which were answered by the same number from the ship. Having performed this ceremony upon the island, which we called POSSESSION ISLAND, we reembarked in our boat, but a rapid ebb tide setting N.E., made our return to the vessel very difficult and tedious. From the time of our last coming among the shoals, we constantly found a moderate tide, the flood setting to the N.W., and the ebb to the S.E. At this place, it is high water at the full and change of the moon, about one or two o'clock, and the water rises and falls perpendicularly about twelve feet. We saw smoke rising in many places from the adjacent lands and islands, as we had done upon every part of the coast, after our last return to it through the reef.

We continued at anchor all night, and between seven and eight o'clock in the morning we saw three or four of the natives upon the beach gathering shell-fish; we discovered, by the help of our glasses, that they were women, and, like all the other inhabitants of this country, stark naked. At low water, which happened about ten o'clock, we got under sail, and stood to the S.W. with a light breeze at E., which afterwards veered to N. by E.: our depth of water was from six to ten fathom, except in one place, where we had but five. At noon, Possession Island bore N. 53 E., distant four leagues; the western extremity of the main land in sight bore S. 43 W., distant between four and five leagues, and appeared to be extremely low; the south-west point of the largest island on the north-west side of the passage bore N. 71 W., distant eight miles, and this point I called CAPE CORNWALL. It lies in latitude  $10^{\circ} 43' S.$ , longitude  $219^{\circ} W.$ ; and some low lands that lie about the middle of the passage, which I called WALLIS'S ISLES, bore W. by S.  $\frac{1}{2} S.$ , distant about two leagues: our latitude, by observation, was  $10^{\circ} 46' S.$  We continued to advance with the tide of flood W.N.W., having little wind, and from eight to five fathom water. At half an hour after one, the pinnae, which was ahead, made the signal for shoal water, upon which we tacked, and sent away the yawl to sound also: we then tacked again, and stood after them: in about two hours, they both made the signal for shoal water, and the tide being nearly at its greatest height, I was afraid to stand on, as running aground at that time might be fatal; I therefore came to an anchor in somewhat less than seven fathom, sandy ground. Wallis's Islands bore S. by W.  $\frac{1}{2} W.$ , distant five or six miles, the islands to the northward extended from S. 73 E. to N. 10 E., and a small island, which was just in sight, bore N.W.  $\frac{1}{2} W.$  Here we found the flood tide set to the westward, and the ebb to the eastward.

After we had come to an anchor, I sent away the master in the long-boat to sound, who, upon his return in the evening, reported that there was a bank stretching north and south, upon which there were but three fathom, and that beyond it there were seven. About this time it fell calm, and continued so till nine the next morning, when we weighed, with a light breeze at S.S.E., and steered N.W. by W. for the small island which was just in sight, having first sent the boats ahead to sound; the depth of water was eight, seven, six, five, and four fathom, and three fathom upon the bank, it being now the last quarter ebb. At this time, the northernmost island in sight bore N. 9 E., Cape Cornwall E., distant three leagues, and Wallis's Isles S. 3 E., distant three leagues. This bank, at least so much as we have sounded, extends nearly N. and S., but to what distance I do not know: its breadth is not more than half a mile at the utmost. When we had got over the bank, we deepened our water to six fathom three quarters, and had the same depth all the way to the small island ahead, which we reached by noon, when it bore S., distant about half a mile. Our depth of water was now five fathom, and the northernmost land in sight, which is part of the same chain of islands that we had seen to the northward from the time of our first entering the strait, bore N. 71 E. Our latitude, by observation, was  $10^{\circ} 33' S.$ , and our longitude  $219^{\circ} 22' W.$ : in this situation, no part of the main was in sight. As we were now near the island, and had but little wind, Mr. Banks and I landed upon it, and found it, except a few patches of wood, to be a barren rock, the haunt of birds, which had frequented it in such numbers as to make the surface almost uniformly white with their dung: of these birds, the greater part seemed to be boobies, and I therefore called the place BOOBY ISLAND. After a short stay, we returned to the ship, and in the mean time the wind had got to the S. W.; it was but a gentle breeze, yet it was accompanied by a swell from the same quarter,

which, with other circumstances, confirmed my opinion that we were got to the westward of Carpentaria, or the northern extremity of New Holland, and had now an open sea to the westward, which gave me great satisfaction, not only because the dangers and fatigues of the voyage were drawing to an end, but because it would no longer be a doubt whether New Holland and New Guinea were two separate islands, or different parts of the same.

The north-east entrance of this passage or strait, lies in the latitude of  $10^{\circ} 39' S.$ , and in the longitude of  $218^{\circ} 36' W.$  It is formed by the main, or the northern extremity of New Holland, on the S.E., and by a congeries of islands, which I called the PRINCE OF WALES'S ISLANDS, to the N.W., and it is probable that these islands extend quite to New Guinea. They differ very much both in height and circuit, and many of them seemed to be well clothed with herbage and wood: upon most, if not all of them, we saw smoke, and therefore there can be no doubt of their being inhabited: it is also probable, that among them there are at least as good passages as that we came through, perhaps better, though better would not need to be desired, if the access to it, from the eastward, were less dangerous: that a less dangerous access may be discovered, I think there is little reason to doubt; and to find it little more seems to be necessary than to determine how far the principal, or outer reef, which bounds the shoals to the eastward, extends towards the north, which I would not have left to future navigators if I had been less harassed by danger and fatigue, and had had a ship in better condition for the purpose.

To this channel, or passage, I have given the name of the ship, and called it ENDEAVOUR STRAITS. Its length from N.E. to S.W. is ten leagues, and it is about five leagues broad, except at the north-east entrance, where it is somewhat less than two miles, being contracted by the islands which lie there. That which I called Possession Island is of a moderate height and circuit, and this we left between us and the main, passing between it and two small round islands which lie about two miles to the N.W. of it. The two small islands, which I called Wallis's Islands, lie in the middle of the south-west entrance, and these we left to the southward. Our depth of water in the strait was from four to nine fathom, with everywhere good anchorage, except upon the bank, which lies two leagues to the northward of Wallis's Islands, where at low water there are but three fathom: for a more particular knowledge of this strait, and of the situations of the several islands and shoals on the eastern coast of New Wales, I refer to the chart, where they are delineated with all the accuracy that circumstances would admit\*; yet, with respect to the shoals, I cannot pretend that one-half of them are laid down, nor can it be supposed possible that one-half of them should be discovered in the course of a single navigation: many islands also must have escaped my pencil, especially between latitude  $20^{\circ}$  and  $22^{\circ}$ , where we saw islands out at sea as far as an island could be distinguished: it must not therefore be supposed, by future navigators, that where no shoal or island is laid down in my chart, no shoal or island will be found in these seas: it is enough that the situation of those that appear in the chart is faithfully ascertained, and in general, I have the greatest reason to hope that it will be found as free from error as any that has not been corrected by subsequent and successive observations. The latitudes and longitudes of all, or most of the principal head-lands and bays, may be confided in, for we seldom failed of getting an observation once at least every day, by which to correct the latitude of our reckoning, and observations for settling the longitude were equally numerous, no opportunity that was offered by the sun and moon being suffered to escape. It would be injurious to the memory of Mr. Green, not to take this opportunity of attesting that he was indefatigable both in making observations and calculating upon them; and that, by his instructions and assistance, many of the petty officers were enabled both to observe and calculate with great exactness. This method of finding the longitude at sea may be put into universal practice, and may always be depended upon within half a degree, which is sufficient for all nautical purposes. If, therefore, observing and calculating were considered as necessary qualifications for every sea officer, the labours of the speculative theorist to solve this problem might be remitted, without much injury to mankind: neither will it be so difficult to acquire this qualification, or put it in practice, as may at first appear; for, with the assistance

\* A general map of New Holland compiled from the best and latest authorities is substituted for the chart here referred to.—Ed.



of the nautical almanack, and astronomical ephemeris, the calculations for finding the longitude will take up little more time than the calculation of an azimuth for finding the variation of the compass.

CHAPTER VI.—DEPARTURE FROM NEW SOUTH WALES; A PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY, ITS PRODUCTS, AND PEOPLE: A SPECIMEN OF THE LANGUAGE, AND SOME OBSERVATIONS UPON THE CURRENTS AND TIDES.

OF this country, its products, and its people, many particulars have already been related in the course of the narrative, being so interwoven with the events as not to admit of a separation. I shall now give a more full and circumstantial description of each, in which, if some things should happen to be repeated, the greater part will be found new.

New Holland, or, as I have now called the eastern coast, New South Wales, is of a larger extent than any other country in the known world that does not bear the name of a continent; the length of coast along which we sailed, reduced to a straight line, is no less than twenty-seven degrees of latitude, amounting to near 2000 miles, so that its square surface must be much more than equal to all Europe. To the southward of 33 or 34, the land in general is low and level; farther northward it is hilly, but in no part can be called mountainous; and the hills and mountains, taken together, make but a small part of the surface, in comparison with the valleys and plains. It is, upon the whole, rather barren than fertile: yet the rising ground is chequered by woods and lawns, and the plains and valleys are in many places covered with herbage: the soil, however, is frequently sandy, and many of the lawns, or savannahs, are rocky and barren, especially to the northward, where, in the best spots, vegetation was less vigorous than in the southern part of the country; the trees were not so tall, nor was the herbage so rich. The grass in general is high, but thin, and the trees, where they are largest, are seldom less than forty feet asunder; nor is the country inland, as far as we could examine it, better clothed than the sea-coast. The banks of the bays are covered with mangroves, to the distance of a mile within the beach, under which the soil is a rank mud, that is always overflowed by a spring-tide; farther in the country we sometimes met with a bog, upon which the grass was very thick and luxuriant, and sometimes with a valley, that was clothed with underwood: the soil in some parts seemed to be capable of improvement, but the far greater part is such as can admit of no cultivation. The coast, at least that part of it which lies to the northward of 25° S., abounds with fine bays and harbours, where vessels may lie in perfect security from all winds.

If we may judge by the appearance of the country while we were there, which was in the very height of the dry season, it is well watered: we found innumerable small brooks and springs, but no great rivers; these brooks, however, probably become large in the rainy season. Thirsty Sound was the only place where fresh water was not to be procured for the ship, and even there one or two small pools were found in the woods, though the face of the country was everywhere intersected by salt creeks and mangrove land.

Of trees, there is no great variety. Of those that could be called timber, there are but two sorts: the largest is the gum-tree, which grows all over the country, and has been mentioned already: it has narrow leaves, not much unlike a willow; and the gum, or rather resin, which it yields, is of a deep red, and resembles the *sanguis draconis*; possibly it may be the same, for this substance is known to be the produce of more than one plant. It is mentioned by Dampier, and is perhaps the same that Tasman found upon Diemen's Land, where he says he saw "gum of the trees, and gum lac of the ground." The other timber tree is that which grows somewhat like our pines, and has been particularly mentioned in the account of Botany Bay. The wood of both these trees, as I have before remarked, is extremely hard and heavy. Besides these, here are trees covered with a soft bark that is easily peeled off, and is the same that in the East Indies is used for the calking of ships \*.

\* This tree belongs to the genus *Eucalyptus*. Two species known by the colonists as "Stringy bark" and "Boxwood," but more particularly the former, are preferred, as from them the bark is more readily stripped

in pieces of the large size usually required. The several uses to which it is applied by the natives are noticed hereafter.—Ed.

We found here the palm of three different sorts. The first, which grows in great plenty to the southward, has leaves that are platted like a fan : the cabbage of these is small, but exquisitely sweet ; and the nuts, which it bears in great abundance, are very good food for hogs. The second sort bore a much greater resemblance to the true cabbage-tree of the West Indies ; its leaves were large and pinnated, like those of the cocoa-nut ; and these also produced a cabbage, which, though not so sweet as the other, was much larger. The third sort, which, like the second, was found only in the northern parts, was seldom more than ten feet high, with small pinnated leaves, resembling those of some kind of fern : it bore no cabbage, but a plentiful crop of nuts, about the size of a large chesnut, but rounder. As we found the hulls of these scattered round the places where the Indians had made their fires, we took for granted that they were fit to eat ; those, however, who made the experiment, paid dear for their knowledge of the contrary, for they operated both as an emetic and cathartic with great violence. Still, however, we made no doubt but that they were eaten by the Indians ; and, judging that the constitution of the hogs might be as strong as theirs, though our own had proved to be so much inferior, we carried them to the sty ; the hogs ate them, indeed, and for some time, we thought, without suffering any inconvenience ; but in about a week they were so much disordered, that two of them died, and the rest were recovered with great difficulty. It is probable, however, that the poisonous quality of these nuts may lie in the juice, like that of the cassada of the West Indies ; and that the pulp, when dried, may be not only wholesome, but nutritious. Besides these species of the palm and mangroves, there were several small trees and shrubs altogether unknown in Europe, particularly one which produced a very poor kind of fig ; another that bore what we called a plum, which it resembled in colour, but not in shape, being flat on the sides like a little cheese ; and a third, that bore a kind of purple apple, which, after it had been kept a few days, became eatable, and tasted somewhat like a damson.

Here is a great variety of plants to enrich the collection of a botanist, but very few of them are of the esculent kind. A small plant, with long, narrow, grassy leaves, resembling that kind of bulrush which in England is called the Cat's-tail, yields a resin of a bright yellow colour, exactly resembling gamboge, except that it does not stain ; it has a sweet smell, but its properties we had no opportunity to discover, any more than those of many others with which the natives appear to be acquainted, as they have distinguished them by names.

I have already mentioned the root and leaves of a plant resembling the cocco of the West Indies, and a kind of bean ; to which may be added, a sort of parsley and purslain, and two kinds of yams, one shaped like a radish, and the other round, and covered with stringy fibres : both sorts are very small, but sweet ; and we never could find the plants that produced them, though we often saw the places where they had been newly dug up ; it is probable that the drought had destroyed the leaves, and we could not, like the Indians, discover them by the stalks.

Most of the fruits of this country, such as they are, have been mentioned already. We found one in the southern part of the country resembling a cherry, except that the stone was soft ; and another, not unlike a pine-apple in appearance, but of a very disagreeable taste, which is well known in the East Indies, and is called by the Dutch *Pyn Appel Boomen*.

Of the quadrupeds, I have already mentioned the dog, and particularly described the kangaroo, and the animal of the opossum kind, resembling the phalanger of Buffon ; to which I can add only one more, resembling a polecat, which the natives call *Quoll* ; the back is brown, spotted with white, and the belly white unmixed. Several of our people said they had seen wolves ; but, perhaps, if we had not seen tracks that favoured the account, we might have thought them little more worthy of credit than he who reported that he had seen the devil.

Of bats, which hold a middle place between the beasts and the birds, we saw many kinds, particularly one which, as I have observed already, was larger than a partridge ; we were not fortunate enough to take one either alive or dead, but it was supposed to be the same as Buffon has described by the name of *Rouset* or *Rouget*.



The sea and other water-fowl of this country, are gulls, shaggs, solan geese, or gannets, of two sorts; boobies, noddies, curlews, ducks, pelicans of an enormous size, and many others. The land-birds are crows, parrots, paroquets, cockatoos, and other birds of the same kind, of exquisite beauty; pigeons, doves, quails, bustards, herons, cranes, hawks, and eagles. The pigeons flew in numerous flocks, so that, notwithstanding their extreme shyness, our people frequently killed ten or twelve of them in a day: these birds are very beautiful, and crested very differently from any we had seen before.

Among other reptiles, here are serpents of various kinds, some noxious, and some harmless; scorpions, centipedes, and lizards. The insects are but few. The principal are the mosquito and the ant. Of the ant there are several sorts; some are as green as a leaf, and live upon trees, where they build their nests of various sizes, between that of a man's head and his fist. These nests are of a very curious structure: they are formed by bending down several of the leaves, each of which is as broad as a man's hand, and gluing the points of them together, so as to form a purse; the viscus used for this purpose, is an animal juice, which nature has enabled them to elaborate. Their method of first bending down the leaves, we had not an opportunity to observe; but we saw thousands uniting all their strength to hold them in this position, while other busy multitudes were employed within, in applying the gluten that was to prevent their returning back. To satisfy ourselves that the leaves were bent, and held down by the effort of these diminutive artificers, we disturbed them in their work, and as soon as they were driven from their station, the leaves on which they were employed, sprung up with a force much greater than we could have thought them able to conquer by any combination of their strength. But, though we gratified our curiosity at their expense, the injury did not go unrevenge; for thousands immediately threw themselves upon us, and gave us intolerable pain with their stings, especially those who took possession of our necks and our hair, from whence they were not easily driven: the sting was scarcely less painful than that of a bee; but, except it was repeated, the pain did not last more than a minute.

Another sort are quite black, and their operations and manner of life are not less extraordinary. Their habitations are the inside of the branches of a tree, which they contrive to excavate by working out the pith almost to the extremity of the slenderest twig; the tree at the same time flourishing, as if it had no such inmate. When we first found the tree we gathered some of the branches, and were scarcely less astonished than we should have been to find that we had profaned a consecrated grove, where every tree, upon being wounded, gave signs of life; for we were instantly covered with legions of these animals, swarming from every broken bough, and inflicting their stings with incessant violence. They are mentioned by Rumphius in his *Herbarium Amboinense*, vol. ii. p. 257; but the tree in which he saw their dwelling is very different from that in which we found them.

A third kind we found nested in the root of a plant, which grows on the bark of trees in the manner of mistletoe, and which they had perforated for that use. This root is commonly as big as a large turnip, and sometimes much bigger: when we cut it we found it intersected by innumerable winding passages, all filled with these animals, by which, however, the vegetation of the plant did not appear to have suffered any injury. We never cut one of these roots that was not inhabited, though some were not bigger than a hazel-nut. The animals themselves are very small, not more than half as big as the common red ant in England. They had stings, but scarcely force enough to make them felt; they had, however, a power of tormenting us in an equal, if not a greater degree; for the moment we handled the root, they swarmed from innumerable holes, and running about those parts of the body that were uncovered, produced a titillation more intolerable than pain, except it is increased to great violence. Rumphius has also given an account of this bulb and its inhabitants, vol. vi. p. 120, where he mentions another sort that are black.

We found a fourth kind, which are perfectly harmless, and almost exactly resemble the white ants of the East Indies; the architecture of these is still more curious than that of the others. They have houses of two sorts; one is suspended on the branches of trees, and the other erected upon the ground: those upon the trees are about three or four times as big as a man's head, and are built of a brittle substance, which seems to consist of small parts of

vegetables kneaded together with a glutinous matter, which their bodies probably supply ; upon breaking this crust, innumerable cells, swarming with inhabitants, appear in a great variety of winding directions, all communicating with each other, and with several apertures that lead to other nests upon the same tree ; they have also one large avenue, or covered way, leading to the ground, and carried on under it to the other nest or house that is constructed there. This house is generally at the root of a tree, but not of that upon which their other dwellings are constructed : it is formed like an irregularly sided cone, and sometimes is more than six feet high, and nearly as much in diameter. Some are smaller ; and these are generally flat-sided, and very much resemble in figure the stones which are seen in many parts of England, and supposed to be the remains of druidical antiquity. The outside of these is of well-tempered clay, about two inches thick ; and within are the cells, which have no opening outwards, but communicate only with the subterranean way to the houses on the tree, and to the tree near which they are constructed, where they ascend up the root, and so up the trunk and branches, under covered ways of the same kind as those by which they descended from their other dwellings. To these structures on the ground they probably retire in the winter, or rainy seasons, as they are proof against any wet that can fall ; which those in the tree, though generally constructed under some overhanging branch, from the nature and thinness of their crust or wall, cannot be.

The sea in this country is much more liberal of food to the inhabitants than the land ; and though fish is not quite so plenty here as they generally are in higher latitudes, yet we seldom hauled the seine without taking from fifty to two hundred weight. They are of various sorts ; but except the mullet, and some of the shellfish, none of them are known in Europe : most of them are palatable, and some are very delicious. Upon the shoals and reef there are incredible numbers of the finest green turtle in the world, and oysters of various kinds, particularly the rock-oyster and the pearl-oyster. The gigantic cockles have been mentioned already ; besides which there are sea-crayfish, or lobsters\*, and crabs ; of these, however, we saw only the shells. In the rivers and salt creeks there are alligators.

The only person who has hitherto given any account of this country or its inhabitants is Dampier ; and though he is, in general, a writer of credit, yet in many particulars he is mistaken. The people whom he saw were indeed inhabitants of a part of the coast very distant from that which we visited ; but we also saw inhabitants upon parts of the coast very distant from each other ; and there being a perfect uniformity in person and customs among them all, it is reasonable to conclude that distance in another direction has not considerably broken it.

The number of inhabitants in this country appears to be very small in proportion to its extent. We never saw so many as thirty of them together but once, and that was at Botany Bay, when men, women, and children, assembled upon a rock to see the ship pass by : when they manifestly formed a resolution to engage us, they never could muster above fourteen or fifteen fighting men, and we never saw a number of their sheds or houses together that could accommodate a larger party. It is true, indeed, that we saw only the sea-coast on the eastern side ; and that, between this and the western shore, there is an immense tract of country wholly unexplored : but there is great reason to believe that this immense tract is either wholly desolate, or at least still more thinly inhabited than the parts we visited. It is impossible that the inland country should subsist inhabitants at all seasons without cultivation : it is extremely improbable that the inhabitants of the coast should be totally ignorant of arts of cultivation, which were practised inland ; and it is equally improbable that, if they knew such arts, there should be no traces of them among them. It is certain that we did

\* A small and new species of lobster, which is very delicious eating, is found in the Yas River, and in the muddy ponds on the Yas plains. These are called by the aborigines *Murungon*. They burrow deep into the mud. In the Munumbidgu, Yas, Tumas, and other large rivers, there is a different and larger species of lobster, which is frequently found in the stomachs of the river-cod. This kind is called *Mungola* by the natives ; and they are captured measuring a foot and a foot and a half in length,

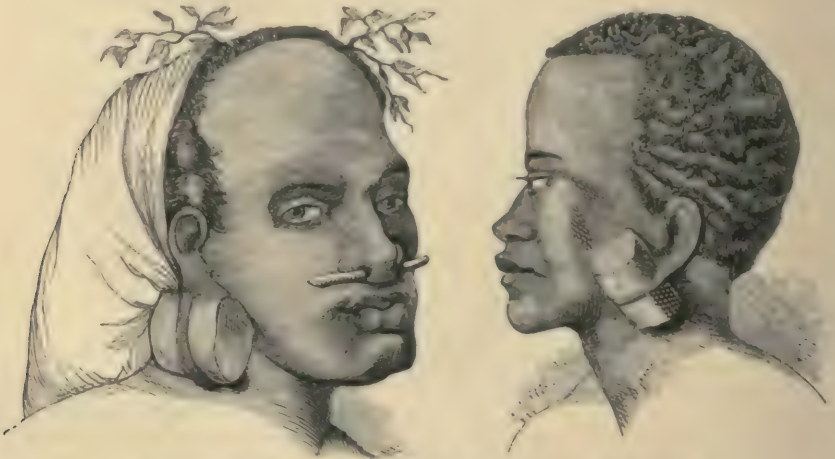
and weighing three or four pounds. In March the season commences at Sydney for crayfish, which are caught in large quantities, and of enormous size, about the sea-coast, and are hawked about the street at a cheap rate ; thus in this colony crayfish abound in the sea, and lobsters in the river—the reverse of the case at home.—See “ Bennett’s Wanderings in New South Wales,” vol. i. p. 211.—ED.



not see one foot of ground in a state of cultivation in the whole country, and therefore it may well be concluded, that where the sea does not contribute to feed the inhabitants, the country is not inhabited.

The only tribe with which we had any intercourse we found where the ship was careened : it consisted of one-and-twenty persons, twelve men, seven women, one boy, and one girl : the women we never saw but at a distance, for when the men came over the river they were always left behind. The men, here and in other places, were of a middle size, and in general well made, clean-limbed, and remarkably vigorous, active, and nimble : their countenances were not altogether without expression, and their voices were remarkably soft and effeminate.

Their skins were so uniformly covered with dirt, that it was very difficult to ascertain their true colour : we made several attempts, by wetting our fingers and rubbing it, to remove the incrustations, but with very little effect. With the dirt, they appear nearly as black as a negro, and according to our best discoveries, the skin itself is of the colour of wood soot, or what is commonly called a chocolate colour. Their features are far from being disagreeable ; their noses are not flat, nor are their lips thick ; their teeth are white and even, and their hair naturally long and black, it is, however, universally cropped short ; in general, it is straight, but sometimes it has a slight curl ; we saw none that was not matted and filthy, though without oil or grease, and to our great astonishment free from lice. Their beards were of the same colour with their hair, and bushy and thick ; they are not, however, suffered to grow long. A man, whom we had seen one day with his beard somewhat longer than his companions, we saw the next with it somewhat shorter, and upon examination found the ends of the hairs burnt ; from this incident, and our having never seen any sharp instrument among them, we concluded that both the hair and the beard were kept short by singeing them.



HEADS OF NEW HOLLANDERS, NATIVES OF MANUVAL, MALE AND FEMALE.

(The Man wears the Nose Ornament described in the Text.)

Both sexes, as I have already observed, go stark naked, and seem to have no more sense of indecency in discovering the whole body, than we have in discovering our hands and face. Their principal ornament is the bone, which they thrust through the cartilage that divides the nostrils from each other. What perversion of taste could make them think this a decoration, or what could prompt them, before they had worn it or seen it worn, to suffer the pain and inconvenience that must of necessity attend it, is perhaps beyond the power of human sagacity to determine. As this bone is as thick as a man's finger, and between five and six inches long, it reaches quite across the face, and so effectually stops up both the nostrils, that they are forced to keep their mouths wide open for breath, and snuffle so when they attempt to speak, that they are scarcely intelligible even to each other. Our

seamen, with some humour, called it their spritsail-yard; and, indeed, it had so ludicrous an appearance, that till we were used to it, we found it difficult to refrain from laughter. Beside this nose jewel, they had necklaces made of shells, very neatly cut and strung together; bracelets of small cord, wound two or three times about the upper part of their arm, and a string of plaited human hair about as thick as a thread of yarn, tied round the waist. Besides these, some of them had gorgets of shells hanging round the neck, so as to reach across the breast\*. But though these people wear no clothes, their bodies have a covering besides the dirt, for they paint them both white and red: the red is commonly laid on in broad patches upon the shoulders and breast, and the white in stripes, some narrow, and some broad: the narrow were drawn over the limbs, and the broad over the body, not without some degree of taste. The white was also laid on in small patches upon the face, and drawn in a circle round each eye. The red seemed to be ochre, but what the white was we could not discover: it was close-grained, saponaceous to the touch, and almost as heavy as white lead; possibly it might be a kind of *Steatites*, but to our great regret we could not procure a bit of it to examine. They have holes in their ears, but we never saw any thing worn in them. Upon such ornaments as they had, they set so great a value, that they would never part with the least article for anything we could offer; which was the more extraordinary, as our beads and ribbons were ornaments of the same kind, but of a more regular form and more showy materials. They had, indeed, no idea of traffic, nor could we communicate any to them: they received the things that we gave them, but never appeared to understand our signs when we required a return. The same indifference which prevented them from buying what we had, prevented them also from attempting to steal: if they had coveted more, they would have been less honest; for when we refused to give them a turtle, they were enraged, and attempted to take it by force, and we had nothing else upon which they seemed to set the least value; for, as I have before observed, many of the things that we had given them we found left negligently about in the woods, like the playthings of children, which please only while they are new. Upon their bodies we saw no marks of disease or sores, but large scars in irregular lines, which appeared to be the remains of wounds which they had inflicted upon themselves with some blunt instrument, and which we understood by signs to have been memorials of grief for the dead.

They appeared to have no fixed habitations, for we saw nothing like a town or village in the whole country. Their houses, if houses they may be called, seemed to be formed with less art and industry than any we had seen, except the wretched hovels at Terra del Fuego, and in some respects they are inferior even to them. At Botany Bay, where they were best, they were just high enough for a man to sit upright in, but not large enough for him to extend himself in his whole length in any direction: they are built with pliable rods about as thick as a man's finger, in the form of an oven, by sticking the two ends into the ground, and then covering them with palm-leaves and broad pieces of bark: the door is nothing but a large hole at one end, opposite to which the fire is made, as we perceived by the ashes. Under these houses, or sheds, they sleep, coiled up with their heels to their head, and in this position one of them will hold three or four persons. As we advanced northward, and the climate became warmer, we found these sheds still more slight: they were built, like the others, of twigs, and covered with bark; but none of them were more than four feet deep, and one side was entirely open: the close side was always opposed to the course of the prevailing wind, and opposite to the open side was the fire, probably more as a defence from the mosquitoes than the cold. Under these hovels it is probable that they thrust only their heads and the upper part of their bodies, extending their feet towards the fire. They were set up occasionally by a wandering horde in any place that would furnish them for a time with subsistence, and left behind them when, after it was exhausted, they

\* Captain King, in his *Survey of Australia*, vol. i. p. 157, says, "In one of the huts, which was of a more elliptical shape, and of larger dimensions than the other, was a bunch of hair that had been recently clipped from either the head or beard. This proves that these operations are not done solely by fire, as Captain Cook sup-

posed, but by means of a sharp-edged shell, which must be both tedious and painful to endure; and we have often witnessed the delight shown by the natives at the speedy effect a pair of scissors has produced upon the beard or hair."



went away ; but in places where they remained only for a night or two, they slept without any shelter, except the bushes or grass, which is here near two feet high. We observed, however, that though the sleeping huts, which we found upon the main, were always turned from the prevailing wind, those upon the islands were turned towards it ; which seems to be a proof that they have a mild season here, during which the sea is calm, and that the same weather which enables them to visit the islands makes the air welcome even while they sleep.

The only furniture belonging to these houses that fell under our observation is a kind of oblong vessel made of bark, by the simple contrivance of tying up the two ends with a withy, which not being cut off serves for a handle ; these we imagined were used as buckets to fetch water from the spring, which may be supposed sometimes to be at a considerable distance. They have, however, a small bag, about the size of a moderate cabbage-net, which is made by laying threads loop within loop, somewhat in the manner of knitting used by our ladies to make purses. This bag the man carries loose upon his back by a small string which passes over his head ; it generally contains a lump or two of paint and resin, some fish-hooks and lines, a shell or two, out of which their hooks are made, a few points of darts, and their usual ornaments, which includes the whole worldly treasure of the richest man among them.

Their fish-hooks are very neatly made, and some of them are exceedingly small. For striking turtle they have a peg of wood which is about a foot long, and very well bearded ; this fits into a socket at the end of a staff of light wood, about as thick as a man's wrist, and about seven or eight feet long : to the staff is tied one end of a loose line about three or four fathom long, the other end of which is fastened to the peg. To strike the turtle, the peg is fixed into the socket, and when it has entered his body, and is retained there by the barb, the staff flies off, and serves for a float to trace their victim in the water ; it assists also to tire him, till they can overtake him with their canoes, and haul him ashore. One of these pegs, as I have mentioned already, we found buried in the body of a turtle, which had healed up over it. Their lines are from the thickness of a half-inch rope to the fineness of a hair, and are made of some vegetable substance, but what in particular we had no opportunity to learn\*.

Their food is chiefly fish, though they sometimes contrive to kill the kangaroo, and even birds of various kinds ; notwithstanding, they are so shy that we found it difficult to get within reach of them with a fowling-piece. The only vegetable that can be considered as an article of food is the yam ; yet doubtless they eat the several fruits which have been mentioned among other productions of the country ; and indeed we saw the shells and hulls of several of them lying about the places where they had kindled their fire.

They do not appear to eat any animal food raw ; but having no vessel in which water can be boiled, they either broil it upon the coals, or bake it in a hole by the help of hot stones, in the same manner as is practised by the inhabitants of the islands in the South Seas.

Whether they are acquainted with any plant that has an intoxicating quality, we do not know ; but we observed that several of them held leaves of some sort constantly in their mouths, as a European does tobacco, and an East Indian betel : we never saw the plant, but when they took it from their mouths at our request ; possibly it might be a species of the betel, but whatever it was, it had no effect upon the teeth or the lips.

As they have no nets, they catch fish only by striking, or with a hook and line, except such as they find in the hollows of the rocks and shoals, which are dry at half ebb.

Their manner of hunting we had no opportunity to see ; but we conjectured by the notches which they had everywhere cut in large trees in order to climb them, that they took their station near the tops of them, and there watched for such animals as might happen to pass near enough to be reached by their lances : it is possible, also, that in this situation they might take birds when they came to roost.

\* Captain King has the following note upon this passage : " The above method differs only from that used by the natives of Rockingham Bay and Cape Flinders, in that the float is another piece of light buoyant wood—the staff being retained in the hand when the turtle is struck.

The reader will here recognise in this instrument, a striking resemblance to the *oonak* and *katteelik*, the weapons which Captain Parry describes the Esquimaux to use in spearing the seal and whale."—King's Survey of the Coasts of Australia, vol. i. p. 246.

I have observed that when they went from our tents upon the banks of Endeavour River, we could trace them by the fires which they kindled in their way; and we imagined that these fires were intended some way for the taking the kangaroo, which we observed to be so much afraid of fire, that our dogs could scarcely force it over places which had been newly burnt, though the fire was extinguished.

They produce fire with great facility, and spread it in a wonderful manner. To produce it they take two pieces of dry soft wood, one is a stick about eight or nine inches long, the other piece is flat: the stick they shape into an obtuse point at one end, and pressing it upon the other, turn it nimbly by holding it between both their hands as we do a chocolate mill, often shifting their hands up, and then moving them down upon it, to increase the pressure as much as possible. By this method they get fire in less than two minutes, and from the smallest spark, they increase it with great speed and dexterity. We have often seen one of them run along the shore, to all appearance with nothing in his hand, who stooping down for a moment, at the distance of every fifty or hundred yards, left fire behind him, as we could see first by the smoke, and then by the flame among the drift wood, and other litter which was scattered along the place. We had the curiosity to examine one of these planters of fire, when he set off, and we saw him wrap up a small spark in dry grass, which, when he had run a little way, having been fanned by the air that his motion produced, began to blaze; he then laid it down in a place convenient for his purpose, inclosing a spark of it in another quantity of grass, and so continued his course.

There are perhaps few things in the history of mankind more extraordinary than the discovery and application of fire: it will scarcely be disputed that the manner of producing it, whether by collision or attrition, was discovered by chance: but its first effects would naturally strike those to whom it was a new object with consternation and terror: it would appear to be an enemy to life and nature, and to torment and destroy whatever was capable of being destroyed or tormented; and therefore it seems not easy to conceive what should incline those who first saw it receive a transient existence from chance, to reproduce it by design. It is by no means probable that those who first saw fire approached it with the same caution as those who are familiar with its effects, so as to be warmed only, and not burnt; and it is reasonable to think that the intolerable pain which, at its first appearance, it must produce upon ignorant curiosity, would sow perpetual enmity between this element and mankind; and that the same principle which incites them to crush a serpent would incite them to destroy fire, and avoid all means by which it would be produced, as soon as they were known. These circumstances considered, how men became sufficiently familiar with it to render it useful seems to be a problem very difficult to solve: nor is it easy to account for the first application of it to culinary purposes, as the eating both animal and vegetable food raw must have become a habit before there was fire to dress it, and those who have considered the force of habit will readily believe, that to men who had always eaten the flesh of animals raw, it would be as disagreeable dressed, as to those who have always eaten it dressed, it would be raw. It is remarkable that the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego produce fire from a spark by collision, and that the happier natives of this country, New Zealand, and Otaheite, produce it by the attrition of one combustible substance against another: is there not, then, some reason to suppose that these different operations correspond with the manner in which chance produced fire in the neighbourhood of the torrid and frigid zones? Among the rude inhabitants of a cold country, neither any operation of art, or occurrence of accident, could be supposed so easily to produce fire by attrition, as in a climate where everything is hot, dry, and adust, teeming with a latent fire which a slight degree of motion was sufficient to call forth; in a cold country, therefore, it is natural to suppose that fire was produced by the accidental collision of two metallic substances, and in a cold country, for that reason, the same expedient was used to produce it by design: but in hot countries, where two combustible substances easily kindle by attrition, it is probable that the attrition of such substances first produced fire, and here it was therefore natural for art to adopt the same operation, with a view to produce the same effect. It may indeed be true that fire is now produced in many cold countries by attrition, and in many hot by a stroke; but perhaps upon inquiry there may appear reason to conclude that this has arisen



from the communication of one country with another, and that with respect to the original production of fire in hot and cold countries, the distinction is well founded.

There may perhaps be some reason to suppose that men became gradually acquainted with the nature and effects of fire, by its permanent existence in a volcano, there being remains of volcanoes, or vestiges of their effects, in almost every part of the world : by a volcano, however, no method of producing fire, otherwise than by contact, could be learnt ; the production and application of fire, therefore, still seem to afford abundant subject of speculation to the curious.

The weapons of these people are spears or lances, and these are of different kinds : some that we saw upon the southern part of the coast had four prongs, pointed with bone, and barbed ; the points were also smeared with a hard resin, which gave them a polish, and made them enter deeper into what they struck. To the northward, the lance has but one point : the shaft is made of cane, or the stalk of a plant somewhat resembling a bulrush, very straight and light, and from eight to fourteen feet long, consisting of several joints, where the pieces are let into each other, and bound together ; to this are fitted points of different kinds ; some are of hard heavy wood, and some are the bones of fish : we saw several that were pointed with the stings of the sting-ray, the largest that they could procure, and barbed with several that were smaller, fastened on in a contrary direction ; the points of wood were also sometimes armed with sharp pieces of broken shells, which were stuck in, and at the junctures covered with resin : the lances that are thus barbed are indeed dreadful weapons ; for when once they have taken place, they can never be drawn back without tearing away the flesh, or leaving the sharp ragged splinters of the bone or shell which forms the beard behind them in the wound. These weapons are thrown with great force and dexterity : if intended to wound at a short distance, between ten and twenty yards, simply with the hand ; but if at the distance of forty or fifty, with an instrument which we called a throwing stick. This is a plain smooth piece of a hard reddish wood, very highly polished, about two inches broad, half an inch thick, and three feet long, with a small knob, or hook at one end, and a cross piece about three or four inches long at the other : the knob at one end is received in a small dent or hollow, which is made for that purpose in the shaft of the lance near the point, but from which it easily slips, upon being impelled forward : when the lance is laid along upon this machine, and secured in a proper position by the knob, the person that is to throw it holds it over his shoulder, and after shaking it, delivers both the throwing-stick and lance with all his force ; but the stick being stopped by the cross piece which comes against the shoulder, with a sudden jerk, the lance flies forward with incredible swiftness and with so good an aim, that at the distance of fifty yards these Indians were more sure of their mark than we could be with a single bullet. Besides these lances, we saw no offensive weapon upon this coast, except when we took our last view of it with our glasses, and then we thought we saw a man with a bow and arrows, in which it is possible we might be mistaken\*.

We saw, however, at Botany Bay, a shield or target of an oblong shape about three feet long and eighteen



NEW HOLLANDER USING THE THROWING-STICK.

\* Dr. Hawkesworth here forgot the Boomerang which is mentioned page 205.—Ed.

inches broad, which was made of the bark of a tree : this was fetched out of a hut by one of the men that opposed our landing, who, when he ran away, left it behind him, and upon taking it up, we found that it had been pierced through with a single pointed lance near the centre. These shields are certainly in frequent use among the people here ; for though this was the only one that we saw in their possession, we frequently found trees from which they appeared manifestly to have been cut, the marks being easily distinguished from those that were made by cutting buckets : sometimes also we found the shields cut out, but not yet taken off from the tree, the edges of the bark only being a little raised by wedges, so that these people appear to have discovered that the bark of a tree becomes thicker and stronger by being suffered to remain upon the trunk after it has been cut round.



NEW HOLLAND SHIELD.

The canoes of New Holland are as mean and rude as the houses. Those on the southern part of the coast are nothing more than a piece of bark, about twelve feet long, tied together at the ends, and kept open in the middle by small bows of wood : yet in a vessel of this construction we once saw three people. In shallow water they are set forward by a pole, and in deeper by paddles, about eighteen inches long, one of which the boatman holds in each hand ; mean as they are, they have many conveniences, they draw but little water, and they are very light, so that they go upon mud banks to pick up shellfish, the most important use to which they can be applied, better perhaps than vessels of any other construction. We observed, that in the middle of these canoes there was a heap of sea-weed, and upon that a small fire ; probably that the fish may be broiled and eaten the moment it is caught.

The canoes that we saw when we advanced farther to the northward, are not made of bark, but of the trunk of a tree hollowed, perhaps by fire. They are about fourteen feet long, and, being very narrow, are fitted with an outrigger to prevent their oversetting. These are worked with paddles, that are so large as to require both hands to manage one of them : the outside is wholly unmarked by any tool, but at each end the wood is left longer at the top than at the bottom, so that there is a projection beyond the hollow part resembling the end of a plank ; the sides are tolerably thin, but how the tree is felled and fashioned, we had no opportunity to learn. The only tools that we saw among them are an adze, wretchedly made of stone, some small pieces of the same substance in form of a wedge, a wooden mallet, and some shells and fragments of coral. For polishing their throwing-sticks, and the points of their lances, they use the leaves of a kind of wild fig-tree, which bites upon wood almost as keenly as the shave-grass of Europe, which is used by our joiners : with such tools, the making even such a canoe as I have described must be a most difficult and tedious labour : to those who have been accustomed to the use of metal, it appears altogether impracticable ; but there are few difficulties that will not yield to patient perseverance ; and he who does all he can will certainly produce effects that greatly exceed his apparent power.

The utmost freight of these canoes is four people ; and if more at any time wanted to come over the river, one of those who came first was obliged to go back for the rest : from this circumstance, we conjectured that the boat we saw, when we were lying in Endeavour River, was the only one in the neighbourhood : we have however some reason to believe that the bark canoes are also used where the wooden ones are constructed ; for upon one of the small islands where the natives had been fishing for turtle, we found one of the little paddles which had belonged to such a boat, and would have been useless on board any other.

By what means the inhabitants of this country are reduced to such a number as it can subsist, is not perhaps very easy to guess ; whether, like the inhabitants of New Zealand, they are destroyed by the hands of each other in contests for food ; whether they are swept off by accidental famine, or whether there is any cause which prevents the increase of the species, must be left for future adventurers to determine. That they have wars, appears by



their weapons ; for supposing the lances to serve merely for the striking of fish, the shield could be intended for nothing but a defence against men ; the only mark of hostility, however, which we saw among them, was the perforation of the shield by a spear, which has been just mentioned, for none of them appeared to have been wounded by an enemy. Neither can we determine whether they are pusillanimous or brave ; the resolution with which two of them attempted to prevent our landing, when we had two boats full of men, in Botany Bay, even after one of them was wounded with small shot, gave us reason to conclude that they were not only naturally courageous, but that they had acquired a familiarity with the dangers of hostility, and were, by habit as well as nature, a daring and warlike people ; but their precipitate flight from every other place that we approached, without even a menace, while they were out of our reach, was an indication of uncommon tameness and timidity, such as those who had only been occasionally warriors must be supposed to have shaken off, whatever might have been their natural disposition. I have faithfully related facts, the reader must judge of the people for himself.

From the account that has been given of our commerce with them, it cannot be supposed that we should know much of their language ; yet as this is an object of great curiosity, especially to the learned, and of great importance in their researches into the origin of the various nations that have been discovered, we took some pains to bring away such a specimen of it as might, in a certain degree, answer the purpose, and I shall now give an account how it was procured. If we wanted to know the name of a stone, we took a stone up into our hands, and as well as we could, intimated by signs, that we wished they should name it : the word that they pronounced upon the occasion we immediately wrote down. This method, though it was the best we could contrive, might certainly lead us into many mistakes ; for if an Indian was to take up a stone, and ask us the name of it, we might answer a pebble or a flint ; so when we took up a stone, and asked an Indian the name of it, he might pronounce a word that distinguished the species and not the genus, or that, instead of signifying stone simply, might signify a rough stone, or a smooth stone ; however, as much as possible to avoid mistakes of this kind, several of us contrived, at different times, to get from them as many words as we could, and having noted them down, compared our lists : those which were the same in all, and which, according to every one's account, signified the same thing, we ventured to record, with a very few others, which, from the simplicity of the subject, and the ease of expressing our question with plainness and precision by a sign, have acquired equal authority.

ENGLISH.	NEW HOLLAND.	ENGLISH.	NEW HOLLAND.
<i>The head</i> . . . . .	Wagegee.	<i>Thumb</i> . . . . .	Eboorbalga.
<i>Hair</i> . . . . .	Morye.	<i>The fore, middle, and</i>	
<i>Eyes</i> . . . . .	Moul.	<i>ring fingers</i> . . . . .	Egalbaiga.
<i>Ears</i> . . . . .	Melca.	<i>The little finger</i> . . . . .	Nakil, or Ehoornakil.
<i>Lips</i> . . . . .	Yembe.	<i>The sky</i> . . . . .	Kere, or Kearre.
<i>Nose</i> . . . . .	Bonjoo.	<i>A father</i> . . . . .	Dunjo.
<i>Tongue</i> . . . . .	Unjar.	<i>A son</i> . . . . .	Jumurre.
<i>Nails</i> . . . . .	Kulke.	<i>A male turtle</i> . . . . .	Poinga.
<i>Sun</i> . . . . .	Gallan.	<i>A female</i> . . . . .	Memeingo.
<i>Fire</i> . . . . .	Meanang.	<i>A canoe</i> . . . . .	Marigan.
<i>A stone</i> . . . . .	Walba.	<i>To paddle</i> . . . . .	Pelenyo.
<i>Sand</i> . . . . .	Yowall.	<i>Sit down</i> . . . . .	Takai.
<i>A rope</i> . . . . .	Gurka.	<i>Smooth</i> . . . . .	Nier Carrar.
<i>A man</i> . . . . .	Bana.	<i>A dog</i> . . . . .	Cotta, or Kota.
<i>Beard</i> . . . . .	Wallar.	<i>A loriquet</i> . . . . .	Perpere, or pier-pier.
<i>Neck</i> . . . . .	Doomboo.	<i>Blood</i> . . . . .	Gambe.
<i>Nipples</i> . . . . .	Cayo.	<i>Wood</i> . . . . .	Yaeu.
<i>Hands</i> . . . . .	Marigal.	<i>The bone in the nose</i> . . . . .	Tapool.
<i>Thighs</i> . . . . .	Coman.	<i>A bag</i> . . . . .	Changala.
<i>Navel</i> . . . . .	Toolpoor.	<i>A great cockle</i> . . . . .	Mwingo.
<i>Knees</i> . . . . .	Pongo.	<i>Cocoa, yams</i> . . . . .	Maracotu.
<i>Feet</i> . . . . .	Edamal.	<i>Expressions, as we supposed, of admiration, which they continually used when they were in company with us</i> . . . . .	Cherr.
<i>Heel</i> . . . . .	Kniorror.		Cherco.
<i>Cockatoo</i> . . . . .	Wanda.		Yareaw.
<i>The sole of the foot</i> . . . . .	Chumal.		Tut, tut, tut, tut.
<i>Ankle</i> . . . . .	Chongurn.		
<i>Arms</i> . . . . .	Aco, or Acol.		

\* Captain King, in his account of his second visit to Endeavour River (Survey of the coasts of Australia, vol. 3.

I shall now quit this country, with a few observations relative to the currents and tides upon the coast. From latitude  $32^{\circ}$ , and somewhat higher, down to Sandy Cape, in latitude  $24^{\circ} 46'$ , we constantly found a current setting to the southward, at the rate of about ten or fifteen miles a day, being more or less, according to our distance from the land, for it always ran with more force in shore than in the offing; but I could never satisfy myself whether the flood-tide came from the southward, the eastward, or the northward; I inclined to the opinion that it came from the south-east, but the first time we anchored off the coast, which was in latitude  $24^{\circ} 30'$ , about ten leagues to the south-east of Bustard Bay, I found it come from the north-west; on the contrary, thirty leagues farther to the north-west, on the south side of Keppel Bay, I found that it came from the east, and at the northern part of that Bay it came from the northward, but with a much slower motion than it had come from the east: on the east side of the Bay of Inlets, it set strongly to the westward, as far as the opening of Broad Sound; but on the north side of that sound, it came with a very slow motion from the north-west; and when we lay at anchor before Repulse Bay, it came from the northward: to account for its course in all this variety of directions, we need only admit that the flood-tide comes from the east, or south-east. It is well known, that where there are deep inlets, and large creeks into low lands, running up from the sea, and not occasioned by rivers of fresh water, there will always be a great indraught of the flood-tide, the direction of which will be determined by the position or direction of the coast which forms the entrance of such inlet, whatever be its course at sea; and where the tides are weak, which upon this coast is generally the case, a large inlet will, if I may be allowed the expression, attract the flood-tide for many leagues.

A view of the map will at once illustrate this position. To the northward of Whitsunday's Passage there is no large inlet, consequently the flood sets to the northward, or north-westward, according to the direction of the coast, and the ebb to the south, or south-eastward; at least such is their course at a little distance from the land, for very near it they will be influenced by small inlets. I also observed, that we had only one high tide in twenty-four hours, which happened in the night. The difference between the perpendicular rise of the water in the day and the night, when there is a spring-tide, is no less than three feet, which, where the tides are so inconsiderable as they are here, is a great proportion of the whole difference between high and low water. This irregularity of the tides, which is worthy of notice, we did not discover till we were run ashore, and perhaps farther to the northward it is still greater: after we got within the reef the second time, we found the tides more considerable than we had ever done before, except in the Bay of Inlets, and possibly this may be owing to the water being more confined between the shoals; here also the flood sets to the north-west, and continues in the same direction to the extremity of New Wales, from whence its direction is west and south-west into the Indian sea.

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CHAPTER VII.—THE PASSAGE FROM NEW SOUTH WALES TO NEW GUINEA, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED UPON LANDING THERE.

IN the afternoon of Thursday, August the 23d, after leaving Booby Island, we steered W.N.W., with light airs from the S.S.W. till five o'clock, when it fell calm, and the tide of ebb soon after setting to the N.E., we came to an anchor in eight fathom water, with a soft sandy bottom. Booby Island bore S. 50 E., distant five miles, and the Prince of Wales's Isles extended from N.E. by N. to S. 55 E.; between these there appeared to be a clear

p. 368), makes the following remarks in reference to this vocabulary:—"A few words were obtained by Mr. Cunningham, which served to confirm many we had possessed ourselves of last year; and which being afterwards compared with the vocabulary of the New South Wales' language given by Captain Cook, prove that he obtained it at Endeavour River. And here it is not a little curious to remark that of the only two words which materially differ in the two accounts, one of them is the name of the kangaroo. This word was repeatedly used to

them last year, as well as this, accompanied by an imitation of the leap of the animal, which they readily understood; but on repeating the word *kangaroo*, they always corrected us by saying '*mēn-ū-ūh*.' This animal has, therefore, been distinguished by a name which chance alone gave it; and not, as has always been supposed, from the term applied to it by the natives of the part where Captain Cook first saw it. We may here observe that Captain Cook writes the name *Kangaroo*, instead of *Kangaroo*, the accepted modern spelling."—ED.



open passage, extending from N. 46 E. to E. by N. At half an hour after five, in the morning of the 24th, as we were purchasing the anchor, the cable parted at about eight or ten fathom from the ring: the ship then began to drive, but I immediately dropped another anchor, which brought her up before she got more than a cable's length from the buoy; the boats were then sent to sweep for the anchor, but could not succeed. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $10^{\circ} 30' S.$  As I was resolved not to leave the anchor behind, while there remained a possibility of recovering it, I sent the boats again after dinner, with a small line, to discover where it lay; this being happily effected, we swept for it with a hawser, and by the same hawser hove the ship up to it: we proceeded to weigh it, but just as we were about to ship it, the hawser slipped, and we had all our labour to repeat. By this time it was dark, and we were obliged to suspend our operations till the morning.

As soon as it was light we swept it again, and heaved it to the bows; by eight o'clock we weighed the other anchor, got under sail, and, with a fine breeze at E.N.E., stood to the north-west. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $10^{\circ} 18' S.$ , longitude  $219^{\circ} 39' W.$  At this time we had no land in sight, but about two miles to the southward of us lay a large shoal, upon which the sea broke with great violence, and part of which, I believe, is dry at low-water. It extends N.W. and S.E., and is about five leagues in circuit. Our depth of water, from the time we weighed till now, was nine fathom, but it soon shallowed to seven fathom; and at half an hour after one, having run eleven miles between noon and that time, the boat which was a-head made the signal for shoal water; we immediately let go an anchor, and brought the ship up with all the sails standing, for the boat having just been relieved, was at but a little distance. Upon looking out from the ship, we saw shoal water almost all round us, both wind and tide at the same time setting upon it. The ship was in six fathom, but upon sounding round her, at the distance of half a cable's length, we found scarcely two. This shoal reached from the east, round by the north and west, as far as the south-west, so that there was no way for us to get clear but that which we came. This was another hair's-breadth escape, for it was near high-water, and there ran a short cockling sea, which must very soon have bulged the ship if she had struck; and if her direction had been half a cable's length more, either to the right or left, she must have struck before the signal for the shoal was made. The shoals which, like these, lie a fathom or two under water, are the most dangerous of any, for they do not discover themselves till the vessel is just upon them, and then indeed the water looks brown, as if it reflected a dark cloud. Between three and four o'clock, the tide of ebb began to make, and I sent the master to sound to the southward and south-westward; and in the mean time, as the ship tended, I weighed anchor, and with a little sail stood first to the southward, and afterwards, edging away to the westward, got once more out of danger. At sunset, we anchored in ten fathom, with a sandy bottom, having a fresh gale at E.S.E.

At six in the morning, we weighed again and stood west, having, as usual, first sent a boat a-head to sound. I had intended to steer N.W. till I had made the south coast of New Guinea, designing, if possible, to touch upon it; but upon meeting with these shoals, I altered my course, in hopes of finding a clearer channel and deeper water. In this I succeeded, for by noon our depth of water was gradually increased to seventeen fathom. Our latitude was now, by observation,  $10^{\circ} 10' S.$ , and our longitude  $220^{\circ} 12' W.$  No land was in sight. We continued to steer west till sunset, our depth of water being from twenty-seven to twenty-three fathom. We then shortened sail, and kept upon a wind all night; four hours on one tack, and four on another. At daylight, we made all the sail we could, and steered W.N.W. till eight o'clock, and then N.W. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $9^{\circ} 56' S.$ , longitude  $221^{\circ} W.$ , variation  $2^{\circ} 30' E.$  We continued our N.W. course till sunset, when we again shortened sail, and hauled close upon a wind to the northward: our depth of water was twenty-one fathom. At eight, we tacked and stood to the southward till twelve; then stood to the northward with little sail till daylight. Our soundings were from twenty-five to seventeen fathom, the water growing gradually shallow as we stood to the northward. At this time we made sail and stood to the north, in order to make the land of New Guinea. From the time of our making sail till noon, the depth of water gradually decreased from seventeen to twelve fathom, with a stony and shelly bottom. Our

latitude, by observation, was now  $8^{\circ} 52'$  S., which is in the same parallel as that in which the southern parts of New Guinea are laid down in the charts; but there are only two points so far to the south, and I reckoned that we were a degree to the westward of them both, and therefore did not see the land, which trends more to the northward. We found the sea here to be in many parts covered with a brown scum, such as sailors generally call spawn. When I first saw it, I was alarmed, fearing that we were among shoals; but, upon sounding, we found the same depth of water as in other places. This scum was examined both by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, but they could not determine what it was: it was formed of innumerable small particles, not more than half a line in length, each of which in the microscope appeared to consist of thirty or forty tubes; and each tube was divided through its whole length by small partitions into many cells, like the tubes of the conferva. They were supposed to belong to the vegetable kingdom, because, upon burning them, they produced no smell like that of an animal substance. The same appearance had been observed upon the coast of Brazil and New Holland, but never at any considerable distance from the shore. In the evening a small bird hovered about the ship, and at night, settling among the rigging, was taken. It proved to be exactly the same bird which Dampier has described, and of which he has given a rude figure, by the name of a Noddy, from New Holland.—(See his *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 98. Tab. of Birds, fig. 5.)

We continued standing to the northward with a fresh gale at E. by S. and S.E. till six in the evening, having very irregular soundings, the depth changing at once from twenty-four fathom to seven. At four, we had seen the land from the mast-head, bearing N.W. by N.; it appeared to be very low, and to stretch from W.N.W. to N.N.E., distant four or five leagues. We now hauled close upon a wind till seven, then tacked and stood to the southward till twelve, at which time we wore and stood to the northward till four in the morning, then laid the head of the vessel off till daylight, when we again saw the land, and stood in N.N.W. directly for it, with a fresh gale at E. by S. Our soundings during the night were very irregular, from seven to five fathom, suddenly changing from deep to shallow, and from shallow to deep, without in the least corresponding with our distance from the land. At half an hour after six in the morning, a small low island, which lay at the distance of about a league from the main, bore N. by W., distant five miles: this island lies in latitude  $8^{\circ} 13'$  S., longitude  $221^{\circ} 25'$  W.; and I find it laid down in the charts by the names of Bartholomew and Whermoyesen. We now steered N.W. by W., W.N.W., W. by N., W. by S., and S.W. by W., as we found the land lie, with from five to nine fathom; and though we reckoned we were not more than four leagues from it, yet it was so low and level, that we could but just see it from the deck. It appeared, however, to be well covered with wood, and among other trees, we thought we could distinguish the cocoa-nut. We saw smoke in several places, and therefore knew there were inhabitants. At noon, we were about three leagues from the land; the westernmost part of which that was in sight bore S.  $79^{\circ}$  W. Our latitude, by observation, was  $8^{\circ} 19'$  S., and longitude  $221^{\circ} 44'$  W. The island of St. Bartholomew bore N.  $74^{\circ}$  E., distant twenty miles.

After steering S.W. by W. six miles, we had shoal water on our starboard-bow, which I sent the yawl to sound, and at the same time hauled off upon a wind till four o'clock; and though, during that time, we had run six miles, we had not deepened our water an inch. I then edged away S.W. four miles more; but finding it still shoal water, I brought to, and called the boats aboard. At this time, being between three and four leagues from the shore, and the yawl having found only three fathom water in the place to which I had sent her to sound, I hauled off close upon a wind, and weathered the shoal about half a mile.

Between one and two o'clock, we passed a bay or inlet, before which lies a small island that seems to shelter it from the southerly winds; but I very much doubt whether there is sufficient depth of water behind it for shipping. I could not attempt to determine the question, because the S.E. trade-wind blows right into the bay, and we had not as yet had any breeze from the land. We stretched off to sea till twelve o'clock, when we were about eleven leagues from the land, and had deepened our water to twenty-nine fathom. We now tacked and stood in till five in the morning; when, being in six fathom and a half, we



tacked and laid the head of the vessel off till daylight, when we saw the land, bearing N.W. by W., at about the distance of four leagues. We now made sail, and steered first W.S.W., then W. by S.; but coming into five fathom and a half, we hauled off S.W. till we deepened our water to eight fathom, and then kept away W. by S. and W., having nine fathom, and the land just in sight from the deck; we judged it to be about four leagues distant, and it was still very low and woody. Great quantities of the brown scum continued to appear upon the water, and the sailors, having given up the notion of its being spawn, found a new name for it, and called it Sea-sawdust. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $8^{\circ} 30'$  S., our longitude  $222^{\circ} 34'$  W.; and Saint Bartholomew's Isle bore N.  $69^{\circ}$  E., distant seventy-four miles.

As all this coast appears to have been very minutely examined by the Dutch, and as our track, with the soundings, will appear by the chart\*, it is sufficient to say, that we continued our course to the northward with very shallow water, upon a bank of mud, at such a distance from the shore as that it could scarcely be seen from the ship, till the 3rd of September. During this time we made many attempts to get near enough to go on shore, but without success; and having now lost six days of fair wind, at a time when we knew the south-east monsoon to be nearly at an end, we began to be impatient of farther delay, and determined to run the ship in as near to the shore as possible, and then land with the pinnace, while she kept plying off and on, to examine the produce of the country, and the disposition of the inhabitants. For the last two days we had early in the morning a light breeze from the shore, which was strongly impregnated with the fragrance of the trees, shrubs, and herbage that covered it, the smell being something like that of Gum Benjamin. On the 3rd of September, at daybreak, we saw the land extending from N. by E. to S.E., at about four leagues distance, and we then kept standing in for it with a fresh gale at E.S.E. and E. by S. till nine o'clock, when being within about three or four miles of it, and in three fathom water, we brought to. The pinnace being hoisted out, I set off from the ship with the boat's crew, accompanied by Mr. Banks, who also took his servants, and Dr. Solander, being in all twelve persons well armed; we rowed directly towards the shore, but the water was so shallow that we could not reach it by about two hundred yards: we waded, however, the rest of the way, having left two of the seamen to take care of the boat. Hitherto we had seen no signs of inhabitants at this place; but as soon as we got ashore we discovered the prints of human feet, which could not long have been impressed upon the sand, as they were below high-water mark: we therefore concluded that the people were at no great distance, and, as a thick wood came down within a hundred yards of the water, we thought it necessary to proceed with caution, lest we should fall into an ambuscade, and our retreat to the boat be cut off. We walked along the skirts of the wood, and at the distance of about two hundred yards from the place where we landed, we came to a grove of cocoa-nut trees, which stood upon the banks of a little brook of brackish water. The trees were of a small growth, but well hung with fruit; and near them was a shed or hut, which had been covered with their leaves, though most of them were now fallen off: about the hut lay a great number of the shells of the fruit, some of which appeared to be just fresh from the tree. We looked at the fruit very wishfully, but not thinking it safe to climb, we were obliged to leave it without tasting a single nut. At a little distance from this place we found plantains, and a bread-fruit tree, but it had nothing upon it; and having now advanced about a quarter of a mile from the boat, three Indians rushed out of the wood with a hideous shout, at about the distance of a hundred yards; and as they ran towards us, the foremost threw something out of his hand, which flew on one side of him, and burnt exactly like gunpowder, but made no report: the other two instantly threw their lances at us; and, as no time was now to be lost, we discharged our pieces, which were loaded with small shot. It is probable that they did not feel the shot, for though they halted a moment, they did not retreat; and a third dart was thrown at us. As we thought their farther approach might be prevented with less risk of life, than it would cost to defend ourselves against their attack if they should come nearer, we loaded our

\* The track will appear upon the general map, but the chart here alluded to is omitted in the present edition as valuable only for nautical purposes, and superseded by more modern publications.—Ed.

pieces with ball, and fired a second time: by this discharge it is probable that some of them were wounded; yet we had the satisfaction to see that they all ran away with great agility. As I was not disposed forcibly to invade this country, either to gratify our appetites or our curiosity, and perceived that nothing was to be done upon friendly terms, we improved this interval, in which the destruction of the natives was no longer necessary to our own defence, and with all expedition returned towards our boat. As we were advancing along the shore, we perceived that the two men on board made signals that more Indians were coming down; and before we got into the water, we saw several of them coming round a point at the distance of about five hundred yards: it is probable that they had met with the three who first attacked us; for as soon as they saw us they halted, and seemed to wait till their main body should come up. We entered the water, and waded towards the boat; and they remained at their station, without giving us any interruption. As soon as we were aboard we rowed abreast of them, and their number then appeared to be between sixty and a hundred. We now took a view of them at our leisure; they made much the same appearance as the New Hollanders, being nearly of the same stature, and having their hair short-cropped: like them also they were all stark naked, but we thought the colour of their skin was not quite so dark; this, however, might perhaps be merely the effect of their not being quite so dirty. All this while they were shouting defiance, and letting off their fires by four or five at a time. What these fires were, or for what purpose intended, we could not imagine: those who discharged them had in their hands a short piece of stick, possibly a hollow cane, which they swung sideways from them, and we immediately saw fire and smoke, exactly resembling those of a musket, and of no longer duration\*. This wonderful phenomenon was observed from the ship, and the deception was so great, that the people on board thought they had fire-arms; and in the boat, if we had not been so near as that we must have heard the report, we should have thought they had been firing volleys. After we had looked at them attentively some time, without taking any notice of their flashing and vociferation, we fired some muskets over their heads: upon hearing the balls rattle among the trees, they walked leisurely away, and we returned to the ship. Upon examining the weapons they had thrown at us, we found them to be light darts, about four feet long, very ill-made, of a reed or bamboo cane, and pointed with hard wood, in which there were many barbs. They were discharged with great force; for though we were at sixty yards' distance, they went beyond us, but in what manner we could not exactly see: possibly they might be shot with a bow; but we saw no bows among them when we surveyed them from the boat, and we were in general of opinion, that they were thrown with a stick, in the manner practised by the New Hollanders.

This place lies in the latitude of  $6^{\circ} 15'$  S., and about sixty-five leagues to the N.E. of Port St. Augustine, or Walche Caep, and is near what is called in the charts C. de la Colta de St. Bonaventura. The land here, like that in every other part of the coast, is very low, but covered with a luxuriance of wood and herbage that can scarcely be conceived. We saw the cocoa-nut, the bread-fruit, and the plantain-tree, all flourishing in a state of the highest perfection, though the cocoa-nuts were green, and the bread-fruit not in season: besides, most of the trees, shrubs, and plants that are common to the South Sea islands, New Zealand, and New Holland.

Soon after our return to the ship we hoisted in the boat and made sail to the westward, being resolved to spend no more time upon this coast, to the great satisfaction of a very considerable majority of the ship's company. But I am sorry to say that I was strongly urged by some of the officers to send a party of men ashore, and cut down the cocoa-nut trees for the sake of the fruit. This I peremptorily refused, as equally unjust and cruel. The natives had attacked us merely for landing upon their coast, when we attempted to take nothing away; and it was therefore morally certain that they would have made a vigorous effort to defend their property, if it had been invaded, in which case many of them must have fallen a sacrifice to our attempt, and perhaps also some of our own people. I should have regretted the necessity of such a measure, if I had been in want of the necessaries of

\* These *fires* do not appear to have been observed by any other navigator; nor has their nature been hitherto explained.—Ed.



life; and certainly it would have been highly criminal, when nothing was to be obtained but two or three hundred of green cocoa-nuts, which would at most have procured us a mere transient gratification. I might indeed have proceeded farther along the coast to the northward and westward, in search of a place where the ship might have lain so near the shore as to cover the people with her guns when they landed; but this would have obviated only part of the mischief, and though it might have secured us, would probably in the very act have been fatal to the natives. Besides, we had reason to think that before such a place



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would have been found, we should have been carried so far to the westward as to have been obliged to go to Batavia, on the north side of Java; which I did not think so safe a passage as to the south of Java, through the Straits of Sunda: the ship also was so leaky that I doubted whether it would not be necessary to heave her down at Batavia, which was another reason for making the best of our way to that place; especially as no discovery could be expected in seas which had already been navigated, and where every coast had been laid down by the Dutch geographers. The Spaniards indeed, as well as the Dutch, seem to have circumnavigated all the islands in New Guinea, as almost every place that is distinguished in the chart has a name in both languages. The charts with which I compared such part of the coast as I visited, are bound up with a French work, entitled "*Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes*," which was published in 1756, and I found them tolerably exact; yet I know not by whom, nor when they were taken: and though New Holland and New Guinea are in them represented as two distinct countries, the very History in which they are bound up leaves it in doubt. I pretend, however, to no more merit in this part of the voyage, than to have established the fact beyond all controversy.

As the two countries lie very near each other, and the intermediate space is full of islands, it is reasonable to suppose that they were both peopled from one common stock: yet no intercourse appears to have been kept up between them; for if there had, the cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, plantains, and other fruits of New Guinea, which are equally necessary for the support of life, would certainly have been transplanted to New Holland, where no traces of them are to be found. The author of the "*Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes*," in his account of Le Maire's voyage, has given a vocabulary of the language that is spoken

in an island near New Britain ; and we find, by comparing that vocabulary with the words which we learnt in New Holland, that the languages are not the same. If, therefore, it should appear that the languages of New Britain and New Guinea are the same, there will be reason to suppose that New Britain and New Guinea were peopled from a common stock ; but that the inhabitants of New Holland had a different origin, notwithstanding the proximity of the countries.

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CHAPTER VIII. — THE PASSAGE FROM NEW GUINEA TO THE ISLAND OF SAVU, AND THE TRANSACTIONS THERE.

WE made sail, from noon on Monday the 3rd to noon on Tuesday the 4th, standing to the westward, and all the time kept in soundings, having from fourteen to thirty fathom ; not regular, but sometimes more, sometimes less. At noon on the 4th, we were in fourteen fathom, and latitude  $60^{\circ} 44' S.$ , longitude  $223^{\circ} 51' W.$  ; our course and distance since the 3rd at noon, were  $S. 76^{\circ} W.$  one hundred and twenty miles to the westward. At noon on the 5th of September we were in latitude  $7^{\circ} 25' S.$ , longitude  $225^{\circ} 41' W.$  ; having been in soundings the whole time from ten to twenty fathom.

At half an hour after one in the morning of the next day we passed a small island, which bore from us  $N.N.W.$ , distant between three and four miles ; and at daylight we discovered another low island, extending from  $N.N.W.$  to  $N.N.E.$ , distant about two or three leagues. Upon this island, which did not appear to be very small, I believe I should have landed to examine its produce, if the wind had not blown too fresh to admit of it. When we passed this island we had only ten fathom water, with a rocky bottom ; and therefore I was afraid of running down to leeward, lest I should meet with shoal water and foul ground. These islands have no place in the charts, except they are the Arrou islands ; and if these, they are laid down much too far from New Guinea. I found the south part of them to lie in latitude  $7^{\circ} 6' S.$ , longitude  $225^{\circ} W.$  We continued to steer  $W.S.W.$  at the rate of four miles and a half an hour, till ten o'clock at night, when we had forty-two fathom ; at eleven we had thirty-seven, at twelve forty-five, at one in the morning forty-nine, and at three one hundred and twenty, after which we had no ground. At daylight we made all the sail we could, and at ten o'clock saw land, extending from  $N.N.W.$  to  $W.$  by  $N.$ , distant between five and six leagues : at noon it bore from  $N.$  to  $W.$ , and at about the same distance : it appeared to be level, and of a moderate height. By our distance from New Guinea, it ought to have been part of the Arrou islands, but it lies a degree farther to the south than any of these islands are laid down in the charts, and by the latitude should be Timor Laoet : we sounded, but had no ground with fifty fathom. As I was not able to satisfy myself from any chart what land it was that I saw to leeward, and fearing that it might trend away more southerly, the weather also being so hazy that we could not see far, I steered  $S.W.$ , and by four had lost sight of the island. I was now sure that no part of it lay to the southward of  $8^{\circ} 15' S.$ , and continued standing to the  $S.W.$  with an easy sail, and a fresh breeze at  $S.E.$  by  $E.$ , and  $E.S.E.$  : we sounded every hour, but had no bottom with 120 fathom.

At day-break, in the morning, we steered  $W.S.W.$ , and afterwards  $W.$  by  $S.$ , which by noon brought us into the latitude of  $9^{\circ} 30' S.$ , longitude  $229^{\circ} 34' W.$ , and by our run from New Guinea, we ought to have been within sight of Weasel isles, which in the charts are laid down at the distance of twenty or twenty-five leagues from the coast of New Holland : we, however, saw nothing, and, therefore, they must have been placed erroneously ; nor can this be thought strange, when it is considered that not only these islands, but the coast which bounds this sea, have been discovered and explored by different people, and at different times, and the charts upon which they are delineated put together by others, perhaps at the distance of more than a century after the discoveries had been made ; not to mention that the discoverers themselves had not all the requisites for keeping an accurate journal, of which those of the present age are possessed. We continued our course, steering  $W.$  till the evening of the 8th, when the variation of the compass, by several azimuths, was  $12' W.$ , and by the amplitude  $5' W.$  At noon, on the 9th, our latitude, by observation, was  $9^{\circ} 46' S.$ , longitude  $232^{\circ} 7' W.$  For the last two days, we had steered due  $W.$ , yet by



observation, we made sixteen miles southing, six miles from noon on the 6th to noon on the 7th, and ten miles from noon on the 7th to noon on the 8th, by which it appeared that there was a current setting to the southward. At sunset we found the variation to be  $2^{\circ}$  W., and at the same time saw an appearance of very high land bearing N.W.

In the morning of the 10th we saw clearly that what had appeared to be land the night before, was Timor. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $10^{\circ} 1'$  S., which was fifteen miles to the southward of that given by the log; our longitude, by observation, was  $233^{\circ} 27'$  W. We steered N.W. in order to obtain a more distinct view of the land in sight, till four o'clock in the morning of the 11th, when the wind came to the N.W. and W., with which we stood to the southward till nine, when we tacked and stood N.W., having the wind now at W.S.W. At sunrise the land had appeared to extend from W.N.W. to N.E., and at noon we could see it extend to the westward as far as W. by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S., but no farther to the eastward than N. by E. We were now well assured, that as the first land we had seen was Timor, the last island we had passed was Timor Laoet, or Laut. Laoet is a word in the language of Malacca signifying "sea," and this island was named by the inhabitants of that country. The south part of it lies in latitude  $8^{\circ} 15'$  S., longitude  $228^{\circ} 10'$  W., but in the charts the south point is laid down in various latitudes, from  $8^{\circ} 30'$  to  $9^{\circ} 30'$ : it is indeed possible that the land we saw might be some other island, but the presumption to the contrary is very strong: for if Timor Laut had lain where it is placed in the charts, we must have seen it there. We were now in latitude  $9^{\circ} 37'$  S.; longitude, by an observation of the sun and moon,  $233^{\circ} 54'$  W.; we were the day before in  $233^{\circ} 27'$ ; the difference is  $27'$ , exactly the same that was given by the log; this, however, is a degree of accuracy in observation that is seldom to be expected. In the afternoon we stood in shore till eight in the evening, when we tacked and stood off, being at the distance of about three leagues from the land, which at sunset extended from S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. to N.E.: at this time we sounded, and had no ground with 140 fathom. At midnight, having but little wind, we tacked and stood in, and at noon the next day our latitude, by observation, was  $9^{\circ} 36'$  S. This day we saw smoke on shore in several places, and had seen many fires during the night. The land appeared to be very high, rising in gradual slopes one above another: the hills were in general covered with thick woods, but among them we could distinguish naked spots of a considerable extent, which had the appearance of having been cleared by art. At five o'clock in the afternoon we were within a mile and a half of the shore, in sixteen fathom water, and abreast of a small inlet into the low land, which lies in latitude  $9^{\circ} 34'$  S., and probably is the same that Dampier entered with his boat, for it did not seem to have sufficient depth of water for a ship. The land here answered well to the description that he has given of it: close to the beach it was covered with high spiry trees, which he mentions as having the appearance of pines; behind these there seemed to be salt-water creeks, and many mangroves, interspersed however with cocoa-nut trees: the flat land at the beach appeared in some places to extend inward two or three miles before the rise of the first hill; in this part, however, we saw no appearance of plantations or houses, but great fertility; and from the number of fires, we judged that the place must be well peopled.

When we had approached within a mile and a half of the shore, we tacked and stood off, and the extremes of the coast then extended from N.E. by E. to W. by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. The south-westerly extremity was a low point, distant from us about three leagues. While we were standing in for the shore, we sounded several times, but had no ground till we came within about two miles and a half, and then we had five-and-twenty fathom, with a soft bottom. After we had tacked, we stood off till midnight, with the wind at S.; we then tacked and stood two hours to the westward, when the wind veered to S.W. and W.S.W., and we then stood to the southward again. In the morning we found the variation to be  $1^{\circ} 10'$  W. by the amplitude, and by the azimuth  $1^{\circ} 27'$ . At noon our latitude was, by observation,  $9^{\circ} 45'$  S., our longitude  $234^{\circ} 12'$  W.; we were then about seven leagues distant from the land, which extended from N.  $31^{\circ}$  E., to W.S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W.

With light land breezes from W. by N. for a few hours in a morning, and sea breezes from S.S.W. and S., we advanced to the westward but slowly. At noon, on the 14th, we were between six and seven leagues from the land, which extended from N. by E. to S.  $73^{\circ}$

W.; we still saw smoke in many places by day, and fire by night, both upon the low land and the mountains beyond it. We continued steering along the shore, till the morning of the 15th, the land still appearing hilly, but not so high as it had been: the hills in general came quite down to the sea, and where they did not, we saw instead of flats and mangrove land, immense groves of cocoa-nut trees, reaching about a mile up from the beach: there the plantations and houses commenced, and appeared to be innumerable. The houses were shaded by groves of the fan-palm, or *borassus*, and the plantations, which were inclosed by a fence, reached almost to the tops of the highest hills. We saw, however, neither people nor cattle, though our glasses were continually employed, at which we were not a little surprised. We continued our course, with little variation, till nine o'clock in the morning of the 16th, when we saw the small island called ROTTE; and at noon the island SEMAU, lying off the south end of Timor, bore N.W.

Dampier, who has given a large description of the island of Timor, says, that it is seventy leagues long, and sixteen broad, and that it lies nearly N.E. and S.W. I found the east side of it to lie nearest N.E. by E. and S.W. by W., and the south end to lie in latitude  $10^{\circ} 23' S.$ , longitude  $236^{\circ} 5' W.$  We ran about forty-five leagues along the east side, and found the navigation altogether free from danger. The land, which is bounded by the sea, except near the south end is low for two or three miles within the beach, and in general intersected by salt creeks: behind the low land are mountains, which rise one above another to a considerable height. We steered W.N.W. till two in the afternoon, when being within a small distance of the north end of Rotte, we hauled up N.N.W. in order to go between it and Semau: after steering three leagues upon this course, we edged away N.W. and W. and by six we were clear of all the islands. At this time, the south part of Semau, which lies in latitude  $10^{\circ} 15' S.$ , bore N.E. distant four leagues, and the island of Rotte extended as far to the southward as S.  $36^{\circ} W.$  The north end of this island, and the south end of Timor, lie N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. and S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., and are about three or four leagues distant from each other. At the west end of the passage between Rotte and Semau, are two small islands, one of which lies near the Rotte shore, and the other off the south-west point of Semau; there is a good channel between them, about six miles broad, through which we passed. The isle of Rotte has not so lofty and mountainous an appearance as Timor, though it is agreeably diversified by hill and valley: on the north side, there are many sandy beaches, near which grew some trees of the fan-palm, but the far greater part was covered with a kind of brushy wood, that was without leaves. The appearance of Semau was nearly the same with that of Timor, but not quite so high. About ten o'clock at night, we observed a phenomenon in the heavens which, in many particulars, resembled the aurora borealis, and in others was very different: it consisted of a dull reddish light, and reached about twenty degrees above the horizon: its extent was very different at different times, but it was never less than eight or ten points of the compass: through and out of this passed rays of light of a brighter colour, which vanished, and were renewed nearly in the same time as those of the aurora borealis, but had no degree of the tremulous or vibratory motion which is observed in that phenomenon: the body of it bore S.S.E. from the ship, and it continued, without any diminution of its brightness, till twelve o'clock, when we retired to sleep, but how long afterwards I cannot tell.

Being clear of all the islands which are laid down in the maps we had on board, between Timor and Java, we steered a west course till six o'clock the next morning, when we unexpectedly saw an island bearing W.S.W., and at first I thought we had made a new discovery. We steered directly for it, and by ten o'clock were close in with the north side of it, where we saw houses, cocoa-nut trees, and to our very agreeable surprise, numerous flocks of sheep. This was a temptation not to be resisted by people in our situation, especially as many of us were in a bad state of health, and many still repining at my not having touched at Timor: it was therefore soon determined to attempt a commerce with people who appeared to be so well able to supply our many necessities, and remove at once the sickness and discontent that had got footing among us. The pinnace was hoisted out, and Mr. Gore, the second lieutenant, sent to see if there was any convenient place to land, taking with him some trifles as presents to the natives, if any of them should appear.



While he was gone, we saw from the ship two men on horseback, who seemed to be riding upon the hills for their amusement, and often stopped to look at the ship. By this we knew that the place had been settled by Europeans, and hoped, that the many disagreeable circumstances which always attend the first establishment of commerce with savages, would be avoided. In the mean time, Mr. Gore landed in a small sandy cove near some houses, and was met by eight or ten of the natives, who, as well in their dress as their persons, very much resembled the Malays: they were without arms, except the knives which it is their custom to wear in their girdles, and one of them had a jack-ass with him. They courteously invited him ashore, and conversed with him by signs, but very little of the meaning of either party could be understood by the other. In a short time, he returned with this report, and, to our great mortification, added, that there was no anchorage for the ship. I sent him, however, a second time, with both money and goods, that he might, if possible, purchase some refreshments, at least for the sick; and Dr. Solander went in the boat with him. In the mean time, I kept standing on and off with the ship, which at this time was within about a mile of the shore. Before the boat could land, we saw two other horsemen, one of whom was in a complete European dress, consisting of a blue coat, a white waistcoat, and a laced hat: these people, when the boat came to the shore, took little notice of her, but sauntered about, and seemed to look with great curiosity at the ship. We saw however other horsemen, and a great number of persons on foot, gather round our people, and to our great satisfaction perceived several cocoa-nuts carried into the boat, from which we concluded that peace and commerce were established between us.

After the boat had been ashore about an hour and a half, she made the signal for having intelligence that there was a bay to leeward, where we might anchor: we stood away directly for it, and the boat following, soon came on board. The lieutenant told us, that he had seen some of the principal people, who were dressed in fine linen, and had chains of gold round their necks: he said, that he had not been able to trade, because the owner of the cocoa-nuts was absent, but that about two dozen had been sent to the boat as a present, and that some linen had been accepted in return. The people, to give him the information that he wanted, drew a map upon the sand, in which they made a rude representation of a harbour to leeward, and a town near it: they also gave him to understand, that sheep, hogs, fowls, and fruit, might there be procured in great plenty. Some of them frequently pronounced the word Portuguese, and said something of Larntuca upon the island of Ende: from this circumstance, we conjectured that there were Portuguese somewhere upon the island, and a Portuguese, who was in our boat, attempted to converse with the Indians in that language, but soon found that they knew only a word or two of it by rote: one of them, however, when they were giving our people to understand that there was a town near the harbour to which they had directed us, intimated, that as a token of going right, we should see somewhat, which he expressed by crossing his fingers, and the Portuguese instantly conceived that he meant to express a cross. Just as our people were putting off, the horseman in the European dress came up, but the officer not having his commission about him, thought it best to decline a conference.

At seven o'clock in the evening, we came to an anchor in the bay to which we had been directed, at about the distance of a mile from the shore, in thirty-eight fathom water, with a clear sandy bottom. The north point of the bay bore N. 30 E., distant two miles and a half, and the south point, or west end of the island, bore S. 63 W. Just as we got round the north point, and entered the bay, we discovered a large Indian town or village, upon which we stood on, hoisting a jack on the fore top-mast head: soon after, to our great surprise, Dutch colours were hoisted in the town, and three guns fired; we stood on, however, till we had soundings, and then anchored.

As soon as it was light in the morning, we saw the same colours hoisted upon the beach, abreast of the ship; supposing therefore that the Dutch had a settlement here, I sent Lieutenant Gore ashore, to wait upon the governor, or the chief person residing upon the spot, and acquaint him who we were, and for what purpose we had touched upon the coast. As soon as he came ashore, he was received by a guard of between twenty and thirty Indians, armed with muskets, who conducted him to the town, where the colours had been

hoisted the night before, carrying with them those that had been hoisted upon the beach, and marching without any military regularity. As soon as he arrived, he was introduced to the raja, or king of the island; and by a Portuguese interpreter, told him, that the ship was a man-of-war belonging to the king of Great Britain, and that she had many sick on board, for whom we wanted to purchase such refreshments as the island afforded. His majesty replied, that he was willing to supply us with whatever we wanted, but that, being in alliance with the Dutch East India Company, he was not at liberty to trade with any other people, without having first procured their consent, for which, however, he said, he would immediately apply to a Dutchman who belonged to the company, and who was the only white man upon the island. To this man, who resided at some distance, a letter was immediately despatched, acquainting him with our arrival and request: in the mean time, Mr. Gore despatched a messenger to me, with an account of his situation, and the state of the treaty. In about three hours, the Dutch resident answered the letter that had been sent him, in person: he proved to be a native of Saxony, and his name is Johan Christopher Lange, and the same person whom we had seen on horseback in a European dress: he behaved with great civility to Mr. Gore, and assured him, that we were at liberty to purchase of the natives whatever we pleased. After a short time, he expressed a desire of coming on board, so did the king also, and several of his attendants: Mr. Gore intimated that he was ready to attend them, but they desired that two of our people might be left ashore as hostages: and in this also they were indulged.

About two o'clock, they all came aboard the ship, and our dinner being ready, they accepted our invitation to partake of it: I expected them immediately to sit down, but the king seemed to hesitate, and at last, with some confusion, said, he did not imagine that we, who were white men, would suffer him, who was of a different colour, to sit down in our company; a compliment soon removed his scruples, and we all sat down together with great cheerfulness and cordiality: happily we were at no loss for interpreters, both Dr. Solander and Mr. Sporing understanding Dutch enough to keep up a conversation with Mr. Lange, and several of the seamen were able to converse with such of the natives as spoke Portuguese. Our dinner happened to be mutton, and the king expressed a desire of having an English sheep; we had but one left, however that was presented to him: the facility with which this was procured encouraged him to ask for an English dog, and Mr. Banks politely gave up his greyhound: Mr. Lange then intimated that a spying-glass would be acceptable, and one was immediately put into his hand. Our guests then told us, that the island abounded with buffaloes, sheep, hogs, and fowls, plenty of which should be driven down to the beach the next day, that we might purchase as many of them as we should think fit: this put us all into high spirits, and the liquor circulated rather faster than either the Indians or the Saxon could bear; they intimated their desire to go away, however, before they were quite drunk, and were received upon deck, as they had been when they came aboard, by the marines under arms. The king expressed a curiosity to see them exercise, in which he was gratified, and they fired three rounds: he looked at them with great attention, and was much surprised at their regularity and expedition, especially in cocking their pieces; the first time they did it, he struck the side of the ship with a stick that he had in his hand, and cried out with great vehemence, that all the locks made but one clink. They were dismissed with many presents, and when they went away saluted with nine guns: Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went ashore with them; and as soon as they put off they gave us three cheers.

Our gentlemen, when they came ashore, walked up with them to the town, which consists of many houses, and some of them are large; they are however nothing more than a thatched roof, supported over a boarded floor by pillars about four feet high. They produced some of their palm-wine, which was the fresh unfermented juice of the tree; it had a sweet, but not a disagreeable taste; and hopes were conceived that it might contribute to recover our sick from the scurvy. Soon after it was dark, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander returned on board.

In the morning of the 19th, I went ashore with Mr. Banks, and several of the officers and gentlemen, to return the king's visit; but my chief business was to procure some of the



buffaloes, sheep, and fowls, which we had been told should be driven down to the beach. We were greatly mortified to find, that no steps had been taken to fulfil this promise; however, we proceeded to the house of assembly, which, with two or three more, had been erected by the Dutch East-India Company, and are distinguished from the rest by two pieces of wood resembling a pair of cow's horns, one of which is set up at each end of the ridge that terminates the roof; and these were certainly what the Indian intended to represent by crossing his fingers, though our Portuguese, who was a good Catholic, construed the sign into a cross, which had persuaded us that the settlement belonged to his countrymen. In this place we met Mr. Lange and the king, whose name was A Madocho Lomi Djara, attended by many of the principal people. We told them that we had in the boat goods of various kinds, which we proposed to barter for such refreshments as they would give us in exchange, and desired leave to bring them on shore; which being granted, they were brought ashore accordingly. We then attempted to settle the price of the buffaloes, sheep, hogs, and other commodities which we proposed to purchase, and for which we were to pay in money; but as soon as this was mentioned, Mr. Lange left us, telling us, that these preliminaries must be settled with the natives: he said, however, that he had received a letter from the governor of Concordia in Timor, the purport of which he would communicate to us when he returned.

As the morning was now far advanced, and we were very unwilling to return on board and eat salt provisions, when so many delicacies surrounded us ashore, we petitioned his majesty for liberty to purchase a small hog and some rice, and to employ his subjects to dress them for us. He answered very graciously, that if we could eat victuals dressed by his subjects, which he could scarcely suppose, he would do himself the honour of entertaining us. We expressed our gratitude, and immediately sent on board for liquors. About five o'clock, dinner was ready; it was served in six-and-thirty dishes, or rather baskets, containing alternately rice and pork; and three bowls of earthenware, filled with the liquor in which the pork had been boiled: these were ranged upon the floor, and mats laid round them for us to sit upon. We were then conducted by turns to a hole in the floor, near which stood a man with water in a vessel, made of the leaves of the fan-palm, who assisted us in washing our hands. When this was done, we placed ourselves round the victuals, and waited for the king. As he did not come, we inquired for him, and were told that the custom of the country did not permit the person who gave the entertainment to sit down with his guests; but that, if we suspected the victuals to be poisoned, he would come and taste it. We immediately declared that we had no such suspicion, and desired that none of the rituals of hospitality might be violated on our account. The prime minister and Mr. Lange were of our party, and we made a most luxurious meal: we thought the pork and rice excellent, and the broth not to be despised; but the spoons, which were made of leaves, were so small, that few of us had patience to use them. After dinner, our wine passed briskly about, and we again inquired for our royal host, thinking that though the custom of his country would not allow him to eat with us, he might at least share in the jollity of our bottle; but he again excused himself, saying, that the master of a feast should never be drunk, which there was no certain way to avoid but by not tasting the liquor. We did not, however, drink our wine where we had eaten our victuals; but as soon as we had dined, made room for the seamen and servants, who immediately took our places: they could not despatch all that we had left, but the women who came to clear away the bowls and baskets, obliged them to carry away with them what they had not eaten. As wine generally warms and opens the heart, we took an opportunity, when we thought its influence began to be felt, to revive the subject of the buffaloes and sheep, of which we had not in all this time heard a syllable, though they were to have been brought down early in the morning. But our Saxon Dutchman, with great phlegm, began to communicate to us the contents of the letter which he pretended to have received from the governor of Concordia. He said, that after acquainting him that a vessel had steered from thence towards the island where we were now ashore, it required him, if such ship should apply for provisions in distress, to relieve her; but not to suffer her to stay longer than was absolutely necessary, nor to make any large presents to the inferior people, or to leave any with those of superior

rank to be afterwards distributed among them : but he was graciously pleased to add, that we were at liberty to give beads and other trifles in exchange for petty civilities, and palm-wine. It was the general opinion, that this letter was a fiction ; that the prohibitory orders were feigned with a view to get money from us for breaking them ; and that, by precluding our liberality to the natives, this man hoped more easily to turn it into another channel.

In the evening, we received intelligence from our trading-place that no buffaloes or hogs had been brought down, and only a few sheep, which had been taken away before our people, who had sent for money, could procure it. Some fowls, however, had been bought, and a large quantity of a kind of syrup made of the juice of the palm-tree, which, though infinitely superior to molasses or treacle, sold at a very low price. We complained of our disappointment to Mr. Lange, who had now another subterfuge ; he said, that if we had gone down to the beach ourselves, we might have purchased what we pleased ; but that the natives were afraid to take money of our people, lest it should be counterfeit. We could not but feel some indignation against a man who had concealed this, being true ; or alleged it, being false. I started up, however, and went immediately to the beach, but no cattle or sheep were to be seen, nor were any at hand to be produced. While I was gone, Lange, who knew well enough that I should succeed no better than my people, told Mr. Banks that the natives were displeased at our not having offered them gold for their stock ; and that if gold was not offered, nothing would be bought. Mr. Banks did not think it worth his while to reply, but soon after rose up, and we all returned on board, very much dissatisfied with the issue of our negotiations. During the course of the day, the king had promised that some cattle and sheep should be brought down in the morning, and had given a reason for our disappointment somewhat more plausible ; he said that the buffaloes were far up the country, and that there had not been time to bring them down to the beach.

The next morning we went ashore again : Dr. Solander went up to the town to speak to Lange, and I remained upon the beach, to see what could be done in the purchase of provisions. I found here an old Indian, who, as he appeared to have some authority, we had among ourselves called the prime minister ; to engage this man in our interest, I presented him with a spying-glass, but I saw nothing at market except one small buffalo. I inquired the price of it, and was told five guineas : this was twice as much as it was worth ; however, I offered three, which I could perceive the man who treated with me thought a good price ; but he said he must acquaint the king with what I had offered before he could take it. A messenger was immediately despatched to his majesty, who soon returned, and said, that the buffalo would not be sold for anything less than five guineas. This price I absolutely refused to give ; and another messenger was sent away with an account of my refusal : this messenger was longer absent than the other, and while I was waiting for his return, I saw, to my great astonishment, Dr. Solander coming from the town, followed by above a hundred men, some armed with muskets, and some with lances. When I inquired the meaning of this hostile appearance, the Doctor told me, that Mr. Lange had interpreted to him a message from the king, purporting that the people would not trade with us, because we had refused to give them more than half the value of what they had to sell ; and that we should not be permitted to trade upon any terms longer than this day. Besides the officers who commanded the party, there came with it a man who was born at Timor, of Portuguese parents, and who, as we afterwards discovered, was a kind of colleague to the Dutch factor ; by this man, what they pretended to be the king's order, was delivered to me, of the same purport with that which Dr. Solander had received from Lange. We were all clearly of opinion that this was a mere artifice of the factors to extort money from us, for which we had been prepared by the account of a letter from Concordia ; and while we were hesitating what step to take, the Portuguese, that he might the sooner accomplish his purpose, began to drive away the people who had brought down poultry and syrup, and others that were now coming in with buffaloes and sheep. At this time, I glanced my eye upon the old man whom I had complimented in the morning with the spying-glass, and I thought, by his looks, that he did not heartily approve of what was doing ; I therefore took him by the hand, and presented him with an old broad-sword. This instantly turned the scale in our



favour; he received the sword with a transport of joy, and flourishing it over the busy Portuguese, who crouched like a fox to a lion, he made him, and the officer who commanded the party, sit down upon the ground behind him: the people, who, whatever were the crafty pretences of these iniquitous factors for a Dutch company, were eager to supply us with whatever we wanted, and seemed also to be more desirous of goods than money, instantly improved the advantage that had been procured them, and the market was stocked almost in an instant. To establish a trade for buffaloes, however, which I most wanted, I found it necessary to give ten guineas for two, one of which weighed no more than a hundred and sixty pounds; but I bought seven more much cheaper, and might afterwards have purchased as many as I pleased almost upon my own terms, for they were now driven down to the water side in herds. In the first two that I bought so dear, Lange had certainly a share, and it was in hopes to obtain part of the price of others, that he had pretended that we must pay for them in gold. The natives, however, sold what they afterwards brought down much to their satisfaction, without paying part of the price to him as a reward for exacting money from us. Most of the buffaloes that we bought, after our friend, the prime minister, had procured us a fair market, were sold for a musket a piece, and at this price we might have bought as many as would have freighted our ship.

The refreshments which we procured here, consisted of nine buffaloes, six sheep, three hogs, thirty dozen of fowls, a few limes, and some cocoa-nuts; many dozen of eggs, half of which however proved to be rotten; a little garlic, and several hundred gallons of palm-syrup.

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CHAPTER IX.—A PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF SAVU, ITS PRODUCE AND INHABITANTS, WITH A SPECIMEN OF THEIR LANGUAGE.

THIS island is called by the natives SAVU; the middle of it lies in about the latitude  $10^{\circ} 35' S.$ , longitude  $237^{\circ} 30' W.$ ; and has in general been so little known that I never saw a map or chart in which it is clearly or accurately laid down. I have seen a very old one, in which it is called Sou, and confounded with Sandel Bosch. Rumphius mentions an island by the name of Saow; and he also says, that it is the same which the Dutch call Sandel Bosch; but neither is this island, nor Timor, nor Rotte, nor indeed any one of the islands that we have seen in these seas, placed within a reasonable distance of its true situation. It is about eight leagues long from east to west; but what is its breadth I do not know, as I saw only the north side. The harbour in which we lay is called Seba, from the district in which it lies: it is on the north-west side of the island, and well sheltered from the south-west trade-wind, but it lies open to the north-west. We were told, that there were two other bays where ships might anchor; that the best, called Timo, was on the south-west side of the south-east point: of the third we learnt neither the name nor situation. The sea-coast, in general, is low; but in the middle of the island there are hills of a considerable height. We were upon the coast at the latter end of the dry season, when there had been no rain for seven months; and we were told that when the dry season continues so long, there is no running stream of fresh water upon the whole island, but only small springs, which are at a considerable distance from the sea-side: yet nothing can be imagined so beautiful as the prospect of the country from the ship. The level ground next to the sea-side was covered with cocoa-nut trees, and a kind of palm called *Areca*s; and beyond them the hills, which rose in a gentle and regular ascent, were richly clothed, quite to the summit, with plantations of the fan-palm, forming an almost impenetrable grove. How much even this prospect must be improved, when every foot of ground between the trees is covered with verdure, by maize, and millet, and indigo, can scarcely be conceived but by a powerful imagination, not unacquainted with the stateliness and beauty of the trees that adorn this part of the earth. The dry season commences in March or April, and ends in October or November.

The principal trees of this island are the fan-palm, the cocoa-nut, tamarind, limes, oranges, and mangoes; and other vegetable productions are maize, Guinea corn, rice, millet, calle-

vances, and water-melons. We saw also one sugar-cane, and a few kinds of European garden-stuff; particularly celery, marjoram, fennel, and garlic. For the supply of luxury, it has betel, areca, tobacco, cotton, indigo, and a small quantity of cinnamon, which seems to be planted here only for curiosity; and indeed we doubted whether it was the genuine plant, knowing that the Dutch are very careful not to trust the spices out of their proper islands. There are however several kinds of fruit, besides those which have been already mentioned; particularly the sweet sop, which is well known to the West Indians, and a small oval fruit, called the *Blimbi*, both of which grow upon trees. The blimbi is about three or four inches long, and in the middle about as thick as a man's finger, tapering towards each end: it is covered with a very thin skin of a light green colour, and in the inside are a few seeds disposed in the form of a star: its flavour is a light, clean, pleasant acid, but it cannot be eaten raw; it is said to be excellent as a pickle; and stewed, it made a most agreeable sour sauce to our boiled dishes.



SAVU BUFFALO.

The tame animals are buffaloes, sheep, goats, hogs, fowls, pigeons, horses, asses, dogs and cats; and of all these there is great plenty. The buffaloes differ very considerably from the horned cattle of Europe in several particulars; their ears are much larger, their skins are almost without hair, their horns are curved towards each other, but together bend directly backwards, and they have no dewlaps. We saw several that were as big as a well-grown European ox, and there must be some much larger; for Mr. Banks saw a pair of horns which measured from tip to tip three feet nine inches and a half, across their widest diameter four feet one inch and a half, and in the whole sweep of their semicircle in front seven feet six inches and a half. It must however be observed, that a buffalo here of any given size does not weigh above half as much as an ox of the same size in England: those that we guessed to weigh four hundred weight did not weigh more than two hundred and fifty; the reason is, that so late in the dry season the bones are very thinly covered with flesh: there is not an ounce of fat in a whole carcase, and the flanks are literally nothing but skin and bone: the flesh however is well tasted and juicy, and I suppose better than the flesh of an English ox would be, if he was to starve in this sun-burnt country.

The horses are from eleven to twelve hands high, but though they are small, they are spirited and nimble, especially in pacing, which is their common step: the inhabitants generally ride them without a saddle, and with no better bridle than a halter. The sheep are of the kind which in England are called Bengal sheep, and differ from ours in many particulars. They are covered with hair instead of wool, their ears are very large, and hang down under their horns, and their noses are arched; they are thought to have a general resemblance to a goat, and for that reason are frequently called *cabritos*: their flesh we thought the worst mutton we had ever eaten, being as lean as that of the buffalo's, and without flavour. The hogs, however, were some of the fattest we had ever seen, though, as we were told, their principal food is the outside husks of rice, and the palm syrup dissolved in water. The fowls are chiefly of the game breed, and large, but the eggs are remarkably



small. Of the fish which the sea produces here, we know but little: turtles are sometimes found upon the coast, and are by these people, as well as all others, considered as a dainty.

The people are rather under, than over the middling size; the women especially are remarkably short and squat-built: their complexion is a dark brown, and their hair universally black and lank. We saw no difference in the colour of rich and poor, though in the South Sea islands, those that were exposed to the weather were almost as brown as the New Hollanders, and the better sort nearly as fair as the natives of Europe. The men are in general well made, vigorous, and active, and have a greater variety in the make and disposition of their features than usual: the countenances of the women, on the contrary, are all alike. The men fasten their hair up to the top of their heads with a comb, the women tie it behind in a club, which is very far from becoming. Both sexes eradicate the hair from under the arm, and the men do the same by their beards, for which purpose, the better sort always carry a pair of silver pincers hanging by a string round their necks; some, however, suffer a very little hair to remain upon their upper lips, but this is always kept short.

The dress of both sexes consists of cotton cloth, which being dyed blue in the yarn, and not uniformly of the same shade, is in clouds or waves of that colour, and even in our eye had not an inelegant appearance. This cloth they manufacture themselves, and two pieces, each about two yards long, and a yard and a half wide, make a dress: one of them is worn round the middle, and the other covers the upper part of the body: the lower edge of the piece that goes round the middle, the men draw pretty tight just below the fork, the upper edge of it is left loose, so as to form a kind of hollow belt, which serves them as a pocket to carry their knives, and other little implements which it is convenient to have about them. The other piece of cloth is passed through this girdle behind, and one end of it being brought over the left shoulder, and the other over the right, they fall down over the breast, and are tucked into the girdle before, so that by opening or closing the plaits, they can cover more or less of their bodies as they please; the arms, legs, and feet, are always naked. The difference between the dress of the two sexes consists principally in the manner of wearing the waist-piece, for the women, instead of drawing the lower edge tight, and leaving the upper edge loose for a pocket, draw the upper edge tight, and let the lower edge fall as low as the knees, so as to form a petticoat; the body-piece, instead of being passed through the girdle, is fastened under the arms, and cross the breast, with the utmost decency. I have already observed, that the men fastened the hair upon the top of the head, and the women tie it in a club behind, but there is another difference in the head-dress, by which the sexes are distinguished: the women wear nothing as a succedaneum for a cap, but the men constantly wrap something round their heads in the manner of a fillet; it is small, but generally of the finest materials that can be procured: we saw some who applied silk handkerchiefs to this purpose, and others that wore fine cotton, or muslin, in the manner of a small turban.

These people bore their testimony that the love of finery is a universal passion, for their ornaments were very numerous. Some of the better sort wore chains of gold round their necks, but they were made of plaited wire, and consequently were light and of little value; others had rings, which were so much worn, that they seemed to have descended through many generations: and one person had a silver-headed cane, marked with a kind of cipher, consisting of the Roman letters V, O, C, and therefore probably a present from the Dutch East India Company, whose mark it is: they have also ornaments made of beads, which some wear round their necks as a solitaire, and others, as bracelets, upon their wrists: these are common to both sexes, but the women have, besides, strings or girdles of beads, which they wear round their waists, and which serve to keep up their petticoat. Both sexes had their ears bored, nor was there a single exception that fell under our notice, yet we never saw an ornament in any of them; we never indeed saw either man or woman in anything but what appeared to be their ordinary dress, except the king and his minister, who in general wore a kind of night-gown of coarse chintz, and one of whom once received us in a black robe, which appeared to be made of what is called prince's stuff. We saw some boys, about twelve or fourteen years old, who had spiral circles of thick brass wire passed three or four times round their arms, above the elbow, and some men wore rings of ivory two inches in breadth, and

above an inch in thickness, upon the same part of the arm : these, we were told, were the sons of the rajas, or chiefs, who wore those cumbrous ornaments as badges of their high birth.

Almost all the men had their names traced upon their arms in indelible characters of a black colour, and the women had a square ornament of flourished lines, impressed in the same manner, just under the bend of the elbow. We were struck with the similitude between these marks, and those made by tattowing in the South Sea islands, and upon inquiring into its origin, we learnt that it had been practised by the natives long before any Europeans came among them ; and that in the neighbouring islands, the inhabitants were marked with circles upon their necks and breasts. The universality of this practice, which prevails among savages in all parts of the world, from the remotest limits of North America, to the islands in the South Seas, and which probably differs but little from the method of staining the body that was in use among the ancient inhabitants of Britain, is a curious subject of speculation.\*

The houses of Savu are all built upon the same plan, and differ only in size, being large in proportion to the rank and riches of the proprietor. Some are four hundred feet long, and some are not more than twenty : they are all raised upon posts, or piles, about four feet high, one end of which is driven into the ground, and upon the other end is laid a substantial floor of wood, so that there is a vacant space of four feet between the floor of the



STILTED HOUSES OF SAVU.

house and the ground. Upon this floor are placed other posts or pillars, that support a roof of sloping sides, which meet in a ridge at the top, like those of our barns : the eaves of this roof, which is thatched with palm leaves, reach within two feet of the floor, and overhang it as much : the space within is generally divided lengthwise into three equal parts ; the middle part, or centre, is inclosed by a partition of four sides, reaching about six feet above

\* In the account which Mr. Bossu has given of some Indians who inhabit the banks of the Arkansas, a river of North America, which rises in New Mexico, and falls into the Mississippi, he relates the following incident : " The Arkansas," says he, " have adopted me, and as a mark of my privilege, have imprinted the figure of a roe-buck upon my thigh, which was done in this manner : an Indian

having burnt some straw, diluted the ashes with water, and with this mixture, drew the figure upon my skin ; he then retraced it, by pricking the lines with needles, so as at every puncture just to draw the blood, and the blood mixing with the ashes of the straw, forms a figure which can never be effaced." See *Travels through Louisiana*, vol. i. p. 107.



the floor, and one or two small rooms are also sometimes taken off from the sides, the rest of the space under the roof is open, so as freely to admit the air and the light: the particular uses of these different apartments our short stay would not permit us to learn, except that the close room in the centre was appropriated to the women.

The food of these people consists of every tame animal in the country, of which the hog holds the first place in their estimation, and the horse the second; next to the horse is the buffalo, next to the buffalo their poultry, and they prefer dogs and cats to sheep and goats. They are not fond of fish, and, I believe, it is never eaten but by the poor people, nor by them except when their duty or business requires them to be upon the beach, and then every man is furnished with a light casting net, which is girt round him, and makes part of his dress; and with this he takes any small fish which happen to come in his way. The esculent vegetables and fruits have been mentioned already, but the fan-palm requires more particular notice, for at certain times it is a succedaneum for all other food both to man and beast. A kind of wine, called toddy, is procured from this tree, by cutting the buds which are to produce flowers, soon after their appearance, and tying under them small baskets, made of the leaves, which are so close as to hold liquids without leaking. The juice which trickles into these vessels, is collected by persons who climb the trees for that purpose, morning and evening, and is the common drink of every individual upon the island; yet a much greater quantity is drawn off than is consumed in this use, and of the surplus they make both a syrup and coarse sugar. The liquor is called *dua*, or *duac*, and both the syrup and sugar, *gula*. The syrup is prepared by boiling the liquor down in pots of earthen ware, till it is sufficiently inspissated; it is not unlike treacle in appearance, but is somewhat thicker, and has a much more agreeable taste: the sugar is of a reddish brown, perhaps the same with the Jugata sugar upon the continent of India, and it was more agreeable to our palates than any cane sugar, unrefined, that we had ever tasted. We were at first afraid that the syrup, of which some of our people ate very great quantities, would have brought on fluxes, but its aperient quality was so very slight, that what effect it produced was rather salutary than hurtful. I have already observed, that it is given with the husks of rice to the hogs, and that they grow enormously fat without taking any other food: we were told also, that this syrup is used to fatten their dogs and their fowls, and that the inhabitants themselves have subsisted upon this alone for several months, when other crops have failed, and animal food has been scarce. The leaves of this tree are also put to various uses, they thatch houses, and make baskets, cups, umbrellas, and tobacco pipes. The fruit is least esteemed, and as the blossoms are wounded for the tuac or toddy, there is not much of it: it is about as big as a large turnip, and covered, like the coconut, with a fibrous coat, under which are three kernels, that must be eaten before they are ripe, for afterwards they become so hard that they cannot be chewed; in their eatable state they taste not unlike a green cocoa-nut, and, like them, probably they yield a nutriment that is watery and unsubstantial.

The common method of dressing food here is by boiling, and as fire-wood is very scarce,



FAN-PALM (*Corypha umbracaulifera*).

and the inhabitants have no other fuel, they make use of a contrivance to save it, that is not wholly unknown in Europe, but is seldom practised except in camps. They dig a hollow under ground, in a horizontal direction, like a rabbit burrow, about two yards long, and opening into a hole at each end, one of which is large and the other small: by the large hole the fire is put in, and the small one serves for a draught. The earth over this burrow is perforated by circular holes, which communicate with the cavity below; and in these holes are set earthen pots, generally about three to each fire, which are large in the middle, and taper towards the bottom, so that the fire acts upon a large part of their surface. Each of these pots generally contains about eight or ten gallons, and it is surprising to see with how small a quantity of fire they may be kept boiling; a palm leaf, or a dry stalk, thrust in now and then, is sufficient: in this manner they boil all their victuals, and make all their syrup and sugar. It appears by Frazier's account of his voyage to the South Sea, that the Peruvian Indians have a contrivance of the same kind, and perhaps it might be adopted with advantage by the poor people even of this country, where fuel is very dear.

Both sexes are enslaved by the hateful and pernicious habit of chewing betel and areca, which they contract even while they are children, and practise incessantly from morning till night. With these they always mix a kind of white lime, made of coral stone and shells, and frequently a small quantity of tobacco, so that their mouths are disgusting in the highest degree both to the smell and the sight: the tobacco taints their breath, and the betel and lime make the teeth not only as black as charcoal, but as rotten too. I have seen men between twenty and thirty, whose fore-teeth have been consumed almost down to the gums, though no two of them were exactly of the same length or thickness, but irregularly corroded like iron by rust. This loss of teeth is, I think, by all who have written upon the subject, imputed to the tough and stringy coat of the areca-nut; but I impute it wholly to the lime: they are not loosened, or broken, or forced out, as might be expected, if they were injured by the continual chewing of hard and rough substances, but they are gradually wasted like metals that are exposed to the action of powerful acids; the stumps always adhering firmly to the socket in the jaw, when there is no part of the tooth above the gums: and possibly those who suppose that sugar has a bad effect upon the teeth of Europeans, may not be mistaken, for it is well known that refined loaf sugar contains a considerable quantity of lime; and he that doubts whether lime will destroy bone of any kind, may easily ascertain the fact by experiment.

If the people here are at any time without this odious mouthful, they are smoking. This operation they perform by rolling up a small quantity of tobacco, and putting it into one end of a tube about six inches long, and as thick as a goose-quill, which they make of a palm-leaf. As the quantity of tobacco in these pipes is very small, the effect of it is increased, especially among the women, by swallowing the smoke.

When the natives of this island were first formed into a civil society, is not certainly known, but at present it is divided into five principalities or nigrées: LAAL, SEBA, REGEEUA, TIMO, and MASSARA, each of which is governed by its respective raja or king. The raja of Seba, the principality in which we were ashore, seemed to have great authority, without much external parade or show, or much appearance of personal respect. He was about five-and-thirty years of age, and the fattest man we saw upon the whole island: he appeared to be of a dull phlegmatic disposition, and to be directed almost implicitly by the old man who, upon my presenting him with a sword, had procured us a fair market, in spite of the craft and avarice of the Dutch factors. The name of this person was MANNU DJARME, and it may reasonably be supposed that he was a man of uncommon integrity and abilities, as, notwithstanding his possession of power in the character of a favourite, he was beloved by the whole principality. If any difference arises among the people, it is settled by the raja and his counsellors, without delay or appeal, and, as we were told, with the most solemn deliberation and impartial justice.

We were informed by Mr. Lange, that the chiefs who had successively presided over the five principalities of this island, had lived for time immemorial in the strictest alliance and most cordial friendship with each other; yet he said the people were of a warlike disposition, and had always courageously defended themselves against foreign invaders. We were told



also, that the island was able to raise, upon very short notice, 7300 fighting men, armed with muskets, spears, lances, and targets. Of this force, Laai was said to furnish 2600, Seba 2000, Regeena 1500, Timo 800, and Massārā 400. Besides the arms that have been already mentioned, each man is furnished with a large pole-axe, resembling a wood-bill, except that it has a straight edge, and is much heavier: this, in the hands of people who have courage to come to close quarters with an enemy, must be a dreadful weapon; and we were told that they were so dexterous with their lances, that, at the distance of sixty feet, they would throw them with such exactness as to pierce a man's heart, and such force as to go quite through his body.

How far this account of the martial prowess of the inhabitants of Savu may be true, we cannot take upon us to determine; but during our stay we saw no appearance of it. We saw, indeed, in the town-house, or house of assembly, about one hundred spears and targets, which served to arm the people who were sent down to intimidate us at the trading-place; but they seemed to be the refuse of old armories, no two being of the same make or length, for some were six, and some sixteen feet long: we saw no lance among them, and as to the muskets, though they were clean on the outside, they were eaten into holes by the rust within; and the people themselves appeared to be so little acquainted with military discipline, that they marched like a disorderly rabble, every one having, instead of his target, a cock, some tobacco, or other merchandise of the like kind, which he took that opportunity to bring down to sell, and few or none of their cartridge-boxes were furnished with either powder or ball, though a piece of paper was thrust into the hole to save appearances. We saw a few swivel guns and pateraros at the town-house, and a great gun before it; but the swivels and pateraros lay out of their carriages, and the great gun lay upon a heap of stones, almost consumed with rust, with the touch-hole downwards, possibly to conceal its size, which might perhaps be little less than that of the bore.

We could not discover that among these people there was any rank of distinction between the raja and the land-owners: the land-owners were respectable in proportion to their possessions; the inferior ranks consist of manufacturers, labouring poor, and slaves. The slaves, like the peasants in some parts of Europe, are connected with the estate, and both descend together; but though the land-owner can sell his slave, he has no other power over his person, not even to correct him, without the privity and approbation of the raja. Some have five hundred of these slaves, and some not half-a-dozen: the common price of them is a fat hog. When a great man goes out, he is constantly attended by two or more of them: one of them carries a sword or hanger, the hilt of which is commonly of silver, and adorned with large tassels of horse-hair; and another carries a bag which contains betel, areca, lime, and tobacco. In these attendants consists all their magnificence, for the raja himself has no other mark of distinction.

The chief object of pride among these people, like that of a Welshman, is a long pedigree of respectable ancestors, and, indeed, a veneration for antiquity seems to be carried farther here than in any other country: even a house that has been well inhabited for many generations, becomes almost sacred, and few articles either of use or luxury bear so high a price as stones, which having been long sat upon, are become even and smooth: those who can purchase such stones, or are possessed of them by inheritance, place them round their houses, where they serve as seats for their dependants.

Every raja sets up in the principal town of his province, or nigree, a large stone, which serves as a memorial of his reign. In the principal town of Seba, where we lay, there are thirteen such stones, besides many fragments of others, which had been set up in earlier times, and are now mouldering away: these monuments seem to prove that some kind of civil establishment here is of considerable antiquity. The last thirteen reigns in England make something more than 276 years. Many of these stones are so large, that it is difficult to conceive by what means they were brought to their present station, especially as it is the summit of a hill; but the world is full of memorials of human strength, in which the mechanical powers that have been since added by mathematical science, seem to be surpassed; and of such monuments there are not a few among the remains of barbarous antiquity in our own country, besides those upon Salisbury Plain. These stones not only

record the reigns of successive princes, but serve for a purpose much more extraordinary, and probably altogether peculiar to this country. When a raja dies, a general feast is proclaimed throughout his dominions, and all his subjects assemble round these stones; almost every living creature that can be caught is then killed, and the feast lasts for a less or greater number of weeks or months, as the kingdom happens to be more or less furnished with live stock at the time; the stones serve for tables. When this madness is over, a fast must necessarily ensue, and the whole kingdom is obliged to subsist upon syrup and water, if it happens in the dry season, when no vegetables can be procured, till a new stock of animals can be raised from the few that have escaped by chance, or been preserved by policy from the general massacre, or can be procured from the neighbouring kingdoms. Such, however, is the account that we received from Mr. Lange.

We had no opportunity to examine any of their manufactures, except that of their cloth, which they spin, weave, and dye; we did not, indeed, see them employed, but many of the instruments which they use fell in our way. We saw their machine for clearing cotton of its seeds, which is made upon the same principles as those in Europe, but it is so small that it might be taken for a model or a toy; it consists of two cylinders, like our round rulers, somewhat less than an inch in diameter, one of which, being turned round by a plain winch, turns the other by means of an endless worm; and the whole machine is not more than fourteen inches long, and seven high; that which we saw had been much used, and many pieces of cotton were hanging about it, so that there is no reason to doubt its being a fair specimen of the rest. We also once saw their apparatus for spinning; it consisted of a bobbin, on which was wound a small quantity of thread, and a kind of distaff filled with cotton; we conjectured, therefore, that they spin by hand, as the women of Europe did before the introduction of wheels; and I am told that they have not yet found their way into some parts of it. Their loom seemed to be in one respect preferable to ours, for the web was not stretched upon a frame, but extended by a piece of wood at each end, round one of which the cloth was rolled, and round the other the threads; the web was about half a yard broad, and the length of the shuttle was equal to the breadth of the web, so that probably their work goes on but slowly. That they dyed this cloth we first guessed from its colour, and from the indigo which we saw in their plantations; and our conjecture was afterwards confirmed by Mr. Lange's account. I have already observed, that it is dyed in the yarn, and we once saw them dyeing what was said to be girdles for the women, of a dirty red, but with what drug we did not think it worth while to inquire.

The religion of these people, according to Mr. Lange's information, is an absurd kind of paganism, every man choosing his own god, and determining for himself how he should be worshipped; so that there are almost as many gods and modes of worship as people. In their morals, however, they are said to be irreproachable, even upon the principles of Christianity. No man is allowed more than one wife, yet an illicit commerce between the sexes is in a manner unknown among them; instances of theft are very rare; and they are so far from revenging a supposed injury by murder, that if any difference arises between them, they will not so much as make it the subject of debate, lest they should be provoked to resentment and ill-will, but immediately and implicitly refer it to the determination of their king.

They appeared to be a healthy and long-lived people; yet some of them were marked with the small-pox, which Mr. Lange told us had several times made its appearance among them, and was treated with the same precautions as the plague. As soon as a person was seized with the distemper, he was removed to some solitary place, very remote from any habitation, where the disease was left to take its course, and the patient supplied with daily food by reaching it to him at the end of a long pole. Of their domestic economy we could learn but little; in one instance, however, their delicacy and cleanliness are very remarkable. Many of us were ashore here three successive days, from a very early hour in the morning till it was dark, yet we never saw the least trace of an offering to Cloacina, nor could we so much as guess where they were made. In a country so populous this is very difficult to be accounted for; and perhaps there is no other country in the world where the secret is so effectually kept. The boats in use here are a kind of proa.



This island was settled by the Portuguese almost as soon as they first found their way into this part of the ocean ; but they were in a short time supplanted by the Dutch. The Dutch, however, did not take possession of it, but only sent sloops to trade with the natives, probably for provisions to support the inhabitants of their spice islands, who, applying themselves wholly to the cultivation of that important article of trade, and laying out all their ground in plantations, can breed few animals. Possibly their supplies by this occasional traffic were precarious ; possibly they were jealous of being supplanted in their turn ; but however that be, their East India Company, about ten years ago, entered into a treaty with the Rajas, by which the Company stipulated to furnish each of them with a certain quantity of silk, fine linen, cutlery ware, arrack, and other articles, every year ; and the Rajas engaged that neither they nor their subjects should trade with any person except the Company, without having first obtained their consent ; and that they would admit a resident on behalf of the Company to reside upon the island, and see that their part of the treaty was fulfilled. They also engaged to supply annually a certain quantity of rice, maize, and calavances. The maize and calavances are sent to Timor in sloops, which are kept there for that purpose, each of which is navigated by ten Indians ; and the rice is fetched away annually by a ship which brings the Company's returns, and anchors alternately in each of the three bays. These returns are delivered to the Rajas in the form of a present, and the cask of arrack they and their principal people never cease to drink as long as a drop of it remains.

In consequence of this treaty, the Dutch placed three persons upon the island ; Mr. Lange, his colleague, the native of Timor, the son of an Indian woman by a Portuguese, and one Frederick Craig, the son of an Indian woman by a Dutchman. Lange visits each of the Rajas once in two months, when he makes the tour of the island, attended by fifty slaves on horseback. He exhorts these chiefs to plant, if it appears that they have been remiss, and observes where the crops are got in, that he may order sloops to fetch it ; so that it passes immediately from the ground to the Dutch storehouses at Timor. In these excursions he always carries with him some bottles of arrack, which he finds of great use in opening the hearts of the Rajas with whom he is to deal. During the ten years that he had resided upon this island he had never seen a European besides ourselves, except at the arrival of the Dutch ship, which had sailed about two months before we arrived ; and he is now to be distinguished from the natives only by his colour and his dress, for he sits upon the ground, chews his betel, and in every respect has adopted their character and manners. He has married an Indian woman of the island of Timor, who keeps his house after the fashion of her country ; and he gave that as a reason for not inviting us to visit him, saying, that he could entertain us in no other manner than the Indians had done ; and he spoke no language readily but that of the country.

The office of Mr. Frederick Craig is to instruct the youth of the country in reading and writing, and the principles of the Christian religion ; the Dutch having printed versions of the New Testament, a catechism, and several other tracts, in the language of this and the neighbouring islands. Dr. Solander, who was at his house, saw the books, and the copy-books also, of his scholars, many of whom wrote a very fair hand. He boasted that there were no less than six hundred Christians in the township of Seba ; but what the Dutch Christianity of these Indians may be, it is not perhaps very easy to guess, for there is not a church, nor even a priest, in the whole island.

While we were at this place, we made several inquiries concerning the neighbouring islands, and the intelligence which we received is to the following effect. A small island to the westward of Savu, the name of which we did not learn, produces nothing of any consequence but areca-nuts, of which the Dutch receive annually the freight of two sloops, in return for presents that they make to the islanders. Timor is the chief ; and the Dutch residents on the other islands go thither once a year to pass their accounts. The place is nearly in the same state as in Dampier's time, the Dutch having there a fort and storehouses ; and, by Lange's account, we might there have been supplied with every necessary that we expected to procure at Batavia, salt provisions and arrack not excepted. But the Portuguese are still in possession of several towns on the north side of the island, particularly Iaphao and Sesial.

About two years before our arrival, a French ship was wrecked upon the east coast of

Timor; and after she had lain some days upon the shoal, a sudden gale broke her up at once, and drowned the captain, with the greatest part of the crew. Those who got ashore, among whom was one of the lieutenants, made the best of their way to Concordia; they were four days upon the road, where they were obliged to leave part of their company through fatigue, and the rest, to the number of about eighty, arrived at the town. They were supplied with every necessary, and sent back to the wreck, with proper assistance for recovering what could be fished up. They fortunately got up all their bullion, which was in chests, and several of their guns, which were very large. They then returned to the town, but their companions who had been left upon the road were missing, having, as it was supposed, been kept among the Indians, either by persuasion or force; for they are very desirous of having Europeans among them, to instruct them in the art of war. After a stay of more than two months at Concordia, their number was diminished nearly one-half by sickness, in consequence of the fatigue and hardship which they had suffered by the shipwreck, and the survivors were sent in a small vessel to Europe.

Rotte is in much the same situation as Savu; a Dutch factor resides upon it to manage the natives, and look after its produce, which consists, among other articles, of sugar. Formerly it was made only by bruising the canes, and boiling the juice to a syrup, in the same manner as toddy; but great improvements have lately been made in preparing this valuable commodity. The three little islands called the Solars are also under the influence of the Dutch settlement at Concordia: they are flat and low, but abound with provisions of every kind, and the middlemost is said to have a good harbour for shipping. Ende, another little island to the westward of the Solars, is still in the hands of the Portuguese, who have a good town and harbour on the north-east corner of it, called Larntuca: they had formerly a harbour on the south side of it, but that being much inferior to Larntuca, has for some time been altogether neglected.

The inhabitants of each of these little islands speak a language peculiar to themselves, and it is an object of Dutch policy to prevent, as much as possible, their learning the language of each other. If they spoke a common language, they would learn, by a mutual intercourse with each other, to plant such things as would be of more value to themselves than their present produce, though of less advantage to the Dutch; but their languages being different, they can communicate no such knowledge to each other, and the Dutch secure to themselves the benefit of supplying their several necessities upon their own terms, which it is reasonable to suppose are not very moderate. It is probably with a view to this advantage that the Dutch never teach their own language to the natives of these islands, and have been at the expense of translating the Testament and catechisms into the different languages of each; for in proportion as Dutch had become the language of their religion, it would have become the common language of them all.

To this account of Savu, I shall only add a small specimen of its language, by which it will appear to have some affinity with that of the South Sea Islands, many of the words being exactly the same, and the numbers manifestly derived from the same source.

<i>A man</i>	. . . .	Momonne.
<i>A woman</i>	. . . .	Mobunne.
<i>The head</i>	. . . .	Catoo.
<i>The hair</i>	. . . .	Row catoo.
<i>The eyes</i>	. . . .	Matta.
<i>The eyelashes</i>	. . . .	Rowna matta.
<i>The nose</i>	. . . .	Swanga.
<i>The cheeks</i>	. . . .	Cavaranga.
<i>The ears</i>	. . . .	Wodeeloo.
<i>The tongue</i>	. . . .	Vaio.
<i>The neck</i>	. . . .	Lacoco.
<i>The breasts</i>	. . . .	Soosoo.
<i>The nipples</i>	. . . .	Caboo soosoo.
<i>The belly</i>	. . . .	Dullo.
<i>The navel</i>	. . . .	Assoo.
<i>The thighs</i>	. . . .	Tooga.
<i>The knees</i>	. . . .	Rootoo.
<i>The legs</i>	. . . .	Baibo.
<i>The feet</i>	. . . .	Duncea.

<i>The toes</i>	. . . .	Kissovei yilla.
<i>The arms</i>	. . . .	Camacoo.
<i>The hand</i>	. . . .	Wulaba.
<i>A buffalo</i>	. . . .	Cabaou.
<i>A horse</i>	. . . .	Djara.
<i>A hog</i>	. . . .	Vavee.
<i>A sheep</i>	. . . .	Doomba.
<i>A goat</i>	. . . .	Kesavoo.
<i>A dog</i>	. . . .	Guaca.
<i>A cat</i>	. . . .	Maio.
<i>A fowl</i>	. . . .	Mannu.
<i>The tail</i>	. . . .	Carow.
<i>The beak</i>	. . . .	Pangoutoo.
<i>A fish</i>	. . . .	Ica.
<i>A turtle</i>	. . . .	Unjoo.
<i>A cocoa-nut</i>	. . . .	Nieu.
<i>Fan-palm</i>	. . . .	Boaceree.
<i>Areca</i>	. . . .	Calella.
<i>Betel</i>	. . . .	Canana.



<i>Lime</i> . . . . .	Aou.
<i>A fish-hook</i> . . . . .	Mañadoo.
<i>Tattoo, the marks on the skin</i> . . . . .	Tata.
<i>The sun</i> . . . . .	Lodo.
<i>The moon</i> . . . . .	Wurroo.
<i>The sea</i> . . . . .	Aidassee.
<i>Water</i> . . . . .	Ailea.
<i>Fire</i> . . . . .	Ace.
<i>To die</i> . . . . .	Maate.
<i>To sleep</i> . . . . .	Tabudge.
<i>To rise</i> . . . . .	Tateetoo.
<i>One</i> . . . . .	Ussc.
<i>Two</i> . . . . .	Lhua.
<i>Three</i> . . . . .	Tullu.

<i>Four</i> . . . . .	Uppah.
<i>Five</i> . . . . .	Lunme.
<i>Six</i> . . . . .	Unna.
<i>Seven</i> . . . . .	Pedu.
<i>Eight</i> . . . . .	Arru.
<i>Nine</i> . . . . .	Saou.
<i>Ten</i> . . . . .	Singooroo.
<i>Eleven</i> . . . . .	Singurung usse.
<i>20</i> . . . . .	Lhuangooroo.
<i>100</i> . . . . .	Sing assu.
<i>1000</i> . . . . .	Setuppah.
<i>10,000</i> . . . . .	Selacussa.
<i>100,000</i> . . . . .	Serata.
<i>1,000,000</i> . . . . .	Sereboo.

In this account of the island of Savu it must be remembered, that except the facts in which we were parties, and the account of the objects which we had an opportunity to examine, the whole is founded merely upon the report of Mr. Lange, upon whose authority alone therefore it must rest.

CHAPTER X.—THE RUN FROM THE ISLAND OF SAVU TO BATAVIA, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE TRANSACTIONS THERE WHILE THE SHIP WAS REFITTING.

IN the morning of Friday, the 21st of September, 1770, we got under sail, and stood away to the westward, along the north side of the island of Savu, and of the smaller that lies to the westward of it, which at noon bore from us S.S.E., distant two leagues. At four o'clock in the afternoon, we discovered a small low island, bearing S.S.W., distant three leagues, which has no place in any chart now extant, at least in none that I have been able to procure: it lies in latitude  $10^{\circ} 47' S.$ , longitude  $238^{\circ} 28' W.$  At noon on the 22d, we were in latitude  $11^{\circ} 10' S.$ , longitude  $240^{\circ} 38' W.$  In the evening of the 23d, we found the variation of the needle to be  $2^{\circ} 44' W.$ ; as soon as we got clear of the islands, we had constantly a swell from the southward, which I imagined was not caused by a wind blowing from that quarter, but by the sea being so determined by the position of the coast of New Holland.

At noon on the 26th, being in latitude  $10^{\circ} 47' S.$ , longitude  $249^{\circ} 52' W.$ , we found the variation to be  $3^{\circ} 10' W.$ , and our situation to be twenty-five miles to the northward of the log; for which I know not how to account. At noon, on the 27th, our latitude, by observation, was  $10^{\circ} 51' S.$ , which was agreeable to the log; and our longitude was  $252^{\circ} 11' W.$  We steered N.W. all day on the 28th, in order to make the land of Java; and at noon, on the 29th, our latitude by observation was  $9^{\circ} 31' S.$ , longitude  $254^{\circ} 10' W.$ ; and in the morning of the 30th, I took into my possession the log-book and journals, at least all I could find, of the officers, petty officers, and seamen, and enjoined them secrecy with respect to where they had been. At seven in the evening, being in the latitude of Java Head, and not seeing any land, I concluded that we were too far to the westward: I therefore hauled up E.N.E., having before steered N. by E. In the night, we had thunder and lightning; and about twelve o'clock, by the light of the flashes, we saw the land bearing east. I then tacked and stood to the S.W. till four o'clock in the morning of the 1st of October; and at six, Java Head, or the west end of Java, bore S.E. by E., distant five leagues: soon after we saw Prince's Island, bearing E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S.; and at ten, the island of Cracatoa, bearing N.E. Cracatoa is a remarkably high-peaked island, and at noon it bore N.  $40^{\circ}$  E., distant seven leagues.

I must now observe, that during our run from Savu, I allowed twenty minutes a-day for the westerly current, which I concluded must run strong at this time, especially off the coast of Java; and I found that this allowance was just equivalent to the effect of the current upon the ship. At four o'clock in the morning of the 2d, we fetched close in with the coast of Java, in fifteen fathom; we then stood along the coast, and early in the forenoon I sent the boat ashore to try if she could procure some fruit for Tupia, who was very ill, and some grass for the buffaloes that were still alive. In an hour or two she returned with four cocoa-nuts,

and a small bunch of plantains, which had been purchased for a shilling, and some herbage for the cattle, which the Indians not only gave us, but assisted our people to cut. The country looked like one continued wood, and had a very pleasant appearance. About eleven o'clock, we saw two Dutch ships lying off Anger Point, and I sent Mr. Hicks on board of one of them to inquire news of our country, from which we had been absent so long. In the mean time it fell calm, and about noon I anchored in eighteen fathom with a muddy bottom. When Mr. Hicks returned, he reported that the ships were Dutch East Indiamen from Batavia, one of which was bound to Ceylon, and the other to the coast of Malabar; and that there was also a fly-boat or packet, which was said to be stationed here to carry letters from the Dutch ships that came hither to Batavia, but which I rather think was appointed to examine all ships that pass the Strait: from these ships we heard, with great pleasure, that the *Swallow* had been at Batavia about two years before.

At seven o'clock a breeze sprung up at S.S.W., with which having weighed, we stood to the N.E. between Thwart-the-way-Island and the Cap, sounding from eighteen to twenty-eight fathom: we had but little wind all night, and having a strong current against us, we got no further by eight in the morning than Bantam Point. At this time the wind came to the N.E., and obliged us to anchor in two-and-twenty fathom, at about the distance of two miles from the shore; the point bore N.E. by E., distant one league, and here we found a strong current setting to the N.W. In the morning we had seen the Dutch packet standing after us, but when the wind shifted to the N.E. she bore away. At six o'clock in the evening, the wind having obliged us to continue at anchor, one of the country boats came alongside of us, on board of which was the master of the packet. He seemed to have two motives for his visit, one to take an account of the ship, and the other to sell us refreshments; for in the boat were turtle, fowls, ducks, parrots, parroquets, rice-birds, monkeys, and other articles, which they held at a very high price, and brought to a bad market, for our Savu stock was not yet expended: however, I gave a Spanish dollar for a small turtle, which weighed about six-and-thirty pounds; I gave also a dollar for ten large fowls, and afterwards bought fifteen more at the same price; for a dollar we might also have bought two monkeys, or a whole cage of rice-birds. The master of the sloop brought with him two books, in one of which he desired that any of our officers would write down the name of the ship and its commander, with that of the place from which she sailed, and of the port to which she was bound, with such other particulars relating to themselves, as they might think proper, for the information of any of our friends that should come after us: and in the other he entered the names of the ship and the commander, himself, in order to transmit them to the Governor and Council of the Indies. We perceived that in the first book many ships, particularly Portuguese, had made entries of the same kind with that for which it was presented to us. Mr. Hicks, however, having written the name of the ship, only added "from Europe." He took notice of this, but said, that he was satisfied with anything we thought fit to write, it being intended merely for the information of those who should inquire after us from motives of friendship.

Having made several attempts to sail with a wind that would not stem the current, and as often come to an anchor, a proa came alongside of us in the morning of the 5th, in which was a Dutch officer, who sent me down a printed paper in English, duplicates of which he had in other languages, particularly in French and Dutch, all regularly signed, in the name of the Governor and Council of the Indies, by their secretary: it contained nine questions, very ill expressed in the following terms:

- "1. To what nation the ship belongs, and its name?
- "2. If it comes from Europe, or any other place?
- "3. From what place it lastly departed from?
- "4. Whereunto designed to go?
- "5. What and how many ships of the Dutch Company by departure from the last shore there layed, and their names?
- "6. If one or more of these ships in company with this, is departed for this or any other place?
- "7. If during the voyage any particularities is happened or seen?
- "8. If not any ships in sea, or the Straits of Sunda, have seen or hailed in, and which?



"9. If any other news worth of attention, at the place from whence the ship lastly departed, or during the voyage, is happened ?

"BATAVIA, in the Castle.

"By order of the Governor-General

"and the Counsellors of India,

"J. BRANDER BUNGL, Sec."

Of these questions I answered only the first and the fourth ; which when the officer saw, he said answers to the rest were of no consequence : yet he immediately added, that he must send that very paper away to Batavia, and that it would be there the next day at noon. I have particularly related this incident, because I have been credibly informed that it is but of late years that the Dutch have taken upon them to examine ships that pass through this Strait.

At ten o'clock the same morning, we weighed, with a light breeze at S.W. ; but did little more than stem the current, and about two o'clock anchored again under Bantam Point, where we lay till nine ; a light breeze then springing up at S.E., we weighed and stood to the eastward till ten o'clock the next morning, when the current obliged us again to anchor in twenty-two fathom, Pulababi bearing E. by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S., distant between three and four miles. Having alternately weighed and anchored several times, till four in the afternoon of the 7th, we then stood to the eastward, with a very faint breeze at N.E., and passed Wapen Island, and the first island to the eastward of it ; when the wind dying away, we were carried by the current between the first and second of the islands that lie to the eastward of Wapen Island, where we were obliged to anchor in thirty fathom, being very near a ledge of rocks that run out from one of the islands. At two the next morning we weighed with the land wind at south, and stood out clear of the shoal ; but before noon were obliged to come to again in twenty-eight fathom, near a small island among those that are called the Thousand Islands, which we did not find laid down in any chart. Pulo Pare at this time bore E.N.E., distance between six and seven miles.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went ashore upon the island, which they found not to be more than five hundred yards long, and one hundred broad ; yet there was a house upon it, and a small plantation, where among other things was the *Palma Christi*, from which the castor-oil is made in the West Indies : they made a small addition to their collection of plants, and shot a bat, whose wings when extended measured three feet from point to point : they shot also four plovers, which exactly resembled the golden plover of England. Soon after they returned, a small Indian boat came alongside with two Malays on board, who brought three turtles, some dried fish, and a few pumpkins : we bought the turtle, which altogether weighed a hundred and forty-six pounds, for a dollar, and considering that we had lately paid the Dutchman a dollar for one that weighed only six-and-thirty pounds, we thought we had a good bargain. The seller appeared equally satisfied, and we then treated with him for his pumpkins, for which he was very unwilling to take any money but a dollar ; we said that a whole dollar was greatly too much ; to which he readily assented, but desired that we would cut one and give him a part : at last, however, a fine shining Portuguese petack tempted him, and for that he sold us his whole stock of pumpkins, being in number twenty-six. At parting, he made signs that we should not tell at Batavia that any boat had been aboard us.

We were not able to weather Pulo Pare this day, but getting the land wind at south about ten o'clock at night, we weighed and stood to the E.S.E. all night. At ten in the morning, we anchored again, to wait for the sea breeze ; and at noon it sprung up at N.N.E., with which we stood in for Batavia road, where at four o'clock in the afternoon we came to an anchor.

We found here the Harcourt Indiaman from England, two English private traders of that country, thirteen sail of large Dutch ships, and a considerable number of small vessels. A boat came immediately on board from a ship which had a broad pendant flying, and the officer who commanded, having inquired who we were, and whence we came, immediately returned with such answers as we thought fit to give him : both he and his people were as

pale as spectres, a sad presage of our sufferings in so unhealthy a country ; but our people, who, except Tupia, were all rosy and plump, seemed to think themselves so seasoned by various climates that nothing could hurt them. In the mean time, I sent a lieutenant ashore to acquaint the Governor of our arrival, and to make an excuse for our not saluting ; for as I could salute with only three guns, except the swivels, which I was of opinion would not be heard, I thought it was better to let it alone. As soon as the boat was despatched, the carpenter delivered me an account of the defects of the ship, of which the following is a copy :

“ The defects of his Majesty's bark Endeavour, Lieutenant James Cook Commander.

“ The ship very leaky, as she makes from twelve to six inches water an hour, occasioned by her main keel being wounded in many places, and the scarfs of her stern being very open : the false keel gone beyond the midships from forward, and perhaps farther, as I had no opportunity of seeing for the water when hauled ashore for repairing ; wounded on the larboard side under the main channel, where I imagine the greatest leak is, but could not come at it for the water : one pump on the larboard side useless ; the others decayed within an inch and a half of the bore. Otherwise masts, yards, boats, and hull, in pretty good condition.”

As it was the universal opinion that the ship could not safely proceed to Europe without an examination of her bottom, I determined to apply for leave to heave her down at this place ; and as I understood that it would be necessary to make this application in writing, I drew up a request, and the next morning, having got it translated into Dutch, we all went ashore.

We repaired immediately to the house of Mr. Leith, the only Englishman of any credit who is resident at this place ; he received us with great politeness, and engaged us to dinner : to this gentleman we applied for instructions how to provide ourselves with lodgings and necessaries while we should stay ashore, and he told us, that there was an hotel or kind of inn, kept by the order of government, where all merchants and strangers were obliged to reside, paying half per cent. upon the value of their goods for warehouse room, which the master of the house was obliged to provide ; but that as we came in a king's ship, we should be at liberty to live where we pleased, upon asking the governor's permission, which would be granted of course. He said, that it would be cheaper for us to take a house in the town, and bring our own servants ashore, if we had anybody upon whom we could depend to buy in our provisions ; but as this was not the case, having no person among us who could speak the Malay language, our gentlemen determined to go to the hotel. At the hotel, therefore, beds were immediately hired, and word was sent that we should sleep there at night. At five o'clock in the afternoon, I was introduced to the governor-general, who received me very courteously ; he told me, that I should have everything I wanted, and that in the morning my request should be laid before the council, which I was desired to attend.

About nine o'clock, we had a dreadful storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, during which the mainmast of one of the Dutch East Indiamen was split, and carried away by the deck ; the main-top-mast and top-gallant mast were shivered all to pieces ; she had an iron spindle at the main-top-gallant masthead, which probably directed the stroke. This ship lay not more than the distance of two cables' length from ours, and in all probability we should have shared the same fate, but for the electrical chain which we had but just got up, and which conducted the lightning over the side of the ship ; but though we escaped the lightning, the explosion shook us like an earthquake, the chain at the same time appearing like a line of fire : a sentinel was in the action of charging his piece, and the shock forced the musket out of his hand, and broke the rammer rod. Upon this occasion, I cannot but earnestly recommend chains of the same kind to every ship, whatever be her destination, and I hope that the fate of the Dutchman will be a warning to all who shall read this narrative, against having an iron spindle at the masthead.

The next morning I attended at the council-chamber, and was told that I should have everything I wanted. In the mean time, the gentlemen ashore agreed with the keeper of the hotel for their lodging and board, at the rate of two rix-dollars, or nine shillings sterling,



a-day for each ; and as there were five of them, and they would probably have many visitors from the ship, he agreed to keep them a separate table, upon condition that they should pay one rix-dollar for the dinner of every stranger, and another for his supper and bed, if he should sleep ashore. Under this stipulation, they were to be furnished with tea, coffee, punch, pipes and tobacco, for themselves and their friends, as much as they could consume ; they were also to pay half a rupee, or one shilling and three-pence, a-day for each of their servants.

They soon learnt that these rates were more than double the common charges of board and lodging in the town ; and their table, though it had the appearance of magnificence, was wretchedly served. Their dinner consisted of one course of fifteen dishes, and their supper of one course of thirteen, but nine or ten of them consisted of bad poultry, variously dressed, and often served up the second, third, and even the fourth time : the same duck having appeared more than once roasted, found his way again to the table as a fricassee, and a fourth time in the form of forced meat. It was not long, however, before they learned that this treatment was only by way of essay, and that it was the invariable custom of the house, to supply all strangers, at their first coming, with such fare as could be procured for the least money, and consequently would produce the most gain : that if, either through indolence or good nature, they were content, it was continued for the benefit of the host ; but that if they complained, it was gradually amended till they were satisfied, which sometimes happened before they had the worth of their money. After this discovery, they remonstrated, and their fare became better ; however, after a few days, Mr. Banks hired a little house, the next door on the left hand to the hotel, for himself and his party, for which he paid after the rate of ten rix-dollars, or two pounds five shillings sterling, a-month ; but here they were very far from having either the convenience or the privacy which they expected : no person was permitted to sleep in this private house occasionally, as a guest to the person who hired it, under a penalty ; but almost every Dutchman that went by ran in without any ceremony to ask what they sold, there having been very seldom any private persons at Batavia who had not something to sell. Everybody here hires a carriage, and Mr. Banks hired two. They are open chaises, made to hold two people, and driven by a man sitting on a coach-box ; for each of these he paid two rix-dollars a-day.

As soon as he was settled in his new habitation, he sent for Tupia, who till now had continued on board upon account of his illness, which was of the bilious kind, and for which he had obstinately refused to take any medicine. He soon came ashore, with his boy Tayeto, and though while he was on board, and after he came into the boat, he was exceedingly listless and dejected, he no sooner entered the town than he seemed to be animated with a new soul. The houses, carriages, streets, people, and a multiplicity of other objects, all new, which rushed upon him at once, produced an effect like the sudden and secret power that is imagined of fascination. Tayeto expressed his wonder and delight with still less restraint, and danced along the street in a kind of ecstasy, examining every object with a restless and eager curiosity, which was every moment excited and gratified. One of the first things that Tupia remarked, was the various dresses of the passing multitude, concerning which he made many inquiries ; and when he was told that in this place, where people of many different nations were assembled, every one wore the habit of his country, he desired that he might conform to the custom, and appear in that of Otaheite. South Sea cloth was therefore sent for from the ship, and he equipped himself with great expedition and dexterity. The people who had seen Otourou, the Indian who had been brought hither by M. Bougainville, inquired whether Tupia was not the same person : from these inquiries, we learned who it was that we had supposed to be Spaniards, from the accounts that had been given of two ships by the Islanders.

In the mean time, I procured an order to the superintendant of the island of Onrust, where the ship was to be repaired, to receive her there ; and sent, by one of the ships that sailed for Holland, an account of our arrival here, to Mr. Stephens, the secretary to the admiralty. The expenses that would be incurred by repairing and refitting the ship rendered it necessary for me to take up money in this place, which I imagined might be done without difficulty : but I found myself mistaken ; for, after the most diligent inquiry, I could not find any



private person that had ability and inclination to advance the sum that I wanted. In this difficulty I applied to the governor himself, by a written request ; in consequence of which, the Shebander had orders to supply me with what money I should require out of the Company's treasury.

On the 18th, as soon as it was light, having by several accidents and mistakes suffered a delay of many days, I took up the anchor, and ran down to Onrust : a few days afterwards we went alongside of the wharf, on Cooper's Island, which lies close to Onrust, in order to take out our stores. By this time, having been here only nine days, we began to feel the fatal effects of the climate and situation. Tupia, after the flow of spirits which the novelties of the place produced upon his first landing, sunk on a sudden, and grew every day worse and worse. Tayeto was seized with an inflammation upon his lungs, Mr. Banks's two servants became very ill, and himself and Dr. Solander were attacked by fevers : in a few days almost every person both on board and ashore were sick ; affected, no doubt, by the low, swampy situation of the place, and the numberless dirty canals which intersect the town in all directions. On the 26th, I set up the tent for the reception of the ship's company, of whom there was but a small number able to do duty. Poor Tupia, of whose life we now began to despair, and who till this time had continued ashore with Mr. Banks, desired to be removed to the ship, where, he said, he should breathe a freer air than among the numerous houses which obstructed it ashore : on board the ship, however, he could not go, for she was unrigged, and preparing to be laid down at the careening-place ; but on the 28th, Mr. Banks went with him to Cooper's Island, or, as it is called here, Kuypor, where she lay ; and as he seemed pleased with the spot, a tent was there pitched for him : at this place both the sea-breeze and the land-breeze blew directly over him, and he expressed great satisfaction in his situation. Mr. Banks, whose humanity kept him two days with this poor Indian, returned to the town on the 30th, and the fits of his intermittent, which was now become a regular tertian, were so violent as to deprive him of his senses while they lasted, and leave him so weak that he was scarcely able to crawl down stairs : at this time Dr. Solander's disorder also increased, and Mr. Monkhouse the surgeon was confined to his bed.

On the 5th of November, after many delays, in consequence of the Dutch ships coming alongside the wharfs to load pepper, the ship was laid down, and the same day Mr. Monkhouse, our surgeon, a sensible, skilful man, fell the first sacrifice to this fatal country, a loss which was greatly aggravated by our situation. Dr. Solander was just able to attend his funeral, but Mr. Banks was confined to his bed. Our distress was now very great, and the prospect before us discouraging in the highest degree : our danger was not such as we could surmount by any efforts of our own ; courage, skill, and diligence, were all equally ineffectual, and death was every day making advances upon us, where we could neither resist nor fly. Malay servants were hired to attend the sick, but they had so little sense either of duty or humanity, that they could not be kept within call, and the patient was frequently obliged to get out of bed to seek them. On the 9th, we lost our poor Indian boy Tayeto, and Tupia was so much affected, that it was doubted whether he would survive till the next day.

In the mean time, the bottom of the ship being examined, was found to be in a worse condition than we apprehended : the false keel was all gone to within twenty feet of the stern-post ; the main keel was considerably injured in many places ; and a great quantity of the sheathing was torn off, and several planks were much damaged ; two of them, and the half of a third, under the main channel near the keel, were, for the length of six feet, so worn, that they were not above an eighth part of an inch thick, and here the worms had made their way quite into the timbers ; yet in this condition she had sailed many hundred leagues, where navigation is as dangerous as in any part of the world : how much misery did we escape, by being ignorant that so considerable a part of the bottom of the vessel was thinner than the sole of a shoe, and that every life on board depended upon so slight and fragile a barrier between us and the unfathomable ocean ! It seemed, however, that we had been preserved only to perish here : Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were so bad, that the physician declared they had no chance for recovery but by removing into the country ; a house was therefore hired for them at the distance of about two miles from the town, which belonged to the master of the hotel, who engaged to furnish them with provisions, and the



use of slaves. As they had already experienced their want of influence over slaves that had other masters, and the unfeeling inattention of these fellows to the sick, they bought each of them a Malay woman, which removed both the causes of their being so ill served; the women were their own property, and the tenderness of the sex, even here, made them good nurses. While these preparations were making, they received an account of the death of Tupia, who sunk at once after the loss of the boy, whom he loved with the tenderness of a parent.

By the 14th, the bottom of the ship was thoroughly repaired, and very much to my satisfaction; it would, indeed, be injustice to the officers and workmen of this yard, not to declare that, in my opinion, there is not a marine yard in the world where a ship can be laid down with more convenience, safety, and despatch, nor repaired with more diligence and skill. At this place they heave down by two masts, a method which we do not now practise: it is, however, unquestionably more safe and expeditious to heave down with two masts than one; and he must have a good share of bigotry to old customs, and an equal want of common sense, who will not allow this, after seeing with what facility the Dutch heave down their largest ships at this place.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander recovered slowly at their country-house, which was not only open to the sea-breeze, but situated upon a running stream, which greatly contributed to the circulation of the air: but I was now taken ill myself; Mr. Sporing and a seaman who had attended Mr. Banks were also seized with intermittents; and, indeed, there was not more than ten of the whole ship's company that were able to do duty. We proceeded, however, in rigging the ship, and getting water and stores aboard: the water we were obliged to procure from Batavia, at the rate of six shillings and eightpence a leager, or one hundred and fifty gallons.

About the 26th, the westerly monsoon set in, which generally blows here in the night from the S.W., and in the day from the N.W. or N. For some nights before this, we had very heavy rain, with much thunder; and in the night between the 25th and 26th, such rain as we had seldom seen, for near four hours without intermission. Mr. Banks's house admitted the water in every part like a sieve, and it ran through the lower rooms in a stream that would have turned a mill; he was by this time sufficiently recovered to go out, and, upon his entering Batavia the next morning, he was much surprised to see the bedding everywhere hung out to dry. The wet season was now set in, though we had some intervals of fair weather. The frogs in the ditches, which croak ten times louder than any frogs in Europe, gave notice of rain by an incessant noise that was almost intolerable, and the gnats and mosquitos, which had been very troublesome even during the dry weather, were now become innumerable, swarming from every plash of water like bees from a hive: they did not, however, much incommode us in the day, and the stings, however troublesome at first, never continued to itch above half an hour, so that none of us felt in the day the effects of the wounds they had received in the night.

On the 8th of December, the ship being perfectly refitted, and having taken in most of her water and stores, and received the sick on board, we ran up to Batavia Road, and anchored in four fathom and a half of water. From this time, to the 24th, we were employed in getting on board the remainder of our water and provisions, with some new pumps, and in several other operations that were necessary to fit the ship for the sea, all which would have been effected much sooner, if sickness and death had not disabled or carried off a great number of our men.

While we lay here, the Earl of Elgin, Captain Cook, a ship belonging to the English East India Company, came to an anchor in the road. She was bound from Madras to China, but having lost her passage, put in here to wait for the next season. The Phoenix, Captain Black, an English country ship, from Bencoolen, also came to an anchor at this place.

In the afternoon of Christmas eve, the 24th, I took leave of the governor, and several of the principal gentlemen of the place, with whom I had formed connexions, and from whom I received every possible civility and assistance; but in the mean time an accident happened, which might have produced disagreeable consequences. A seaman had run away from one

of the Dutch ships in the road, and entered on board of mine : the captain had applied to the governor, to reclaim him as a subject of Holland, and an order for that purpose was procured : this order was brought to me soon after I returned from my last visit, and I said, that if the man appeared to be a Dutchman, he should certainly be delivered up. Mr. Hicks commanded on board, and I gave the Dutch officer an order to him, to deliver the man up under that condition. I slept myself this night on shore, and, in the morning, the captain of the Dutch commodore came and told me that he had carried my order on board, but that the officer had refused to deliver up the man, alleging, not only that he was not a Dutchman, but that he was a subject of Great Britain, born in Ireland : I replied, that the officer had perfectly executed my orders, and that if the man was an English subject, it could not be expected that I should deliver him up. The captain then said, that he was just come from the governor, to demand the man of me in his name, as a subject of Denmark, alleging that he stood in the ship's books as born at Elsinour. The claim of this man as a subject of Holland being now given up, I observed to the captain that there appeared to be some mistake in the general's message, for that he would certainly never demand a Danish seaman from me, who had committed no other crime than preferring the service of the English to that of the Dutch. I added, however, to convince him of my sincere desire to avoid disputes, that if the man was a Dane he should be delivered up as a courtesy, though he could not be demanded as a right ; but that if I found he was an English subject, I would keep him at all events. Upon these terms we parted, and soon after I received a letter from Mr. Hicks, containing indubitable proof that the seaman in question was a subject of his Britannic Majesty. This letter I immediately carried to the Shebander, with a request that it might be shown to the governor, and that his excellency might at the same time be told I would not upon any terms part with the man. This had the desired effect, and I heard no more of the affair. In the evening, I went on board, accompanied by Mr. Banks, and the rest of the gentlemen who had constantly resided on shore, and who, though better, were not yet perfectly recovered.

At six in the morning of the 26th, we weighed and set sail, with a light breeze at S.W. The Elgin Indiaman saluted us with three cheers and thirteen guns, and the garrison with fourteen, both which, with the help of our swivels, we returned, and soon after the sea-breeze set in at N. by W., which obliged us to anchor just without the ships in the road. At this time the number of sick on board amounted to forty, and the rest of the ship's company were in a very feeble condition. Every individual had been sick except the sail-maker, an old man between seventy and eighty years of age, and it is very remarkable that this old man, during our stay at this place, was constantly drunk every day : we had buried seven, the surgeon, three seamen, Mr. Green's servant, Tupia, and Tayeto his boy. All but Tupia fell a sacrifice to the unwholesome, stagnant, putrid air of the country ; and he who, from his birth, had been used to subsist chiefly upon vegetable food, particularly ripe fruit, soon contracted all the disorders that are incident to a sea life, and would probably have sunk under them before we could have completed our voyage, if we had not been obliged to go to Batavia to refit.

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CHAPTER XI.—SOME ACCOUNT OF BATAVIA, AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRY—WITH THEIR FRUITS, FLOWERS, AND OTHER PRODUCTIONS.

BATAVIA, the capital of the Dutch dominions in India, and generally supposed to have no equal among all the possessions of the Europeans in Asia, is situated on the north side of the island of Java, in a low fenny plain, where several small rivers, which take their rise in the mountains called Blaeuwen Berg, about forty miles up the country, empty themselves into the sea, and where the coast forms a large bay, called the Bay of Batavia, at the distance of about eight leagues from the Strait of Sunda. It lies in latitude  $6^{\circ} 10'$  S., and longitude  $106^{\circ} 50'$  E. from the meridian of Greenwich, as appears from astronomical observations made upon the spot, by the Reverend Mr. Mohr, who has built an elegant observatory ; which is as well furnished with instruments as most in Europe.



The Dutch seem to have pitched upon this spot for the convenience of water-carriage ; and in that it is, indeed, a second Holland, and superior to every other place in the world. There are very few streets that have not a canal of considerable breadth running through them, or rather stagnating in them, and continued for several miles in almost every direction beyond the town, which is also intersected by five or six rivers, some of which are navigable thirty or forty miles up the country. As the houses are large, and the streets wide, it takes up a much greater extent, in proportion to the number of houses it contains, than any city in Europe. Valentyn, who wrote an account of it about the year 1726, says, that in his time there were, within the walls, 1242 Dutch houses and 1200 Chinese ; and without the walls 1066 Dutch, and 1240 Chinese, besides 12 arrack-houses, making in all 4760 : but this account appeared to us to be greatly exaggerated, especially with respect to the number of houses within the walls.

The streets are spacious and handsome, and the banks of the canals are planted with rows of trees, that make a very pleasing appearance ; but the trees concur with the canals to make the situation unwholesome. The stagnant canals in the dry season exhale an intolerable stench, and the trees impede the course of the air, by which, in some degree, the putrid effluvia would be dissipated. In the wet season the inconvenience is equal, for then these reservoirs of corrupted water overflow their banks in the lower part of the town, especially in the neighbourhood of the hotel, and fill the lower stories of the houses, where they leave behind them an inconceivable quantity of slime and filth : yet these canals are sometimes cleaned ; but the cleaning them is so managed as to become as great a nuisance as the foulness of the water : for the black mud that is taken from the bottom is suffered to lie upon the banks, that is, in the middle of the street, till it has acquired a sufficient degree of hardness to be made the lading of a boat and carried away. As this mud consists chiefly of human ordure, which is regularly thrown into the canals every morning, there not being a necessary-house in the whole town, it poisons the air while it is drying to a considerable extent. Even the running streams become nuisances in their turn, by the nastiness or negligence of the people : for every now and then a dead hog, or a dead horse, is stranded upon the shallow parts, and it being the business of no particular person to remove the nuisance, it is negligently left to time and accident. While we were here, a dead buffalo lay upon the shoal of a river that ran through one of the principal streets above a week, and at last was carried away by a flood.

The houses are, in general, well adapted to the climate : they consist of one very large room or hall on the ground-floor, with a door at each end, both which generally stand open ; at one end a room is taken off by a partition, where the master of the house transacts his business ; and in the middle, between each end, there is a court, which gives light to the hall, and at the same time increases the draught of air. From one corner of the hall the stairs go up to the floor above, where also the rooms are spacious and airy. In the alcove, which is formed by the court, the family dine ; and at other times it is occupied by the female slaves, who are not allowed to sit down anywhere else.

The public buildings are, most of them, old, heavy, and ungraceful ; but the new church is not inelegant ; it is built with a dome, that is seen from a great distance at sea, and though the outside has rather a heavy appearance, the inside forms a very fine room : it is furnished with an organ of a proper size, being very large, and is most magnificently illuminated by chandeliers.

The town is inclosed by a stone wall, of a moderate height : but the whole of it is old, and many parts are much out of repair. This wall itself is surrounded by a river, which in some places is fifty, and in some a hundred yards wide : the stream is rapid, but the water is shallow. The wall is also lined within by a canal, which in different parts is of different breadths ; so that, in passing either out or in through the gates, it is necessary to cross two draw-bridges ; and there is no access for idle people or strangers to walk upon the ramparts, which seem to be but ill provided with guns.

In the north-east corner of the town stands the castle or citadel, the walls of which are both higher and thicker than those of the town, especially near the landing-place, where there is depth of water only for boats, which it completely commands, with several large guns that make a very good appearance.

Within this castle are apartments for the governor-general and all the council of India, to which they are enjoined to repair in case of a siege. Here are also large storehouses, where great quantities of the Company's goods are kept, especially those that are brought from Europe, and where almost all their writers transact their business. In this place also are laid up a great number of cannon, whether to mount upon the walls or furnish shipping, we could not learn; and the Company is said to be well supplied with powder, which is dispersed in various magazines, that, if some should be destroyed by lightning, which in this place is very frequent, the rest may escape.

Besides the fortifications of the town, numerous forts are dispersed about the country to the distance of twenty or thirty miles; these seem to have been intended merely to keep the natives in awe, and, indeed, they are fit for nothing else. For the same purpose a kind of houses, each of which mounts about eight guns, are placed in such situations as command the navigation of three or four canals, and consequently the roads upon their banks: some of these are in the town itself, and it was from one of these that all the best houses belonging to the Chinese were levelled with the ground in the Chinese rebellion of 1740. These defences are scattered over all parts of Java, and the other islands of which the Dutch have got possession in these seas. Of one of these singular forts, or fortified houses, we should have procured a drawing, if our gentlemen had not been confined by sickness almost all the time they were upon the island.



BATAVIA.

If the Dutch fortifications here are not formidable in themselves, they become so by their situation: for they are among morasses where the roads, which are nothing more than a bank thrown up between a canal and a ditch, may easily be destroyed, and consequently the approach of heavy artillery either totally prevented or greatly retarded: for it would be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to transport them in boats, as they all muster every night under the guns of the castle, a situation from which it would be impossible for an enemy to take them. Besides, in this country, delay is death; so that whatever retards an enemy, will destroy him. In less than a week, we were sensible of the unhealthiness of the climate; and in less than a month half the ship's company were unable to do their duty. We were told, that of a hundred soldiers who arrive here from Europe, it was a rare thing for fifty to survive the first year; that of those fifty, half would then be in the hospital, and not ten of the rest in perfect health: possibly this account may be exaggerated; but the



pale and feeble wretches whom we saw crawling about with a musket, which they were scarcely able to carry, inclined us to believe that it was true. Every white inhabitant of the town, indeed, is a soldier; the younger are constantly mustered, and those who have served five years are liable to be called out when their assistance is thought to be necessary; but as neither of them are ever exercised, or do any kind of duty, much cannot be expected from them. The Portuguese, indeed, are in general good marksmen, because they employ themselves much in shooting wild hogs and deer: neither the Mardykens nor the Chinese know the use of fire-arms; but as they are said to be brave, they might do much execution with their own weapons, swords, lances, and daggers. The Mardykens are Indians of all nations, who are descended from free ancestors, or have themselves been made free.

But if it is difficult to attack Batavia by land, it is utterly impossible to attack it by sea: for the water is so shallow, that it will scarcely admit a long-boat to come within cannon shot of the walls, except in a narrow channel, called the river, that is walled on both sides by strong piers, and runs about half-a-mile into the harbour. At the other end, it terminates under the fire of the strongest part of the castle; and here its communication with the canals that intersect the town is cut off by a large wooden boom, which is shut every night at six o'clock, and upon no pretence opened till the next morning. The harbour of Batavia is accounted the finest in India, and to all appearance with good reason; it is large enough to contain any number of ships, and the ground is so good that one anchor will hold till the cable decays: it never admits any sea that is troublesome, and its only inconvenience is the shoal water between the road and the river. When the sea breeze blows fresh, it makes a cockling sea that is dangerous to boats: our long-boat once struck two or three times as she was attempting to come out, and regained the river's mouth with some difficulty. A Dutch boat, laden with sails and rigging for one of the Indiamen, was entirely lost.

Round the harbour, on the outside, lie many islands, which the Dutch have taken possession of, and apply to different uses. To one of them, called Edam, they transport all Europeans who have been guilty of crimes that are not worthy of death: some are sentenced to remain there ninety-nine years, some forty, some twenty, some less, down to five, in proportion to their offence; and, during their banishment, they are employed as slaves in making ropes, and other drudgery. In another island, called Purmerent, they have an hospital, where people are said to recover much faster than at Batavia. In a third, called Kuiper, they have warehouses belonging to the Company, chiefly for rice, and other merchandise of small value; and here the foreign ships, that are to be laid down at Onrust, another of these islands, which with Kuiper has been mentioned before, discharge their cargoes at wharfs which are very convenient for the purpose. Here the guns, sails, and other stores of the Falmouth, a man-of-war which was condemned at this place when she was returning from Manilla, were deposited, and the ship herself remained in the harbour, with only the warrant-officers on board, for many years. Remittances were regularly made them from home; but no notice was ever taken of the many memorials they sent, desiring to be recalled. Happily for them, the Dutch thought fit, about six months before our arrival, to sell the vessel and all her stores, by public auction, and send the officers home in their own ships. At Onrust, they repair all their own shipping, and keep a large quantity of naval stores.

The country round Batavia is for some miles a continued range of country-houses and gardens.—Many of the gardens are very large, and, by some strange fatality, all are planted with trees almost as thick as they can stand; so that the country derives no advantage from its being cleared of the wood that originally covered it, except the fruit of that which has been planted in its room. These impenetrable forests stand in a dead flat, which extends some miles beyond them, and is intersected in many directions by rivers, and more still by canals, which are navigable for small vessels. Nor is this the worst, for the fence of every field and garden is a ditch; and, interspersed among the cultivated ground, there are many filthy fens, bogs, and morasses, as well fresh as salt.

It is not strange that the inhabitants of such a country should be familiar with disease and death: preventive medicines are taken almost as regularly as food; and everybody expects the returns of sickness, as we do the seasons of the year. We did not see a single

face in Batavia that indicated perfect health, for there is not the least tint of colour in the cheeks either of man or woman : the women indeed are most delicately fair ; but with the appearance of disease there never can be perfect beauty. People talk of death with as much indifference as they do in a camp ; and when an acquaintance is said to be dead, the common reply is, " Well, he owed me nothing ;" or, " I must get my money of his executors."

To this description of the environs of Batavia there are but two exceptions. The governor's country-house is situated upon a rising ground ; but its ascent is so inconsiderable, that it is known to be above the common level only by the canals being left behind, and the appearance of a few bad hedges : his Excellency, however, who is a native of this place, has, with some trouble and expense, contrived to inclose his own garden with a ditch : such is the influence of habit both upon the taste and the understanding. A famous market also, called Passar Tanabank, is held upon an eminence that rises perpendicularly about thirty feet above the plain ; and except these situations, the ground, for an extent of between thirty and forty miles round Batavia, is exactly parallel to the horizon. At the distance of about forty miles inland, there are hills of a considerable height, where, as we were informed, the air is healthy, and comparatively cool. Here the vegetables of Europe flourish in great perfection, particularly strawberries, which can but ill bear heat ; and the inhabitants are vigorous and ruddy. Upon these hills some of the principal people have country-houses, which they visit once a-year ; and one was begun for the governor, upon the plan of Blenheim, the famous seat of the Duke of Marlborough, in Oxfordshire, but it has never been finished. To these hills also people are sent by the physicians, for the recovery of their health, and the effects of the air are said to be almost miraculous : the patient grows well in a short time, but constantly relapses soon after his return to Batavia\*.

But the same situation and circumstances which render Batavia and the country round it unwholesome, render it the best gardener's ground in the world. The soil is fruitful beyond imagination, and the conveniences and luxuries of life that it produces are almost without number.

Rice, which is well known to be the corn of these countries, and to serve the inhabitants instead of bread, grows in great plenty : and I must here observe, that in the hilly parts of Java, and in many of the eastern islands, a species of this grain is planted, which in the western parts of India is entirely unknown. It is called by the natives *Paddy Gunung*, or Mountain Rice : this, contrary to the other sort, which must be under water three parts in four of the time of its growth, is planted upon the sides of hills where no water but rain can come : it is however planted at the beginning of the rainy season, and reaped in the beginning of the dry. How far this kind of rice might be useful in our West Indian islands, where no bread-corn is grown, it may perhaps be worth while to inquire.

Indian corn, or maize, is also produced here ; which the inhabitants gather when young, and toast in the ear. Here is also a great variety of kidney-beans, and lentils, which they called *Cudjang*, and which make a considerable part of the food of the common people ; besides millet, yams both wet and dry, sweet potatoes, and European potatoes, which are very good, but not cultivated in great plenty. In the gardens, there are cabbages, lettuces, cucumbers, radishes, the white radishes of China, which boil almost as well as a turnip ; carrots, parsley, celery, pigeon-peas ; the egg-plant, which, broiled and eaten with pepper and salt, is very delicious ; a kind of greens resembling spinage ; onions, very small, but excellent ; and asparagus ; besides some European plants of a strong smell, particularly sage, hyssop, and rue. Sugar is also produced here in immense quantities ; very great crops of

\* Since Captain Cook's visit, the town of Batavia has been greatly improved, partly by building a new town on the heights, where all the principal merchants reside, and partly by demolishing the useless fortifications, filling up some canals, and cleansing the others, and widening several of the old streets, measures which have been so effectual as to remove from it its ancient reputation as the most unhealthy spot in the East. The old town is now chiefly given up to the Chinese, the merchants having only their warehouses and counting-houses there, none of them

passing the night within the walls. Both the trade and population of Batavia have greatly increased, especially within the last ten years. The present number of inhabitants is estimated at from 60,000 to 70,000, among whom about 200 English subjects are reckoned, including those serving in the Dutch mercantile navy. The British merchants form an important body of merchants here, and possess about 2000 square miles of land on the island, much of which is cultivated with sugar. See Earl's "Eastern Seas," p. 34.—Ed.



the finest and largest canes that can be imagined are produced with very little care, and yield a much larger proportion of sugar than the canes in the West Indies. White sugar is sold here at twopence halfpenny a pound; and the molasses make the arrack, of which, as of rum, it is the chief ingredient; a small quantity of rice, and some cocoa-nut wine, being added, chiefly, I suppose, to give it flavour. A small quantity of indigo is also produced here, not as an article of trade, but merely for home consumption.

But the most abundant article of vegetable luxury here, is the fruit; of which there are no less than six-and-thirty different kinds, and I shall give a very brief account of each.

1. The pine-apple, *Bromelia Ananas*. This fruit, which is here called *Nanas*, grows very large, and in such plenty that they may sometimes be bought at the first hand for a farthing a piece; and at the common fruit-shops we got three of them for twopence halfpenny. They are very juicy and well flavoured; but we all agreed that we had eaten as good from a hothouse in England: they are, however, so luxuriant in their growth that most of them have two or three crowns, and a great number of suckers from the bottom of the fruit; of these Mr. Banks once counted nine, and they are so forward, that very often while they still adhered to the parent plant they shot out their fruit, which, by the time the large one became ripe, were of no inconsiderable size. We several times saw three upon one apple, and were told that a plant once produced a cluster of nine, besides the principal: this indeed was considered as so great a curiosity, that it was preserved in sugar, and sent to the Prince of Orange.

2. Sweet oranges. These are very good, but while we were here, sold for sixpence a piece.

3. Pummelooses, which in the West Indies are called Shaddocks. These were well flavoured, but not juicy; their want of juice, however, was an accidental effect of the season.

4. Lemons. These were very scarce; but the want of them was amply compensated by the plenty of limes.

5. Limes. These were excellent, and to be bought at about twelve-pence a hundred. We saw only two or three Seville oranges, which were almost all rind; and there are many sorts, both of oranges and lemons, which I shall not particularly mention, because they are neither esteemed by Europeans nor the natives themselves.

6. Mangoes. This fruit during our stay was so infested with maggots, which bred in the inside of them, that scarcely one in three was eatable; and the best of them were much inferior to those of Brazil: they are generally compared by Europeans to a melting peach, which, indeed, they resemble in softness and sweetness, but certainly fall much short in flavour. The climate here, we were told, is too hot and damp for them; but there are as many sorts of them as there are of apples in England, and some are much superior to others. One sort, which is called *Mangha Cowani*, has so strong a smell that a European can scarcely bear one in the room; these, however, the natives are fond of. The three sorts which are generally preferred, are the *Mangha Doodool*, the *Mangha Santock*, and the *Mangha Gure*.

7. Bananas. Of these also there are innumerable sorts, but three only are good; the *Pissang Mas*, the *Pissang Radja*, and the *Pissang Ambou*: all these have a pleasant vinous taste, and the rest are useful in different ways; some are fried in batter, and others are boiled and eaten as bread. There is one which deserves the particular notice of the botanist, because, contrary to the nature of its tribe, it is full of seeds, and is therefore called *Pissang Batu*, or *Pissang Bidjie*: it has however no excellence to recommend it to the taste, but the Malays use it as a remedy for the flux.

8. Grapes. These are not in great perfection, but they are very dear; for we could not buy a moderate bunch for less than a shilling or eighteen-pence.

9. Tamarinds. These are in great plenty, and very cheap: the people however do not put them up in the manner practised by the West Indians, but cure them with salt, by which means they become a black mass, so disagreeable to the sight and taste, that few Europeans choose to meddle with them.

10. Water-melons. These are in great plenty, and very good.

11. Pumpkins. These are, beyond comparison, the most useful fruit that can be carried to sea; for they will keep without any care several months, and with sugar and lemon-juice, make a pie that can scarcely be distinguished from one made of the best apples; and with pepper and salt, they are a substitute for turnips, not to be despised.

12. Papaws. This fruit when it is ripe is full of seeds, and almost without flavour; but, if when it is green it is pared, and the core taken out, it is better than the best turnip.

13. Guava. This fruit is much commended by the inhabitants of our islands in the West Indies, who probably have a better sort than we met with here, where the smell of them was so disagreeably strong, that it made some of us sick; those who tasted them, said, that the flavour was equally rank.

14. Sweet-sop. The *Annona squamosa* of Linnæus. This is also a West Indian fruit; it consists only of a mass of large kernels, from which a small proportion of pulp may be sucked, which is very sweet, but has little flavour.

15. Custard-apple. The *Annona reticulata* of Linnæus. The quality of this fruit is well expressed by its English name, which it acquired in the West Indies; for it is as like a custard, and a good one too, as can be imagined.

16. The cashew apple. This is seldom eaten, on account of its astringency. The nut that grows upon the top of it is well known in Europe.

17. The cocoa-nut. This is also well known in Europe; there are several sorts; but the best of those we found here is called *Callappi Edjou*, and is easily known by the redness of the flesh between the skin and the shell.

18. Mangostan. The *Garcinia Mangostana* of Linnæus. This fruit, which is peculiar to the East Indies, is about the size of the crab-apple, and of a deep red-wine colour: on the top of it is the figure of five or six small triangles joined in a circle, and at the bottom several hollow green leaves, which are remains of the blossom. When they are to be eaten, the skin, or rather flesh, must be taken off, under which are found six or seven white kernels, placed in a circular order, and the pulp with which these are enveloped is the fruit, than which nothing can be more delicious: it is a happy mixture of the tart and the sweet, which is no less wholesome than pleasant; and with the sweet orange, this fruit is allowed in any quantity to those who are afflicted with fevers, either of the putrid or inflammatory kind.

19. The jamboo. The *Eugenia Mallaccensis* of Linnæus. This fruit is of a deep red colour, and an oval shape; the largest, which are always the best, are not bigger than a small apple; they are pleasant and cooling, though they have not much flavour.

20. The jambu-eyer. A species of the *Eugenia* of Linnæus. Of this fruit there are two sorts of a similar shape, resembling a bell, but differing in colour; one being red, the other white. They somewhat exceed a large cherry in size, and in taste have neither flavour nor even sweetness, containing nothing but a watery juice, slightly acidulated; yet their coolness recommends them in this hot country.

21. Jambu-eyer mauwar. The *Eugenia jambos* of Linnæus. This is more grateful to the smell than the taste; in taste it resembles the conserve of roses, and in smell the fresh scent of those flowers.

22. The pomegranate. This is the same fruit that is known by the same name all over Europe.

23. Durion. A fruit that in shape resembles a small melon, but the skin is covered with sharp conical spines, whence its name; for *dure*, in the Malay language, signifies prickly. When it is ripe it divides longitudinally into seven or eight compartments, each of which contains six or seven nuts, not quite so large as chestnuts, which are covered with a substance that in colour and consistence very much resembles thick cream: this is the part that is eaten, and the natives are fond of it to excess. To Europeans it is generally disagreeable at first; for in taste it somewhat resembles a mixture of cream, sugar, and onions; and in the smell the onions predominate.

24. Nanca. This fruit, which in some parts of India is called Jakes, has, like the Durion, a smell very disagreeable to strangers, and somewhat resembling that of mellow apples mixed with garlic: the flavour is not more adapted to the general taste. In some countries



that are favourable to it, it is said to grow to an immense size. Rumphius relates, that it is sometimes so large that a man cannot easily lift it; and we were told by a Malay that at Madura it is sometimes so large as not to be carried but by the united efforts of two men. At Batavia, however, they never exceed the size of a large melon, which in shape they very much resemble: they are covered with angular prickles, like the shootings of some crystals, which however are not hard enough to wound those who handle them.

25. Champada. This differs from the Nanca in little except size, it not being so big.

26. Rambutan. This is a fruit little known to Europeans; in appearance it very much resembles a chestnut with the husk on, and like that, is covered with small points, which are soft, and of a deep red colour: under this skin is the fruit, and within the fruit a stone; the eatable part thereof is small in quantity, but its acid perhaps is more agreeable than any other in the whole vegetable kingdom.

27. Jambolan. This in size and appearance is not unlike a damson, but in taste is still more astringent, and therefore less agreeable.

28. The Boa Bidarra; or *Rhamnus Jujuba* of Linnæus. This is a round yellow fruit, about the size of a gooseberry; its flavour is like that of an apple, but it has the astringency of a crab.

29. Nam nam. The *Cynometra Cauliflora* of Linnæus. This fruit in shape somewhat resembles a kidney; it is about three inches long, and the outside is very rough: it is seldom eaten raw, but fried with batter it makes a good fritter.

30, 31. The Catappa, or *Terminalia Catappa*; and the Canare, the *Canarium commune* of Linnæus; are both nuts, with kernels somewhat resembling an almond; but the difficulty of breaking the shell is so great, that they are nowhere publicly sold. Those which we tasted were gathered for curiosity by Mr. Banks, from the tree upon which they grew.

32. The Madja, or *Limoni* of Linnæus, contains, under a hard brittle shell, a lightly acid pulp, which cannot be eaten without sugar; and with it, is not generally thought pleasant.

33. Suntul. The *Trichilia* of Linnæus. This is the worst of all the fruits that I shall particularly mention: in size and shape it resembles the Madja; and within a thick skin contains kernels like those of the Mangostan, the taste of which is both acid and astringent, and so disagreeable, that we were surprised to see it exposed upon the fruit-stalls.

34, 35, 36. The Blimbing, or *Acerrhoa Belimbi*; the Blimbing Besse, or *Acerrhoa Carambola*; and the Cherrema, or *Acerrhoa acida* of Linnæus, are three species of one genus: and though they differ in shape, are nearly of the same taste. The Blimbing Besse is the sweetest: the other two are so austerely acid, that they cannot be used without dressing; they make, however, excellent pickles and sour sauce.

37. The Salak, or *Calamus Rotang Zalacca* of Linnæus. This is the fruit of a prickly bush; it is about as big as a walnut, and covered with scales, like those of a lizard: below the scales are two or three yellow kernels, in flavour somewhat resembling a strawberry.

Besides these, the island of Java, and particularly the country round Batavia, produces many kinds of fruit which were not in season during our stay; we were also told that apples, strawberries, and many other fruits from Europe, had been planted up in the mountains, and flourished there in great luxuriance. We saw several fruits preserved in sugar, that we did not see recent from the tree, one of which is called *Kimkit*, and another *Boa Atap*; and here are several others which are eaten only by the natives, particularly the *Kellor*, the *Guilindina*, the *Moringa*, and the *Socum*. The *Socum* is of the same kind with the bread-fruit in the South Sea Islands, but so much inferior, that if it had not been for the similitude in the outward appearance both of the fruit and the tree, we should not have referred it to that class. These and some others do not merit to be particularly mentioned.

The quantity of fruit that is consumed at Batavia is incredible; but that which is publicly exposed to sale is generally over-ripe. A stranger, however, may get good fruit in a street called Passar Pissang, which lies north from the great church, and very near it. This street is inhabited by none but Chinese fruit-sellers, who are supplied from the gardens of gentlemen in the neighbourhood of the town, with such as is fresh, and excellent in its kind; for which however they must be paid more than four times the market price.

The town in general is supplied from a considerable distance, where great quantities of land are cultivated merely for the production of fruit. The country people, to whom these lands belong, meet the people of the town at two great markets; one on Monday, called Passar Sineen; and the other on Saturday, called Passar Tanabank. These fairs are held at places considerably distant from each other, for the convenience of different districts; neither of them however are more than five miles distant from Batavia. At these fairs, the best fruit may be bought at the cheapest rate; and the sight of them to a European is very entertaining. The quantity of fruit is astonishing; forty or fifty cart-loads of the finest pine-apples, packed as carelessly as turnips in England, are common, and other fruit in the same profusion. The days, however, on which these markets are held are ill contrived; the time between Saturday and Monday is too short, and that between Monday and Saturday too long: great part of what is bought on Monday is always much the worse for keeping before a new stock can be bought, either by the retailer or consumer; so that for several days in every week there is no good fruit in the hands of any people but the Chinese in Passar Pissang.

The inhabitants of this part of India practise a luxury which seems to be but little attended to in other countries; they are continually burning aromatic woods and resins, and scatter odours round them in a profusion of flowers, possibly as an antidote to the noisome effluvia of their ditches and canals. Of sweet-smelling flowers they have a great variety, altogether unknown in Europe, the chief of which I shall briefly describe.

1. The *Champacka*, or *Michelia Champacca*. This grows upon a tree as large as an apple-tree, and consists of fifteen long narrow petals, which give it the appearance of being double, though in reality it is not so: its colour is yellow, and much deeper than that of a jonquil, to which it has some resemblance in smell.

2. The *Cananga*, or *Uearia Cananga*, is a green flower, not at all resembling the blossom of any tree or plant in Europe: it has indeed more the appearance of a bunch of leaves than a flower; its scent is agreeable, but altogether peculiar to itself.

3. The *Mulatti*, or *Nyctanthes Sambac*. This is well-known in English hot-houses by the name of Arabian jessamine: it grows here in the greatest profusion, and its fragrance, like that of all other Indian flowers, though exquisitely pleasing, has not that overpowering strength which distinguishes some of the same sorts in Europe.

4, 5. The *Combang Caracnassi*, and *Combang Tonquin*, *Percularia Glabro*. These are small flowers, of the dog's-bane kind, very much resembling each other in shape and smell, highly fragrant, but very different from every product of an English garden.

6. The *Bonga Tanjong*, or *Mimusops Elengi* of Linnæus. This flower is shaped like a star of seven or eight rays, and is about half an inch in diameter; it is of a yellowish colour, and has an agreeable smell.

Besides these, there is the *Sundal Malam*, or *Polianthes Tuberosa*. This flower, being the same with our own tuberose, can have no place among those that are unknown in Europe, but I mention it for its Malay name, which signifies "Intriguer of the Night," and is not inelegantly conceived. The heat of this climate is so great, that few flowers exhale their sweets in the day; and this in particular, from its total want of scent at that time, and the modesty of its colour, which is white, seems negligent of attracting admirers, but as soon as night comes on, it diffuses its fragrance, and at once compels the attention, and excites the complacency of all who approach it.

These are all sold about the streets every evening at sunset, either strung upon a thread, in wreaths of about two feet long, or made up into nosegays of different forms, either of which may be purchased for about a halfpenny. Besides these, there are, in private gardens, many other sweet flowers, which are not produced in a sufficient quantity to be brought to market. With a mixture of these flowers, and the leaves of a plant called *pandang*, cut into small pieces, persons of both sexes fill their hair and their clothes, and with the same mixture indulge a much higher luxury by strewing it on their beds, so that the chamber in which they sleep breathes the richest and purest of all odours, unallayed by the fumes which cannot but arise where the sleeper lies under two or three blankets and a quilt, for the bed-covering here is nothing more than a single piece of fine chintz.



Before I close my account of the vegetable productions of this part of India, I must take some notice of the spices. Java originally produced none but pepper: this is now sent from hence into Europe to a great value, but the quantity consumed here is very small. The inhabitants use *Capsicum*, or, as it is called in Europe, Cayenne-pepper, almost universally in its stead. Cloves and nutmegs, having been monopolised by the Dutch, are become too dear to be plentifully used by the other inhabitants of this country, who are very fond of them. Cloves, although they are said originally to have been the produce of Machian, or Bachian, a small island far to the eastward, and only fifteen miles to the northward of the line, and to have been from thence disseminated by the Dutch, at their first coming into these parts, over all the eastern islands, are now confined to Amboyna, and the small isles that lie in its neighbourhood; the Dutch having, by different treaties of peace between them and the conquered kings of all the other islands, stipulated that they should have only a certain number of trees in their dominions; and in future quarrels, as a punishment for disobedience and rebellion, lessened the quantity, till at last they left them no claim to any. Nutmegs have, in a manner, been extirpated in all the islands except their first native soil, Banda, which easily supplies every nation upon earth; and would as easily supply every nation in another globe of the same dimensions, if there was any such to which the industrious Hollander could transport the commodity; it is, however, certain, that there are a few trees of this spice upon the coast of New Guinea. There may perhaps be both cloves and nutmegs upon other islands to the eastward; for those, neither the Dutch, nor any other European, seem to think it worth while to examine.

The principal tame quadrupeds of this country are horses, cattle, buffaloes, sheep, goats, and hogs. The horses are small, never exceeding in size what we call a stout galloway; but they are nimble and spirited, and are reported to have been found here when the Europeans first came round the Cape of Good Hope. The horned cattle are said to be the same species as those in Europe; but they differ so much in appearance, that we were inclined to doubt it: they have indeed the *palearia* or *develap*, which naturalists make the distinguishing characteristic of the European species; but they certainly are found wild, not only in Java, but several of the eastern islands. The flesh of those that we ate at Batavia had a finer grain than European beef, but it was less juicy, and miserably lean. Buffaloes are plenty, but the Dutch never eat them, nor will they drink their milk, being prepossessed with a notion that both are unwholesome, and tend to produce fevers; though the natives and Chinese eat both, without any injury to their health. The sheep are of the kind which have long ears that hang down, and hair instead of wool: the flesh of these is hard and tough, and in every respect the worst mutton we ever saw. We found here, however, a few Cape sheep, which are excellent, but so dear that we gave five-and-forty shillings a-piece for four of them, the heaviest of which weighed only five-and-forty pounds. The goats are not better than the sheep; but the hogs, especially the Chinese breed, are incomparable, and so fat, that the purchaser agrees for the lean separately. The butcher, who is always a Chinese, without the least scruple, cuts off as much of the fat as he is desired, and afterwards sells it to his countrymen, who melt it down, and eat it instead of butter with their rice: but notwithstanding the excellence of this pork, the Dutch are so strongly prejudiced in favour of everything that comes from their native country, that they eat only of the Dutch breed, which are here sold as much dearer than the Chinese as the Chinese are sold dearer than the Dutch in Europe.

Besides these animals, which are tame, they have dogs and cats; and there are among the distant mountains some wild horses and cattle. Buffaloes are not found wild in any part of Java, though they abound in Macassar, and several other eastern islands. The neighbourhood of Batavia, however, is plentifully supplied with two kinds of deer; and wild hogs, which are sold at a reasonable price by the Portuguese, who shoot them, and are very good food.

Among the mountains, and in the desert parts of the island, there are tigers, it is said, in great abundance, and some rhinoceroses. In these parts, also, there are monkeys; and there are a few of them even in the neighbourhood of Batavia.

Of fish, here is an amazing plenty; many sorts are excellent, and all are very cheap,

except the few that are scarce. It happens here, as in other places, that vanity gets the better even of appetite: the cheap fish, most of which is of the best kind, is the food only of slaves, and that which is dear, only because it is scarce, and very much inferior in every respect, is placed upon the tables of the rich. A sensible housekeeper once spoke to us freely upon the subject. "I know," said he, "as well as you, that I could purchase a better dish of fish for a shilling than what now costs me ten; but if I should make so good a use of my money, I should here be as much despised as you would be in Europe if you were to cover your table with offals, fit only for beggars or dogs."

Turtle is also found here, but it is neither so sweet nor so fat as the West Indian turtle, even in London; such as it is, however, we should consider it as a dainty: but the Dutch, among other singularities, do not eat it. We saw some lizards, or *Iguanas*, here, of a very large size; we were told that some were as thick as a man's thigh; and Mr. Banks shot one that was five feet long: the flesh of this animal proved to be very good food.

Poultry is very good here, and in great plenty: fowls, of a very large size, ducks, and geese, are very cheap; pigeons are dear, and the price of turkeys extravagant. We sometimes found the flesh of these animals lean and dry; but this was merely the effect of their being ill fed, for those that we fed ourselves were as good as any of the same kind that we had tasted in Europe, and we sometimes thought them even better.

Wild-fowl in general is scarce. We once saw a wild-duck in the fields, but never any that were to be sold. We frequently saw snipes of two kinds, one of them exactly the same as that in Europe; and a kind of thrush was always to be had in great plenty of the Portuguese, who, for I know not what reason, seem to have monopolised the wild-fowl and game. Of snipes, it is remarkable, that they are found in more parts of the world than any other bird, being common almost all over Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.

With respect to drink, nature has not been quite so liberal to the inhabitants of Java, as to some whom she has placed in the less fruitful regions of the north. The native Javanese, and most of the other Indians who inhabit this island, are indeed Mahometans, and therefore have no reason to regret the want of wine: but, as if the prohibition of their law respected only the manner of becoming drunk, and not drunkenness itself, they chew opium, to the total subversion, not only of their understanding, but their health.

The arrack that is made here is too well known to need a description: besides which, the palm yields a wine of the same kind with that which has already been described in the account of the island of Savu; it is procured from the same tree, in the same manner, and is sold in three states. The first, in which it is called *Tuac manise*, differs little from that in which it comes from the tree; yet even this has received some preparation altogether unknown to us, in consequence of which it will keep eight-and-forty hours, though otherwise it would spoil in twelve: in this state it has an agreeable sweetness, and will not intoxicate. In the other two states it has undergone a fermentation, and received an infusion of certain herbs and roots, by which it loses its sweetness, and acquires a taste very austere and disagreeable. In one of these states it is called *Tuac cras*, and in the other *Tuac cuning*, but the specific difference I do not know; in both, however, it intoxicates very powerfully. A liquor called *Tuac* is also made from the cocoa-nut tree, but this is used chiefly to put into the arrack, for in that which is good it is an essential ingredient.

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#### CHAPTER XII.—SOME ACCOUNT OF THE INHABITANTS OF BATAVIA, AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRY, THEIR MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND MANNER OF LIFE.

THE town of Batavia, although, as I have already observed, it is the capital of the Dutch dominions in India, is so far from being peopled with Dutchmen, that not one-fifth part, even of the European inhabitants of the town, and its environs, are natives of Holland, or of Dutch extraction: the greater part are Portuguese, and besides Europeans, there are Indians of various nations, and Chinese, besides a great number of negro slaves. In the troops, there are natives of almost every country in Europe, but the Germans are more than all the rest put together; there are some English and French, but the Dutch, though other



Europeans are permitted to get money here, keep all the power in their own hands, and consequently possess all public employments. No man, of whatever nation, can come hither to settle, in any other character than that of a soldier in the Company's service, in which, before they are accepted, they must covenant to remain five years. As soon however as this form has been complied with, they are allowed, upon application to the council, to absent themselves from their corps, and enter immediately into any branch of trade, which their money or credit will enable them to carry on; and by this means it is that all the white inhabitants of the place are soldiers.

Women, however, of all nations, are permitted to settle here, without coming under any restrictions; yet we were told that there were not, when we were at Batavia, twenty women in the place that were born in Europe, but that the white women, who were by no means scarce, were descendants from European parents of the third or fourth generation, the gleanings of many families who had successively come hither, and, in the male line, become extinct; for it is certain that, whatever be the cause, this climate is not so fatal to the ladies as to the other sex.

These women imitate the Indians in every particular; their dress is made of the same materials, their hair is worn in the same manner, and they are equally enslaved by the habit of chewing betel.

The merchants carry on their business here with less trouble perhaps than in any other part of the world: every manufacture is managed by the Chinese, who sell the produce of their labour to the merchant resident here, for they are permitted to sell it to no one else; so that when a ship comes in, and bespeaks perhaps, a hundred leaguers of arrack, or any quantity of other commodities, the merchant has nothing to do but to send orders to his Chinese to see them delivered on board: he obeys the command, brings a receipt signed by the master of the ship for the goods to his employer, who receives the money, and, having deducted his profit, pays the Chinese his demand. With goods that are imported, however, the merchant has a little more trouble, for these he must examine, receive, and lay up in his warehouse, according to the practice of other countries.

The Portuguese are called by the natives *Oranserane*, or Nazareen men (Oran, being man in the language of the country), to distinguish them from other Europeans; yet they are included in the general appellation of *Caper*, or *Cafir*, an opprobrious term, applied by Mahometans to all who do not profess their faith. These people, however, are Portuguese only in name; they have renounced the religion of Rome, and become Lutherans: neither have they the least communication with the country of their forefathers, or even knowledge of it: they speak indeed a corrupt dialect of the Portuguese language, but much more frequently use the Malay: they are never suffered to employ themselves in any but mean occupations: many of them live by hunting, many by washing linen, and some are handicraftsmen and artificers. They have adopted all the customs of the Indians, from whom they are distinguished chiefly by their features and complexion, their skin being considerably darker, and their noses more sharp; their dress is exactly the same, except in the manner of wearing their hair.

The Indians, who are mixed with the Dutch and Portuguese in the town of Batavia, and the country adjacent, are not, as might be supposed, Javanese, the original natives of the island, but natives of the various islands from which the Dutch import slaves, and are either such as have themselves been manumitted, or the descendants of those who formerly received manumission; and they are all comprehended under the general name of *Oranslam*, or *Isalam*, signifying Believers of the true Faith. The natives of every country, however, in other respects, keep themselves distinct from the rest, and are not less strongly marked than the slaves by the vices or virtues of their respective nations. Many of these employ themselves in the cultivation of gardens, and in selling fruit and flowers. The betel and areca, which are here called *Siri* and *Pinang*, and chewed by both sexes and every rank in amazing quantities, are all grown by these Indians: lime is also mixed with these roots here as it is in *Savu*, but it is less pernicious to the teeth, because it is first slaked, and, besides the lime, a substance called *gambir*, which is brought from the continent of India; the better sort of women also add cardamum, and many other aromatics, to give the breath an

agreeable smell. Some of the Indians, however, are employed in fishing, and as lightermen, to carry goods from place to place by water; and some are rich, and live with much of the splendour of their country, which chiefly consists in the number of their slaves.

In the article of food these Isalams are remarkably temperate: it consists chiefly of boiled rice, with a small proportion of buffalo, fish, or fowl, and sometimes of dried fish, and dried shrimps, which are brought hither from China; every dish, however, is highly seasoned with Cayenne pepper, and they have many kinds of pastry made of rice-flour, and other things to which I am a stranger; they eat also a great deal of fruit, particularly plantains.

But notwithstanding their general temperance, their feasts are plentiful, and, according to their manner, magnificent. As they are Mahometans, wine and strong liquors professedly make no part of their entertainment, neither do they often indulge with them privately, contenting themselves with their betel and opium.

The principal solemnity among them is a wedding, upon which occasion both the families borrow as many ornaments of gold and silver as they can, to adorn the bride and bridegroom, so that their dresses are very showy and magnificent. The feasts that are given upon these occasions among the rich, last sometimes a fortnight, and sometimes longer; and during this time, the man, although married on the first day, is, by the women, kept from his wife.

The language that is spoken among all these people, from what place soever they originally came, is the Malay; at least it is a language so called, and probably it is a very corrupt dialect of that spoken at Malacca. Every little island indeed has a language of its own, and Java has two or three, but this lingua franca is the only language that is now spoken here, and, as I am told, it prevails over a great part of the East Indies. A dictionary of Malay and English was published in London by Thomas Bowrey, in the year 1701.

Their women wear as much hair as can grow upon the head, and to increase the quantity, they use oils, and other preparations of various kinds. Of this ornament nature has been very liberal; it is universally black, and is formed into a kind of circular wreath upon the top of the head, where it is fastened with a bodkin, in a taste which we thought inexpressibly elegant; the wreath of hair is surrounded by another of flowers, in which the Arabian jessamine is beautifully intermixed with the golden stars of the *Bonger Tanjong*.

Both sexes constantly bathe themselves in the river at least once a day, a practice which, in this hot country, is equally necessary both to personal delicacy and health. The teeth of these people also, whatever they may suffer in their colour by chewing betel, are an object of great attention: the ends of them, both in the upper and under jaw, are rubbed with a kind of whetstone, by a very troublesome and painful operation, till they are perfectly even and flat, so that they cannot lose less than half a line in their length. A deep groove is then made across the teeth of the upper jaw, parallel with the gums, and in the middle between them and the extremity of the teeth; the depth of this groove is at least equal to one-fourth of the thickness of the teeth, so that it penetrates far beyond what is called the enamel, the least injury to which, according to the dentists of Europe, is fatal; yet among these people where the practice of thus wounding the enamel is universal, we never saw a rotten tooth; nor is the blackness a stain, but a covering, which may be washed off at pleasure, and the teeth then appear as white as ivory, which however is not an excellence in the estimation of the belles and beaux of these nations.

These are the people among whom the practice that is called a *mock*, or running a muck, has prevailed for time immemorial. It is well known, that to run a muck, in the original sense of the word, is to get intoxicated with opium, and then rush into the street with a drawn weapon, and kill whoever comes in the way, till the party is himself either killed or taken prisoner; of this several instances happened while we were at Batavia, and one of the officers, whose business it is, among other things, to apprehend such people, told us, that there was scarcely a week in which he, or some of his brethren, were not called upon to take one of them into custody. In one of the instances that came to our knowledge, the party had been severely injured by the perfidy of women, and was mad with jealousy before he made himself drunk with opium; and we were told, that the Indian who runs a muck is



always first driven to desperation by some outrage, and always first revenges himself upon those who have done him wrong: we were also told, that though these unhappy wretches afterwards run into the street with a weapon in their hand, frantic and foaming at the mouth, yet they never kill any but those who attempt to apprehend them, or those whom they suspect of such an intention, and that whoever gives them way is safe. They are generally slaves, who indeed are most subject to insults, and least able to obtain legal redress: free-men, however, are sometimes provoked into this extravagance, and one of the persons who ran a muck while we were at Batavia, was free and in easy circumstances. He was jealous of his own brother, whom he first killed, and afterwards two others, who attempted to oppose him: he did not, however, come out of his house, but endeavoured to defend himself in it, though the opium had so far deprived him of his senses, that of three muskets, which he attempted to use against the officers of justice, not one was either loaded or primed. If the officer takes one of these amocks, or mohawks, as they have been called by an easy corruption, alive, his reward is very considerable, but if he kills them, nothing is added to his usual pay; yet such is the fury of their desperation, that three out of four are of necessity destroyed in the attempt to secure them, though the officers are provided with instruments like large tongs, or pincers, to lay hold of them without coming within the reach of their weapon. Those who happen to be taken alive are generally wounded, but they are always broken alive upon the wheel; and if the physician who is appointed to examine their wounds, thinks them likely to be mortal, the punishment is inflicted immediately, and the place of execution is generally the spot where the first murder was committed.

Among these people, there are many absurd practices and opinions which they derive from their pagan ancestors: they believe that the devil, whom they call Satan, is the cause of all sickness and adversity, and for this reason, when they are sick, or in distress, they consecrate meat, money, and other things to him, as a propitiation. If any one among them is restless, and dreams for two or three nights successively, he concludes that Satan has taken that method of laying his commands upon him, which, if he neglects to fulfil, he will certainly suffer sickness or death, though they are not revealed with sufficient perspicuity to ascertain their meaning: to interpret his dream, therefore, he taxes his wits to the uttermost, and if, by taking it literally or figuratively, directly or by contraries, he can put no explanation upon it that perfectly satisfies him, he has recourse to the cawin or priest, who assists him with a comment and illustrations, and perfectly reveals the mysterious suggestions of the night. It generally appears that the devil wants victuals or money, which are always allotted him, and being placed on a little plate of cocoa-nut leaves, are hung upon the branch of a tree near the river, so that it seems not to be the opinion of these people, that, in prowling the earth, "the devil walketh through dry places." Mr. Banks once asked, whether they thought Satan spent the money, or ate the victuals; he was answered, that as to the money it was considered rather as a mulct upon an offender, than a gift to him who had enjoined it, and that therefore, if it was devoted by the dreamer, it mattered not into whose hands it came, and they supposed that it was generally the prize of some stranger who wandered that way; but as to the meat, they were clearly of opinion, that although the devil did not eat the gross parts, yet by bringing his mouth near it, he sucked out all its savour without changing its position, so that afterwards it was as tasteless as water.

But they have another superstitious opinion that is still more unaccountable. They believe that women, when they are delivered of children, are frequently at the same time delivered of a young crocodile, as a twin to the infant: they believe that these creatures are received most carefully by the midwife, and immediately carried down to the river, and put into the water. The family in which such a birth is supposed to have happened, constantly put victuals into the river for their amphibious relation, and especially the twin, who, as long as he lives, goes down to the river at stated seasons, to fulfil this fraternal duty, for the neglect of which, it is the universal opinion that he will be visited with sickness or death. What could at first produce a notion so extravagant and absurd, it is not easy to guess, especially as it seems to be totally unconnected with any religious mystery, and how a fact which never happened, should be pretended to happen every day, by those who cannot be deceived into a belief of it by appearances, nor have any apparent interest in the fraud, is a problem

still more difficult to solve. Nothing however can be more certain than the firm belief of this strange absurdity among them, for we had the concurrent testimony of every Indian who was questioned about it, in its favour. It seems to have taken its rise in the islands of Celebes and Boutou, where many of the inhabitants keep crocodiles in their families; but however that be, the opinion has spread over all the eastern islands, even to Timor and Ceram, and westward as far as Java and Sumatra, where, however, young crocodiles are, I believe, never kept.

These crocodile twins are called *Sudaras*, and I shall relate one of the innumerable stories that were told us, in proof of their existence, from ocular demonstration.

A young female slave, who was born and bred up among the English at Bencoolen, and had learnt a little of the language, told Mr. Banks that her father, when he was dying, acquainted her that he had a crocodile for his *Sudara*, and solemnly charged her to give him meat when he should be dead, telling her in what part of the river he was to be found, and by what name he was to be called up. That, in pursuance of her father's instructions and command, she went to the river, and, standing upon the bank, called out *Radja Pouti*, White King, upon which a crocodile came to her out of the water, and ate from her hand the provisions that she had brought him. When she was desired to describe this paternal uncle, who in so strange a shape had taken up his dwelling in the water, she said, that he was not like other crocodiles, but much handsomer; that his body was spotted and his nose red; that he had bracelets of gold upon his feet, and ear-rings of the same metal in his ears. Mr. Banks heard this tale of ridiculous falsehood patiently to the end, and then dismissed the girl, without reminding her, that a crocodile with ears was as strange a monster as a dog with a cloven foot. Some time after this, a servant whom Mr. Banks had hired at Batavia, and who was the son of a Dutchman by a Javanese woman, thought fit to acquaint his master that he had seen a crocodile of the same kind, which had also been seen by many others, both Dutchmen and Malays: that being very young, it was but two feet long, and had bracelets of gold upon its feet. There is no giving credit to these stories, said Mr. Banks, for I was told the other day that a crocodile had ear-rings; and you know that could not be true, because crocodiles have no ears. Ah, sir, said the man, these *Sudara Oran* are not like other crocodiles; they have five toes upon each foot, a large tongue that fills their mouth, and ears also, although they are indeed very small.

How much of what these people related they believed, cannot be known: for there are no bounds to the credulity of ignorance and folly. In the girl's relation, however, there are some things in which she could not be deceived; and therefore must have been guilty of wilful falsehood. Her father might perhaps give her a charge to feed a crocodile, in consequence of his believing that it was his *Sudara*; but its coming to her out of the river, when she called it by the name of White King, and taking the food she had brought it, must have been a fable of her own invention; for this being false, it was impossible that she should believe it to be true. The girl's story, however, as well as that of the man, is a strong proof that they both firmly believe the existence of crocodiles that are *Sudaras* to men; and the girl's fiction will be easily accounted for, if we recollect, that the earnest desire which every one feels to make others believe what he believes himself, is a strong temptation to support it by unjustifiable evidence. And the averring what is known to be false, in order to produce in others the belief of what is thought to be true, must, upon the most charitable principles, be imputed to many, otherwise venerable characters, through whose hands the doctrines of Christianity passed for many ages in their way to us, as the source of all the silly fables related of the Romish saints, many of them not less extravagant and absurd than this story of the White King, and all of them the invention of the first relater.

The Bougis, Macassars, and Boetons, are so firmly persuaded that they have relations of the crocodile species in the rivers of their own country, that they perform a periodical ceremony in remembrance of them. Large parties of them go out in a boat, furnished with great plenty of provisions, and all kinds of music, and row backwards and forwards, in places where crocodiles and alligators are most common, singing and weeping by turns, each invoking his kindred, till a crocodile appears, when the music instantly stops, and provisions, betel, and tobacco, are thrown into the water. By this civility to the species, they hope to recom-



mend themselves to their relations at home ; and that it will be accepted instead of offerings immediately to themselves, which it is not in their power to pay.

In the next rank to the Indians stand the Chinese, who in this place are numerous, but possess very little property ; many of them live within the walls, and keep shops. The fruit-sellers of Passar Pisang have been mentioned already ; but others have a rich show of European and Chinese goods : the far greater part, however, live in a quarter by themselves, without the walls, called Campang China. Many of them are carpenters, joiners, smiths, tailors, slipper-makers, dyers of cotton, and embroiderers ; maintaining the character of industry that is universally given of them : and some are scattered about the country, where they cultivate gardens, sow rice and sugar, and keep cattle and buffaloes, whose milk they bring daily to town.



CHINESE SHOPS, MERCHANTS, &c., AT BATAVIA.

There is nothing clean or dirty, honest or dishonest, provided there is not too much danger of a halter, that the Chinese will not readily do for money. But though they work with great diligence, and patiently undergo any degree of labour ; yet no sooner have they laid down their tools than they begin to game, either at cards or dice, or some other play among the multitude that they have invented, which are altogether unknown in Europe : to this they apply with such eagerness, as scarcely to allow time for the necessary refreshments of food and sleep ; so that it is as rare to see a Chinese idle, as it is to see a Dutchman or an Indian employed.

In manners they are always civil, or rather obsequious ; and in dress they are remarkably neat and clean, to whatever rank of life they belong. I shall not attempt a description either of their persons or habits, for the better kind of China paper, which is now common in England, exhibits a perfect representation of both, though perhaps with some slight exaggerations approaching towards the caricatura.

In eating they are easily satisfied, though the few that are rich have many savoury dishes. Rice, with a small proportion of flesh or fish, is the food of the poor ; and they have greatly the advantage of the Mahometan Indians, whose religion forbids them to eat of many things which they could most easily procure. The Chinese, on the contrary, being under no restraint, eat, besides pork, dogs, cats, frogs, lizards, serpents of many kinds, and a great variety of sea animals, which the other inhabitants of this country do not consider as food : they eat also many vegetables, which a European, except he was perishing with hunger, would never touch.

The Chinese have a singular superstition with regard to the burial of their dead ; for they will upon no occasion open the ground a second time, where a body has been interred. Their burying-grounds, therefore, in the neighbourhood of Batavia, cover many hundred acres, and the Dutch, grudging the waste of so much land, will not sell any for this purpose but at the most exorbitant price. The Chinese, however, contrive to raise the purchase-money, and afford another instance of the folly and weakness of human nature, in transferring a regard for the living to the dead, and making that the object of solicitude and expense, which cannot receive the least benefit from either. Under the influence of this universal prejudice, they take an uncommon method to preserve the body entire, and prevent the remains of it from being mixed with the earth that surrounds it. They inclose it in a large thick coffin of wood, not made of planks joined together, but hollowed out of the solid timber like a canoe ; this

being covered, and let down into the grave, is surrounded with a coat of their mortar, called Chinam, about eight or ten inches thick, which in a short time becomes as hard as a stone. The relations of the deceased attend the funeral ceremony, with a considerable number of women that are hired to weep : it might reasonably be supposed that the hired appearance of sorrow could no more flatter the living than benefit the dead : yet the appearance of sorrow is known to be hired among people much more reflective and enlightened than the Chinese. In Batavia, the law requires that every man should be buried according to his rank, which is in no case dispensed with ; so that, if the deceased has not left sufficient to pay his debts, an officer takes an inventory of what was in his possession when he died, and out of the produce buries him in the manner prescribed, leaving only the overplus to his creditors. Thus in many instances are the living sacrificed to the dead, and money that should discharge a debt, or feed an orphan, lavished in idle processions, or materials that are deposited in the earth to rot.

Another numerous class among the inhabitants of this country is the slaves ; for by slaves the Dutch, Portuguese,\* and Indians, however different in their rank or situation, are constantly attended : they are purchased from Sumatra, Malacca, and almost all the eastern islands. The natives of Java, very few of whom, as I have before observed, live in the neighbourhood of Batavia, have an exemption from slavery under the sanction of very severe penal laws, which I believe are seldom violated. The price of these slaves is from ten to twenty pounds sterling ; but girls, if they have beauty, sometimes fetch a hundred. They are a very lazy set of people ; but as they will do but little work, they are content with a little victuals, subsisting altogether upon boiled rice, and a small quantity of the cheapest fish. As they are natives of different countries, they differ from each other extremely, both in person and disposition. The African negroes, called here *Papua*, are the worst, and consequently may be purchased for the least money : they are all thieves, and all incorrigible. Next to these are the Bougis and Macassars, both from the island of Celebes ; these are lazy in the highest degree, and though not so much addicted to theft as the negroes, have a cruel and vindictive spirit, which renders them extremely dangerous ; especially as, to gratify their resentment, they will make no scruple of sacrificing life. The best slaves, and consequently the dearest, are procured from the island of Bali : the most beautiful women from Nias, a small island on the coast of Sumatra ; but they are of a tender and delicate constitution, and soon fall a sacrifice to the unwholesome air of Batavia. Besides these, there are Malays, and slaves of several other denominations, whose particular characteristics I do not remember.

These slaves are wholly in the power of their masters with respect to any punishment that does not take away life ; but if a slave dies in consequence of punishment, though his death should not appear to have been intended, the master is called to a severe account, and he is generally condemned to suffer capitally. For this reason the master seldom inflicts punishment upon the slave himself, but applies to an officer called a *Marineu*, one of whom is stationed in every district. The duty of the *Marineu* is to quell riots, and take offenders into custody ; but more particularly to apprehend runaway slaves, and punish them for such crimes as the master, supported by proper evidence, lays to their charge : the punishment however is not inflicted by the *Marineu* in person, but by slaves who are bred up to the business. Men are punished publicly, before the door of their master's house ; but women within it. The punishment is by stripes, the number being proportioned to the offence ; and they are given with rods made of rattans, which are split into slender twigs for the purpose, and fetch blood at every stroke. A common punishment costs the master a rix-dollar, and a severe one a ducatoon, about six shillings and eightpence. The master is also obliged to allow the slave three *dubbelscheys*, equal to about sevenpence halfpenny a week, as an encouragement, and to prevent his being under temptations to steal, too strong to be resisted.

Concerning the government of this place I can say but little. We observed, however, a remarkable subordination among the people. Every man who is able to keep house has a certain specific rank acquired by the length of his services to the company : the different ranks which are thus acquired are distinguished by the ornaments of the coaches and the



dresses of the coachmen : some are obliged to ride in plain coaches, some are allowed to paint them in different manners and degrees, and some to gild them. The coachman also appears in clothes that are quite plain, or more or less adorned with lace. The officer who presides here has the title of governor-general of the Indies, and the Dutch governors of all the other settlements are subordinate to him, and obliged to repair to Batavia that he may pass their accounts. If they appear to have been criminal, or even negligent, he punishes them by delay, and detains them during pleasure, sometimes one year, sometimes two years, and sometimes three : for they cannot quit the place till he gives them a dismission. Next to the governor are the members of the council, called here *Edele Heeren*, and by the corruption of the English, *Idoleers*. These *Idoleers* take upon them so much state, that whoever meets them in a carriage is expected to rise up and bow, then to drive on one side of the road, and there stop till they are past : the same homage is required also to their wives, and even their children ; and it is commonly paid them by the inhabitants. But some of our captains have thought so slavish a mark of respect beneath the dignity which they derive from the service of his Britannic Majesty, and have refused to pay it ; yet, if they were in a hired carriage, nothing could deter the coachman from honouring the Dutch grandee at their expense, but the most peremptory menace of immediate death.

Justice is administered here by a body of lawyers, who have ranks of distinction among themselves. Concerning their proceedings in questions of property, I know nothing ; but their decisions in criminal cases seem to be severe with respect to the natives, and lenient with respect to their own people, in a criminal degree. A Christian always is indulged with an opportunity of escaping before he is brought to a trial, whatever may have been his offence ; and if he is brought to a trial and convicted, he is seldom punished with death ; while the poor Indians, on the contrary, are hanged, and broken upon the wheel, and even impaled alive, without mercy.

The Malays and Chinese have judicial officers of their own, under the denominations of captains and lieutenants, who determine in civil cases, subject to an appeal to the Dutch court.

The taxes paid by these people to the Company are very considerable ; and that which is exacted of them for liberty to wear their hair, is by no means the least. They are paid monthly, and to save the trouble and charge of collecting them, a flag is hoisted upon the top of a house in the middle of the town when a payment is due, and the Chinese have experienced that it is their interest to repair thither with their money without delay.

The money current here consists of ducats, worth a hundred and thirty-two stivers ; ducatoons, eighty stivers ; imperial rix-dollars, sixty ; rupees of Batavia, thirty ; schellings, six ; dubbelcheys, two stivers and a half ; and doits, one fourth of a stiver. Spanish dollars, when we were here, were at five shillings and fivepence ; and we were told, that they were never lower than five shillings and fourpence, even at the company's warehouse. For English guineas we could never get more than nineteen shillings upon an average ; for though the Chinese would give twenty shillings for some of the brightest, they would give no more than seventeen shillings for those that were much worn.

It may, perhaps, be of some advantage to strangers to be told that there are two kinds of coin here, of the same denomination, milled and unmilled, and that the milled is of most value. A milled ducatoon is worth eighty stivers ; but an unmilled ducatoon is worth no more than seventy-two. All accounts are kept in rix-dollars and stivers, which, here at least, are mere nominal coins, like our pound sterling. The rix-dollar is equal to forty-eight stivers, about four shillings and sixpence English currency.

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CHAPTER XIII.—THE PASSAGE FROM BATAVIA TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE ; SOME ACCOUNT OF PRINCE'S ISLAND AND ITS INHABITANTS, AND A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THEIR LANGUAGE WITH THE MALAY AND JAVANESE.

ON Thursday the 27th of December, at six o'clock in the morning, we weighed again and stood out to sea. After much delay by contrary winds, we weathered Pulo Pare on the

29th, and stood in for the main ; soon after we fetched a small island under the main, in the midway between Batavia and Bantam, called Maneater's Island. The next day, we weathered first Wapping Island, and then Pulo Babi. On the 31st, we stood over to the Sumatra shore ; and, on the morning of New-year's day, 1771, we stood over for the Java shore.

We continued our course as the wind permitted us till three o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th, when we anchored under the south-east side of Prince's Island in eighteen fathom, in order to recruit our wood and water, and procure refreshments for the sick, many of whom were now become much worse than they were when we left Batavia. As soon as the ship was secured, I went ashore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and we were met upon the beach by some Indians, who carried us immediately to a man, who, they said, was their king. After we had exchanged a few compliments with his majesty, we proceeded to business ; but, in settling the price of turtle, we could not agree : this however did not discourage us, as we made no doubt but that we should buy them at our own price in the morning. As soon as we parted, the Indians dispersed, and we proceeded along the shore in search of a watering-place. In this we were more successful ; we found water very conveniently situated ; and, if a little care was taken in filling it, we had reason to believe that it would prove good. Just as we were going off, some Indians, who remained with a canoe upon the beach, sold us three turtle ; but exacted a promise of us that we should not tell the king.

The next morning, while a party was employed in filling water, we renewed our traffic for turtle : at first, the Indians dropped their demands slowly, but about noon they agreed to take the price that we offered, so that before night we had turtle in plenty : the three that we had purchased the evening before, were in the mean time served to the ship's company, who, till the day before, had not once been served with salt provisions from the time of our arrival at Savu, which was now near four months. In the evening, Mr. Banks went to pay his respects to the king, at his palace, in the middle of a rice-field, and though his majesty was busily employed in dressing his own supper, he received the stranger very graciously.

The next day, the natives came down to the trading place, with fowls, fish, monkeys, small deer, and some vegetables, but no turtle ; for they said that we had bought them all the day before. The next day, however, more turtle appeared at market, and some were brought down every day afterwards during our stay, though the whole, together, was not equal to the quantity that we bought the day after our arrival.

On the 11th, Mr. Banks having learnt from the servant whom he had hired at Batavia, that the Indians of this island had a town upon the shore, at some distance to the westward, he determined to see it ; with this view he set out in the morning, accompanied by the second lieutenant, and as he had some reason to think that his visit would not be agreeable to the inhabitants, he told the people whom he met, as he was advancing along the shore, that he was in search of plants, which indeed was also true. In about two hours they arrived at a place where there were four or five houses, and meeting with an old man, they ventured to make some inquiries concerning the town. He said that it was far distant ; but they were not to be discouraged in their enterprise, and he, seeing them proceed in their journey, joined company and went on with them. He attempted several times to lead them out of the way, but without success ; and at length they came within sight of the houses. The old man then entered cordially into their party, and conducted them into the town. The name of it is Samadang ; it consists of about four hundred houses, and is divided by a river of brackish water into two parts, one of which is called the old town, and the other the new. As soon as they entered the old town, they met several Indians whom they had seen at the trading-place, and one of them undertook to carry them over to the new town, at the rate of twopence ahead. When the bargain was made, two very small canoes were produced, in which they embarked ; the canoes being placed alongside of each other, and held together, a precaution which was absolutely necessary to prevent their oversetting, the navigation was at length safely performed, though not without some difficulty ; and when they landed in the new town, the people received them with great friendship, and showed them the houses of their kings and principal people, which are in this district : a few of



them however were open, for at this time the people had taken up their residence in the rice-grounds, to defend the crop against the birds and monkeys, by which it would otherwise have been destroyed. When their curiosity was satisfied, they hired a large sailing boat for two rupees, four shillings, which brought them back to the ship time enough to dine upon one of the small deer, weighing only forty pounds, which had been bought the day before, and proved to be very good and savoury meat.

We went on shore in the evening, to see how the people who were employed in wooding and watering went on, and were informed that an axe had been stolen. As the passing over this fault might encourage the commission of others of the same kind, application was immediately made to the king, who, after some altercation, promised that the axe should be restored in the morning; and kept his word, for it was brought to us by a man who pretended that the thief, being afraid of a discovery, had privately brought it and left it at his house in the night.

We continued to purchase between two and three hundred weight of turtle in a day, besides fowls and other necessaries; and, in the evening of the 13th, having nearly completed our wood and water, Mr. Banks went ashore to take leave of his majesty, to whom he had made several trifling presents, and at parting gave him two quires of paper, which he graciously received. They had much conversation, in the course of which his majesty inquired, why the English did not touch there as they had been used to do. Mr. Banks replied, that he supposed it was because they found a deficiency of turtle, of which there not being enough to supply one ship, many could not be expected. To supply this defect, he advised his majesty to breed cattle, buffaloes, and sheep, a measure which he did not seem much inclined to adopt.

On the 14th we made ready to sail, having on board a good stock of refreshments, which we purchased of the natives, consisting of turtle, fowl, fish, two species of deer, one as big as a sheep, the other not larger than a rabbit; with cocoa-nuts, plantains, limes, and other vegetables. The deer however served only for present use, for we could seldom keep one of them alive more than four-and-twenty hours after it was on board. On our part, the trade was carried on chiefly with Spanish dollars, the natives seeming to set little value upon anything else; so that our people, who had a general permission to trade, parted with old shirts and other articles, which they were obliged to substitute for money to great disadvantage. In the morning of the 15th, we weighed, with a light breeze, at N.E. and stood out to sea. Java Head, from which I took my departure, lies in latitude  $6^{\circ} 49' S.$ , longitude  $253^{\circ} 12' W.$

Prince's Island, where we lay about ten days, is, in the Malay language, called *Pulo Selan*; and, in the language of the inhabitants, *Pulo Paneitan*. It is a small island, situated in the western mouth of the Strait of Sunda. It is woody, and a very small part of it only has been cleared: there is no remarkable hill upon it, yet the English call the small eminence, which is just over the landing-place, the Pike. It was formerly much frequented by the India ships of many nations, but especially those of England, which of late have forsaken it, as it is said, because the water is bad; and touch either at North Island, a small island that lies on the coast of Sumatra, without the east entrance of the Strait, or at Mew Bay, which lies only a few leagues from Prince's Island, at neither of which places any considerable quantity of other refreshments can be procured. Prince's Island is, upon the whole, certainly more eligible than either of them; and though the water is brackish, if it is filled at the lower part of the brook, yet higher up it will be found excellent.

The first and second, and perhaps the third ship that comes in the season, may be tolerably supplied with turtle: but those that come afterwards must be content with small ones. Those that we bought were of the green kind, and at an average cost us about a halfpenny or three farthings a pound. We were much disappointed to find them neither fat nor well-flavoured; and we imputed it to their having been long kept in crawls or pens of brackish water, without food. The fowls are large, and we bought a dozen of them for a Spanish dollar, which is above fivepence a piece: the small deer cost us twopence a piece, and the larger, of which two only were brought down, a rupee. Many kinds of fish are to be had here, which the natives sell by hand, and we found them tolerably cheap. Cocoa-nuts we

bought at the rate of a hundred for a dollar, if they were picked; and if they were taken promiscuously, one hundred and thirty. Plantains we found in great plenty; we procured also some pine-apples, water-melons, jaccas\*, and pumpkins; besides rice, the greater part of which was of the mountain-kind, that grows on dry land; yams, and several other vegetables, at a very reasonable rate.

The inhabitants are Javanese, whose raja is subject to the sultan of Bantam. Their customs are very similar to those of the Indians about Batavia; but they seem to be more jealous of their women, for we never saw any of them during all the time we were there, except one by chance in the woods, as she was running away to hide herself. They profess the Mahometan religion, but I believe there is not a mosque in the whole island: we were among them during the fast, which the Turks call *Ramadan*, which they seemed to keep with great rigour, for not one of them would touch a morsel of victuals, or even chew their betel till sunset.

Their food is nearly the same as that of the Batavian Indians, except the addition of the nuts of the palm, called *Cycas circinalis*, with which, upon the coast of New Holland, some of our people were made sick, and some of our hogs poisoned.

Upon observing these nuts to be part of their food, we inquired by what means they deprived them of their deleterious quality; and they told us, that they first cut them into thin slices and dried them in the sun, then steeped them in fresh water for three months, and afterwards, pressing out the water, dried them in the sun a second time; but we learnt that, after all, they are eaten only in times of scarcity, when they mix them with their rice to make it go farther.

The houses of their town are built upon piles, or pillars, four or five feet above the ground: upon these is laid a floor of bamboo canes, which are placed at some distance from each other, so as to leave a free passage for the air from below: the walls also are of bamboo, which are interwoven, hurdlewise, with small sticks, that are fastened perpendicularly to the beams which form the frame of the building: it has a sloping roof, which is so well thatched with palm leaves, that neither the sun nor the rain can find entrance. The ground over which this building is erected, is an oblong square. In the middle of one side is the door, and in the middle between that and the end of the house, towards the left hand, is a window: a partition runs out from each end towards the middle, which, if continued, would divide the whole floor into two equal parts, longitudinally; but they do not meet in the middle, so that an opening is left over-against the door; each end of the house, therefore, to the right and left of the door, is divided into two rooms, like stalls in a stable, all open towards the passage from the door to the wall on the opposite side: in that next the door to the left hand, the children sleep; that opposite to it, on the right hand, is allotted to strangers; the master and his wife sleep in the inner room on the left hand, and that opposite to it is the kitchen. There is no difference between the houses of the poor and the rich, but in the size; except that the royal palace, and the house of a man, whose name is *Gundang*, the next in riches and influence to the king, is walled with boards instead of being wattled with sticks and bamboo.

As the people are obliged to abandon the town, and live in the rice-fields at certain seasons, to secure their crops from the birds and the monkeys, they have occasional houses there for their accommodation. They are exactly the same as the houses in the town, except that they are smaller, and are elevated eight or ten feet above the ground instead of four.

The disposition of the people, as far as we could discover it, is good. They dealt with us very honestly, except, like all other Indians, and the itinerant retailers of fish in London, they ask sometimes twice, and sometimes thrice as much for their commodities as they would take. As what they brought to market belonged, in different proportions, to a considerable number of the natives, and it would have been difficult to purchase it in separate lots, they found out a very easy expedient with which every one was satisfied: they put all that was bought of one kind, as plantains, or cocoa-nuts together, and when we had agreed for the heap, they divided the money that was paid for it, among those of whose separate

\* The fruit of the Jaca tree *Artocarpus integrifolia*, a species of the bread-fruit, seems to be here alluded to.—Ed.



property it consisted, in a proportion corresponding with their contributions. Sometimes, indeed, they changed our money, giving us 240 doits, amounting to five shillings, for a Spanish dollar, and ninety-six, amounting to two shillings, for a Bengal rupee.

They all speak the Malay language, though they have a language of their own, different both from the Malay and the Javanese. Their own language they call *Catta Gunung*, the language of the mountains; and they say that it is spoken upon the mountains of Java, whence their tribe originally migrated, first to Mew Bay, and then to their present station, being driven from their first settlement by tigers, which they found too numerous to subdue. I have already observed, that several languages are spoken by the native Javanese, in different parts of their island; but when I say that the language of these people is different from the Javanese, I mean that it is different from the language which is spoken at Samarang, a place that is distant only one day's journey from the residence of the emperor of Java. The following is a list of corresponding words in the languages of Prince's Island, Java, and Malacca.

ENGLISH.	PRINCE'S ISLAND.	JAVANESE.	MALAY.
<i>A man</i> . . . . .	Jalma . . . . .	Oong Lanang . . . . .	Oran Lacki Lacki.
<i>A woman</i> . . . . .	Becang . . . . .	Oong Wadong . . . . .	Parampuan.
<i>A child</i> . . . . .	Oroculatacke . . . . .	Lari . . . . .	Anack.
<i>The head</i> . . . . .	Holo . . . . .	Undase . . . . .	Capalla.
<i>The nose</i> . . . . .	Erung . . . . .	Erung . . . . .	Edung.
<i>The eyes</i> . . . . .	Mata . . . . .	Moto . . . . .	Mata.
<i>The ears</i> . . . . .	Chole . . . . .	Cuping . . . . .	Cuping.
<i>The teeth</i> . . . . .	Cutoek . . . . .	Untu . . . . .	Ghigi.
<i>The belly</i> . . . . .	Beatung . . . . .	Wuttong . . . . .	Prot.
<i>The backside</i> . . . . .	Serit . . . . .	Celit . . . . .	Pantat.
<i>The thigh</i> . . . . .	Pimping . . . . .	Poopoo . . . . .	Paha.
<i>The knee</i> . . . . .	Hullootoor . . . . .	Duncul . . . . .	Lontour.
<i>The leg</i> . . . . .	Metis . . . . .	Siekil . . . . .	Kauki.
<i>A nail</i> . . . . .	Cucu . . . . .	Cucu . . . . .	Cucu.
<i>A hand</i> . . . . .	Langan . . . . .	Tangan . . . . .	Tangan.
<i>A finger</i> . . . . .	Ramo Langan . . . . .	Jari . . . . .	Jaring.

In this specimen of the languages of places so near to each other, the names of different parts of the body are chosen, because they are easily obtained from people whose language is utterly unknown, and because they are more likely to be part of the original stamen of the language, than any other, as types of the first objects to which they would give names. It is very remarkable that the Malay, the Javanese, and the Prince's Island language, have words, which, if not exactly similar to the corresponding words in the language of the islands in the South Seas, are manifestly derived from the same source, as will appear from the following table:

ENGLISH.	SOUTH SEA.	MALAY.	JAVANESE.	PRINCE'S ISL.
<i>An eye</i> . . . . .	Matta . . . . .	Mata . . . . .	Moto . . . . .	Mata.
<i>To eat</i> . . . . .	Maa . . . . .	Macan . . . . .	Mangan.	
<i>To drink</i> . . . . .	Einu . . . . .	Menu . . . . .	Gnumbe.	
<i>To kill</i> . . . . .	Matte . . . . .	Matte . . . . .	Matte.	
<i>A louse</i> . . . . .	Outou . . . . .	Coutou.		
<i>Rain</i> . . . . .	Euwa . . . . .	Udian . . . . .	Udan.	
<i>Bamboo cane</i> . . . . .	Owhe . . . . .			Awe.
<i>A beast</i> . . . . .	Eu . . . . .	Sousou . . . . .	Sousou.	
<i>A bird</i> . . . . .	Mannu . . . . .		Manuu . . . . .	Mannuck.
<i>A fish</i> . . . . .	Eyca . . . . .	Ican . . . . .	Iwa.	
<i>The foot</i> . . . . .	Tapao . . . . .		Tapaan.	
<i>A lobster</i> . . . . .	Tooura . . . . .	Udang . . . . .	Urang.	
<i>Yams</i> . . . . .	Eufwhe . . . . .	Ubi . . . . .	Urve.	
<i>To bury</i> . . . . .	Etannon . . . . .	Tannam . . . . .	Tandour.	
<i>A moschito</i> . . . . .	Enammou . . . . .	Gnamuck.		
<i>To scratch</i> . . . . .	Hearu . . . . .	Garru . . . . .	Garu.	
<i>Cocos roots</i> . . . . .	Taro . . . . .		Tallas.	
<i>In-land</i> . . . . .	Uta . . . . .	Utan.		

This similitude is particularly remarkable in the words expressing number, which, at first sight, seems to be no inconsiderable proof that the science at least of these different people has a common root. But the names of numbers in the island of Madagascar are, in

some instances, similar to all these, which is a problem still more difficult to solve. That the names of numbers, in particular, are in a manner common to all these countries, will appear from the following comparative table, which Mr. Banks drew up, with the assistance of a negro slave, born at Madagascar, who was on board an English ship at Batavia, and sent to him to gratify his curiosity on this subject.

ENGLISH.	S. SEA ISLANDS.	MALAY.	JAVANESE.	PRINCE'S ISL.	MADAGAS.
<i>One</i> . . .	Tahie . . .	Satou . . .	Sigi . . .	Hegie . . .	Isse.
<i>Two</i> . . .	Rua . . .	Dua . . .	Lorou . . .	Dua . . .	Rua.
<i>Three</i> . . .	Torou . . .	Tiga . . .	Tullu . . .	Tellu . . .	Tellou.
<i>Four</i> . . .	Haa . . .	Ampat . . .	Pappat . . .	Opat . . .	Effats.
<i>Five</i> . . .	Reina . . .	Lima . . .	Limo . . .	Limah . . .	Limi.
<i>Six</i> . . .	Wheney . . .	Annam . . .	Nunnam . . .	Gunnap . . .	Ene.
<i>Seven</i> . . .	Hetu . . .	Tudju . . .	Petu . . .	Tudja . . .	Titou.
<i>Eight</i> . . .	Waru . . .	Delapau . . .	Wolo . . .	Delapan . . .	Walon.
<i>Nine</i> . . .	Iva . . .	Sembilan . . .	Songo . . .	Salapan . . .	Sivi.
<i>Ten</i> . . .	Ahouroa . . .	Sapoulou . . .	Sapoulou . . .	Sapoulou . . .	Tourou.

In the language of Madagascar, there are other words similar to words of the same import in the Malay. The nose in Malay is called *Erung*, at Madagascar *Orou*; *Lida*, the tongue, is *Lala*; *Tangan*, the hand, is *Tang*; and *Tanna*, the ground, is *Taan*.

From the similitude between the language of the Eastern Indies, and the islands of the South Sea, conjectures may be formed with respect to the peopling those countries, which cannot easily be referred to Madagascar. The inhabitants of Java and Madagascar appear to be a different race; the Javanese is of an olive complexion, and has long hair; the native of Madagascar is black, and his head is not covered with hair, but wool; and yet perhaps this will not conclude against their having common ancestors so strongly as at first appears. It does not seem less difficult to account for the personal difference between a native of England and France, as an effect of mere local situation, than for the difference between the natives of Java and Madagascar; yet it has never been supposed, that England and France were not peopled from common ancestors. If two natives of England marry in their own country, and afterwards remove to our settlements in the West Indies, the children that are conceived and born there will have the complexion and cast of countenance that distinguish the Creole; if they return, the children conceived and born afterwards will have no such characteristics. If it be said that the mother's mind being impressed with different external objects, impresses corresponding features and complexion upon the child during her pregnancy, it will be as difficult to refer the effect into this cause, upon mere physical principles, as into the other; for it can no more be shown how a mere idea, conceived in the mother's imagination, can change the corporeal form of her infant, than how its form can be changed by mere local situation. We know that people within the small circle of Great Britain and Ireland, who are born at the distance of two or three hundred miles from each other, will be distinguished by the Scotch face, the Welsh face, and the Irish face; may we not then reasonably suppose, that there are in nature qualities which act powerfully as efficient causes, and yet are not cognizable by any of the five modes of perception which we call senses? A deaf man, who sees the string of a harpsichord vibrate, when a corresponding tone is produced by blowing into a flute at a distance, will see an effect of which he can no more conceive the cause to exist in the blowing air into the flute, than we can conceive the cause of the personal difference of the various inhabitants of the globe to exist in mere local situation; nor can he any more form an idea of the cause itself in one case, than we can in the other: what happens to him, then, in consequence of having but four senses instead of five, may, with respect to many phenomena of nature, happen to us, in consequence of having but five senses instead of six, or any greater number.

Possibly, however, the learning of ancient Egypt might run in two courses, one through Africa, and the other through Asia, disseminating the same words in each, especially terms of number, which might thus become part of the language of people who never had any communication with each other.

We now made the best of our way for the Cape of Good Hope, but the seeds of disease which we had received at Batavia began to appear with the most threatening symptoms in



dysenteries and slow fevers. Lest the water which we had taken in at Prince's Island should have had any share in our sickness, we purified it with lime, and we washed all parts of the ship between decks with vinegar, as a remedy against infection. Mr. Banks was among the sick, and for some time there was no hope of his life. We were very soon in a most deplorable situation; the ship was nothing better than an hospital, in which those that were able to go about were too few to attend the sick, who were confined to their hammocks; and we had almost every night a dead body to commit to the sea. In the course of about six weeks, we buried Mr. Sporing, a gentleman who was in Mr. Banks's retinue; Mr. Parkinson, his natural history painter; Mr. Green the astronomer, the boatswain, the carpenter and his mate; Mr. Monkhouse the midshipman, who had fothered the ship after she had been stranded on the coast of New Holland; our old jolly sail-maker and his assistant, the ship's cook, the corporal of the marines, two of the carpenter's crew, a midshipman, and nine seamen; in all three-and-twenty persons, besides the seven that we buried at Batavia.

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CHAPTER XIV.—OUR ARRIVAL AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE—SOME REMARKS ON THE RUN FROM JAVA HEAD TO THAT PLACE—A DESCRIPTION OF THE CAPE, AND OF ST. HELENA: WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE HOTTENTOTS, AND THE RETURN OF THE SHIP TO ENGLAND.

On Friday, the 15th of March, about ten o'clock in the morning, we anchored off the Cape of Good Hope, in seven fathom, with an oozy bottom. The west point of the bay, called the Lion's Tail, bore W.N.W. and the castle S.W., distant about a mile and a half. I immediately waited upon the governor, who told me that I should have everything the country afforded. My first care was to provide a proper place ashore for the sick, which were not a few; and a house was soon found, where it was agreed they should be lodged and boarded at the rate of two shillings a-head per day.

Our run from Java Head to this place afforded very few subjects of remark that can be of use to future navigators; such as occurred, however, I shall set down. We had left Java Head eleven days before we got the general south-east trade-wind, during which time we did not advance above 5° to the southward, and 3° to the west, having variable light airs, interrupted by calms, with sultry weather, and an unwholesome air, occasioned probably by the load of vapours which the eastern trade-wind and westerly monsoons bring into these latitudes, both which blow in these seas at the time of year when we happened to be there. The easterly wind prevails as far as 10° or 12° S., and the westerly as far as 6° or 8°; in the intermediate space the winds are variable, and the air, I believe, always unwholesome; it certainly aggravated the diseases which we brought with us from Batavia, and particularly the flux, which was not in the least degree checked by any medicine, so that whoever was seized with it, considered himself as a dead man; but we had no sooner got into the trade-wind, than we began to feel its salutary effects: we buried, indeed, several of our people afterwards, but they were such as had been taken on board in a state so low and feeble, that there was scarcely a possibility of their recovery. At first we suspected that this dreadful disorder might have been brought upon us by the water that we took on board at Prince's Island, or even by the turtle that we bought there; but there is not the least reason to believe that this suspicion was well grounded, for all the ships that came from Batavia at the same season, suffered in the same degree, and some of them even more severely, though none of them touched at Prince's Island in their way.

A few days after we left Java, we saw boobies about the ship for several nights successively, and as these birds are known to roost every night on shore, we thought them an indication that some island was not far distant; perhaps it might be the island of Selam, which, in different charts, is very differently laid down both in name and situation.

The variation of the compass off the west coast of Java is about 3° W., and so it continued without any sensible variation, in the common track of ships to the longitude of 288° W., latitude 22° S., after which it increased apace, so that in longitude 295°, latitude 23°, the variation was 10° 20' W.: in seven degrees more of longitude, and one of latitude, it increased two degrees; in the same space farther to the west, it increased five degrees: in

latitude  $28^{\circ}$ , longitude  $314^{\circ}$ , it was  $24^{\circ} 20'$ ; in latitude  $29^{\circ}$ , longitude  $317^{\circ}$ , it was  $26^{\circ} 10'$ ; and was then stationary for the space of about ten degrees farther to the west; but in latitude  $34^{\circ}$ , longitude  $333^{\circ}$ , we observed it twice to be  $28\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$  W., and this was its greatest variation, for in latitude  $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , longitude  $337^{\circ}$ , it was  $24^{\circ}$ , and continued gradually to decrease; so that off Cape Anguillas, it was  $22^{\circ} 30'$ , and in Table Bay  $20^{\circ} 30'$  W.

As to currents, it did not appear that they were at all considerable, till we came within a little distance of the meridian of Madagascar; for, after we had made  $52^{\circ}$  of longitude from Java Head, we found, by observation, that our error in longitude was only two degrees, and it was the same when we had made only nineteen. This error might be owing partly to a current setting to the westward, partly to our not making proper allowances for the setting of the sea before which we run, and perhaps to an error in the assumed longitude of Java Head. If that longitude is erroneous, the error must be imputed to the imperfection of the charts of which I made use in reducing the longitude from Batavia to that place, for there can be no doubt but that the longitude of Batavia is well determined. After we had passed the longitude of  $307^{\circ}$ , the effects of the westerly currents began to be considerable; for in three days, our error in longitude was  $1^{\circ} 5'$ : the velocity of the current kept increasing, as we proceeded to the westward, insomuch that, for five days successively after we made the land, we were driven to the S.W. or S.W. by W., not less than twenty leagues a day; and this continued till we were within sixty or seventy leagues of the Cape, where the current set sometimes one way, and sometimes the other, though inclining rather to the westward.

After the boobies had left us, we saw no more birds till we got nearly abreast of Madagascar, where, in latitude  $27\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$  S., we saw an albatross, and after that time we saw them every day in great numbers, with birds of several other sorts, particularly one about as big as a duck, of a very dark brown colour with a yellowish bill. These birds became more numerous as we approached the shore, and as soon as we got into soundings, we saw gannets, which we continued to see as long as we were upon the bank which stretches off Anguillas to the distance of forty leagues, and extends along the shore to the eastward from Cape False, according to some charts, one hundred and sixty leagues. The real extent of this bank is not exactly known; it is, however, useful as a direction to shipping when to haul in, in order to make the land.

While we lay here, the Houghton Indiaman sailed for England, who, during her stay in India, lost by sickness between thirty and forty men, and when she left the Cape had many in a helpless condition with the scurvy. Other ships suffered in the same proportion, who had been little more than twelve months absent from England; our sufferings, therefore, were comparatively light, considering that we had been absent near three times as long.

Having lain here to recover the sick, procure stores, and perform several necessary operations upon the ship and rigging, till the 13th of April, I then got all the sick on board, several of whom were still in a dangerous state, and having taken leave of the governor, I unmoored the next morning, and got ready to sail.

The Cape of Good Hope has been so often described, and is so well known in Europe, that I shall mention only a few particulars, which, in other relations, are omitted or misrepresented.

Notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, no country that we saw during the voyage makes a more forlorn appearance, or is in reality a more sterile desert. The land over the Cape, which constitutes the peninsula formed by Table Bay on the north, and False Bay on the south, consists of high mountains, altogether naked and desolate: the land behind these to the east, which may be considered as the isthmus, is a plain of vast extent, consisting almost wholly of a light kind of sea-sand, which produces nothing but heath, and is utterly incapable of cultivation. All the spots that will admit of improvement, which together bear about the same proportion to the whole as one to one thousand, are laid out in vineyards, orchards, and kitchen-grounds; and most of these little spots lie at a considerable distance from each other. There is also the greatest reason to believe, that, in the interior parts of this country, that which is capable of cultivation does not bear a greater proportion to that which is incorrigibly barren; for the Dutch told us, that they had settlements eight-and-twenty days' journey up the country, a distance equal to at least



nine hundred miles, from which they bring provisions to the Cape by land ; so that it seems reasonable to conclude that provisions are not to be had within a less compass. While we were at the Cape, a farmer came thither from the country, at the distance of fifteen days' journey, and brought his young children with him. We were surprised at this, and asked him, if it would not have been better to have left them with his next neighbour. Neighbour ! said the man, I have no neighbour within less than five days' journey of me.—Surely the country must be deplorably barren in which those who settle only to raise provisions for a market are dispersed at such distances from each other ! That the country is everywhere destitute of wood appears to demonstration ; for timber and planks are imported from Batavia, and fuel is almost as dear as food. We saw no tree, except in plantations near the town, that was six feet high ; and the stems, that were not thicker than a man's thumb, had roots as thick as an arm or a leg ; such is the influence of the winds here to the disadvantage of vegetation, setting the sterility of the soil out of the question.



TABLE BAY—CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

The only town which the Dutch have built here is, from its situation, called Cape Town, and consists of about a thousand houses, neatly built of brick, and in general whited on the outside ; they are, however, covered only with thatch, for the violence of the south-east winds would render any other roof inconvenient and dangerous. The streets are broad and commodious, all crossing each other at right angles. In the principal street there is a canal, on each side of which is planted a row of oaks, that have flourished tolerably well, and yield an agreeable shade : there is a canal also in one other part of the town, but the slope of the ground in the course of both is so great, that they are furnished with flood-gates, or locks, at intervals of little more than fifty yards.

A much greater proportion of the inhabitants are Dutch in this place than in Batavia ; and as the town is supported principally by entertaining strangers, and supplying them with necessaries, every man, to a certain degree, imitates the manners and customs of the nation with which he is chiefly concerned. The ladies, however, are so faithful to the mode of their country, that not one of them will stir without a chaudpied or chauffet, which is carried by a servant, that it may be ready to place under her feet whenever she shall sit down. This practice is the more remarkable, as very few of these chauffets have fire in them, which indeed the climate renders unnecessary.

The women, in general, are very handsome ; they have fine clear skins, and a bloom of

colour that indicates a purity of constitution, and high health. They make the best wives in the world, both as mistresses of a family and mothers; and there is scarcely a house that does not swarm with children.

The air is salutary in a high degree; so that those who bring diseases hither from Europe, generally recover perfect health in a short time; but the diseases that are brought from India are not so certainly cured.

Notwithstanding the natural sterility of the climate, industry has supplied this place with all the necessaries, and even the luxuries of life, in the greatest profusion. The beef and mutton are excellent, though the cattle and sheep are natives of the country; the cattle are lighter than ours, more neatly made, and have horns that spread to a much wider extent. The sheep are clothed with a substance between wool and hair, and have tails of an enormous size; we saw some that weighed twelve pounds, and were told that there were many much larger. Good butter is made of the milk of the cows, but the cheese is very much inferior to our own. Here are goats, (but they are never eaten,) hogs, and a variety of poultry. Hares are also found here, exactly like those of Europe; antelopes of many kinds, quails of two sorts, and bustards, which are well-flavoured, but not juicy. The fields produce European wheat and barley, and the gardens European vegetables, and fruit of all kinds, besides plantains, guavas, jambu, and some other Indian fruits, but these are not in perfection; the plantains, in particular, are very bad, and the guavas no larger than gooseberries. The vineyards also produce wine of various sorts, but not equal to those of Europe, except the Constantia, which is made genuine only at one vineyard, about ten miles distant from the town. There is another vineyard near it, where wine is made that is called by the same name, but it is greatly inferior.

The common method in which strangers live here, is to lodge and board with some of the inhabitants, many of whose houses are always open for their reception: the rates are from five shillings to two shillings a day, for which all necessaries are found. Coaches may be hired at four-and-twenty shillings a day, and horses at six shillings; but the country affords very little temptation to use them. There are no public entertainments; and those that are private, to which strangers of the rank of gentlemen are always admitted, were suspended while we were there by the breaking out of the measles.

At the farther end of the High-street, the Company have a garden, which is about two-thirds of an English mile long; the whole is divided by walks that intersect each other at right angles, and are planted with oaks that are clipped into wall-hedges, except in the centre walk, where they are suffered to grow to their full size, and afford an agreeable shade, which is the more welcome, as, except the plantations by the sides of the two canals, there is not a single tree that would serve even for a shepherd's bush, within many miles of the town. The greater part of this garden is kitchen ground; but two small squares are allotted to botanical plants, which did not appear to be so numerous by one half as they were when Oldenland wrote his catalogue. At the farther end of the garden is a menagerie, in which there are many birds and beasts that are never seen in Europe; particularly a beast called by the Hottentots *Coe doe*, which is as large as a horse, and has the fine spiral horns which are sometimes seen in private and public collections or curiosities\*.

Of the natives of this country, we could learn but little, except from report; for there were none of their habitations, where alone they retain their original customs, within less than four days' journey from the town; those that we saw at the Cape were all servants to Dutch farmers, whose cattle they take care of, and are employed in other drudgery of the meanest kind. These are in general of a slim make, and rather lean than plump, but remarkably strong, nimble, and active. Their size is nearly the same with that of Europeans, and we saw some that were six feet high; their eyes are dull and without expression; their skins are of the colour of soot, but that is in a great measure caused by the dirt, which is so wrought into the grain that it cannot be distinguished from complexion; for I believe they

\* This is the Coudous or Koodoo, *Ant. Strepsicerus* of Cuvier; improperly described as *Condoma* by Buffon, while he gave the name of Coudou to another species, the Impooto or Potto, *Ant. Ocas* of Cuvier. It stands four

feet high at the shoulder, and is eight feet long. It inhabits the rocky plains of the Karoo mountains. The female is without horns.—Ed.



never wash any part of their bodies. Their hair curls strongly, not like a negro's, but falls in ringlets about seven or eight inches long. Their clothing consists of a skin, generally that of a sheep, thrown over their shoulders; besides which, the men wear a small pouch in the middle of the waist, and the women, a broad leather flap, both which hang from a girdle or belt that is adorned with beads and small pieces of copper. Both men and women wear necklaces, and sometimes bracelets of beads; and the women wear rings of hard leather round their ancles, to defend them from the thorns, with which their country everywhere abounds: some of them have a sandal, made of wood or bark; but the greater part of them are unshod.

To a European, their language appears to be scarcely articulate; besides which it is distinguished by a very remarkable singularity. At very frequent intervals, while they are speaking, they cluck with the tongue against the roof of the mouth: these clucks do not appear to have any meaning, but rather to divide what they say into sentences. Most of these Hottentots speak Dutch, without any peculiarity of pronunciation.

They are all modest, even to sheepishness; for it was not without the greatest difficulty that we could persuade any of them to dance, or even to speak in their own language to each other, in our presence. We did however both see them dance, and hear them sing; their dances are, by turns, active and sluggish to excess; sometimes consisting of quick and violent motions, with strange distortions of the body, and unnatural leaps backwards and forwards, with the legs crossing each other; and being sometimes so spiritless that the dancer only strikes the ground first with one foot and then with the other, neither changing place nor moving any other part of his body: the songs also are alternately to quick and slow movements, in the same extremes as the dance.

We made many inquiries concerning these people of the Dutch, and the following particulars are related upon the credit of their report.

Within the boundaries of the Dutch settlements, there are several nations of these people, who very much differ from each other in their customs and manner of life: all, however, are friendly and peaceable, except one clan that is settled to the eastward, which the Dutch call *Bosch men*, and these live entirely by plunder, or rather by theft; for they never attack their neighbours openly, but steal the cattle privately in the night. They are armed however to defend themselves, if they happen to be detected, with lances or assagays, and arrows, which they know how to poison by various ways, some with the juice of herbs, and some with the venom of the serpent, called *Cobra di Capello*; in the hands of these people a stone also is a very formidable weapon, for they can throw it with such force and exactness as repeatedly to hit a dollar at the distance of a hundred paces. As a defence against these freebooters, the other Indians train up bulls, which they place round their towns in the night, and which, upon the approach of either man or beast, will assemble and oppose them, till they hear the voice of their masters encouraging them to fight, or calling them off, which they obey with the same docility as a dog.

Some nations have the art of melting and preparing copper, which is found among them, probably native; and of this they make broad plates, which they wear as ornaments upon their foreheads. Some of them also know how to harden bits of iron, which they procure from the Dutch, and form into knives, so as to give them a temper superior to that of any they can buy.

The chiefs, many of whom are possessors of very numerous herds of cattle, are generally clad in the skins of lions, tigers, or zebras, to which they add fringes, and other ornaments, in a very good taste. Both sexes frequently anoint the body with grease, but never use any that is rancid or fetid, if fresh can be had. Mutton suet and butter are generally used for this purpose; butter is preferred, which they make by shaking the milk in a bag made of the skin of some beast.

We were told that the priest certainly gives the nuptial benediction, by sprinkling the bride and bridegroom with his urine. But the Dutch universally declared that the women never wrapped the entrails of sheep round their legs, as they have been said to do, and afterwards make them part of their food. Semicastration was also absolutely denied to be general; but it was acknowledged that some among the particular nation which knew how to melt copper had suffered that operation, who were said to be the best warriors, and particularly to excel in the art of throwing stones.

We were very desirous to determine the great question among natural historians, whether the women of this country have or have not that fleshy flap or apron which has been called the *Sinus pudoris*, and what we learnt I shall relate. Many of the Dutch and Malays, who said they had received favours from Hottentot women, positively denied its existence; but a physician of the place declared that he had cured many hundreds of venereal complaints, and never saw one without two fleshy, or rather skinny appendages, proceeding from the upper part of the *labia*, in appearance somewhat resembling the teats of a cow, but flat; they hung down, he said, before the *pudendum*, and were in different subjects of different lengths, in some not more than half an inch, in others three or four inches: these he imagined to be what some writers have exaggerated into a flap, or apron, hanging down from the bottom of the abdomen, of sufficient extent to render an artificial covering of the neighbouring parts unnecessary.

This much for the country, its productions, and inhabitants. The bay is large, safe, and commodious; it lies open indeed to the north-west winds, but they seldom blow hard; yet as they sometimes send in a great sea, the ships moor N.E. and S.W., so as to have an open hawser with north-west winds: the south-east winds blow frequently with great violence, but as the direction is right out of the bay, they are not dangerous. Near the town a wharf of wood is run out to a proper distance for the convenience of landing and shipping goods. To this wharf water is conveyed in pipes, from which several boats may fill water at the same time; and several large boats or hoys are kept by the Company to carry stores and provisions to and from the shipping in the harbour. The bay is defended by a square fort, situated close to the beach on the east side of the town, and by several outworks and batteries extending along the shore, as well on this side of the town as the other; but they are so situated as to be cannonaded by shipping, and are in a manner defenceless against an enemy of any force by land. The garrison consists of eight hundred regular troops, besides militia of the country, in which is comprehended every man able to bear arms. They have contrivances to alarm the whole country by signals in a very short time, and the militia is then to repair immediately to the town.

The French at Mauritius are supplied from this place with salted beef, biscuit, flour, and wine: the provisions for which the French contracted this year were 500,000 lbs. weight of salt beef, 400,000 lbs. of flour, 400,000 lbs. of biscuit, and 1,200 leaguers of wine.

On the morning of the 14th, we weighed and stood out of the bay; and at five in the evening anchored under Penquin, or Robin island: we lay here all night, and as I could not sail in the morning for want of wind, I sent a boat to the island for a few trifling articles which we had forgot to take in at the Cape. But as soon as the boat came near the shore, the Dutch hailed her, and warned the people not to land, at their peril, bringing down at the same time six men armed with muskets, who paraded upon the beach. The officer who commanded the boat, not thinking it worth while to risk the lives of the people on board for the sake of a few cabbages, which were all we wanted, returned to the ship. At first we were at a loss to account for our repulse, but we afterwards recollected, that to this island the Dutch at the Cape banish such criminals as are not thought worthy of death, for a certain number of years, proportioned to the offence; and employ them as slaves in digging limestone, which, though scarce upon the continent, is plenty here: and that a Danish ship, which by sickness had lost great part of her crew, and had been refused assistance at the Cape, came down to this island, and sending her boat ashore, secured the guard, and took on board as many of the criminals as she thought proper to navigate her home: we concluded therefore that the Dutch, to prevent the rescue of their criminals in time to come, had given order to their people here to suffer no boat of any foreign nation to come ashore.

On the 25th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, we weighed, with a light breeze at S.E., and put to sea. About an hour afterwards, we lost our master, Mr. Robert Mollineux, a young man of good parts, but unhappily given up to intemperance, which brought on disorders that put an end to his life.

We proceeded in our voyage homeward without any remarkable incident; and in the morning of the 29th we crossed our first meridian, having circumnavigated the globe in the direction from east to west, and consequently lost a day, for which we made an allowance at Batavia.



At daybreak, on the first of May, we saw the island of St. Helena; and at noon, we anchored in the road before James's Fort.

We staid here till the 4th, to refresh, and Mr. Banks improved the time in making the complete circuit of the island, and visiting the most remarkable places upon it.

It is situated, as it were, in the middle of the vast Atlantic Ocean, being four hundred leagues distant from the coast of Africa, and six hundred from that of America. It is the summit of an immense mountain rising out of the sea, which, at a little distance all round it, is of an unfathomable depth; and is no more than twelve leagues long, and six broad.

The seat of volcanoes has, without exception, been found to be the highest part of the countries in which they are found. *Ætna* and *Vesuvius* have no land higher than themselves, in their neighbourhood; *Hecla* is the highest hill in Iceland: volcanoes are frequent in the highest part of the *Andes* in South America; and the Peak of *Teneriffe* is known to be the covering of subterraneous fire: these are still burning, but there are innumerable other mountains which bear evident marks of fire that is now extinct, and has been so from the time of our earliest traditions: among these is *Saint Helena*, where the inequalities of the ground, in its external surface, are manifestly the effect of the sinking of the earth, for the opposite ridges, though separated always by deep, and sometimes by broad valleys, are exactly similar both in appearance and direction; and that the sinking of the earth in these parts was caused by subterraneous fire, is equally manifest from the stones; for some of them, especially those in the bottom of the valleys, are burnt almost to a cinder: in some there are small bubbles, like those that are seen in glass which has been urged almost to fusion, and some, though at first sight they do not appear to have been exposed to the action of great heat, will be found, upon a closer inspection, to contain small pieces of extraneous bodies, particularly mundick, which have yielded to the power of fire, though it was not sufficient to alter the appearance of the stone which contained them.

It appeared, as we approached it on the windward side, like a rude heap of rocks, bounded by precipices of amazing height, and consisting of a kind of half friable stone, which shows not the least sign of vegetation; nor is it more promising upon a nearer view: in sailing along the shore, we came so near the huge cliffs, that they seemed to overhang the ship, and the tremendous effect of their giving way made us almost fear the event: at length we opened a valley, called *Chapel Valley*, which resembles a large trench; and in this valley we discovered the town. The bottom of it is slightly covered with herbage, but the sides are as naked as the cliffs that are next the sea. Such is the first appearance of the island in its present cultivated state, and the first hills must be passed before the valleys look green, or the country displays any other marks of fertility.

The town stands just by the sea-side, and the far greater part of the houses are ill built; the church, which originally was a mean structure, is in ruins, and the market-house is nearly in the same condition.

The white inhabitants are all English, who, as they are not permitted by the *East India Company*, to whom the island belongs, to carry on any trade or commerce on their own account, subsist wholly by supplying such ships as touch at the place with refreshments, which, however, they do not provide in proportion to the fertility of the soil, and the temperment of the climate, which would enable them, by cultivation, to produce all the fruits and vegetables both of Europe and India. This island, indeed, small as it is, enjoys the different advantages of different climates, for the cabbage-trees, which grow upon the highest ridges, can by no art be cultivated upon the ridges next below, where the red-wood and gum-wood both flourish, which will not grow upon the ridges above, and neither of the three are to be found in the valleys, which, in general, are covered with European plants, and the more common ones of India. Here are a few horses, but they are kept only for the saddle, so that all labour is performed by slaves; nor are they furnished with any of the various machines which art has invented to facilitate their task. The ground is not everywhere too steep for a cart, and where it is, the wheelbarrow might be used with great advantage, yet there is no wheelbarrow in the whole island; everything is conveyed from place to place by the slaves, and they are not furnished even with the simple convenience of a porter's knot, but carry their burden upon their heads. They are indeed very numerous, and are brought to

almost every part of the world, but they appeared to be a miserable race, worn out partly by excessive labour, and partly by ill usage, of which they frequently complained; and I am sorry to say, that instances of wanton cruelty are much more frequent among my countrymen here, than among the Dutch, who are, and perhaps not without reason, generally reproached with want of humanity at Batavia and the Cape\*.

Among the native products of this island, which are not numerous, must be reckoned ebony, though the trees are now nearly extinct, and are not remembered to have been plenty: pieces of the wood are frequently found in the valleys, of a fine black colour, and a hardness almost equal to iron: these pieces, however, are always so short and crooked, that no use can be made of them. Whether the tree is the same with that which produces ebony upon the Isle of Bourbon, or the islands adjacent, is not known, as the French have not yet published any account of it.

There are but few insects in this place, but there is a species of snail found upon the tops of the highest ridges, which probably has been there since the original creation of their kind, at the beginning of the world. It is indeed very difficult to conceive how anything which was not deposited here at its creation, or brought hither by the diligence of man, could find its way to a place so severed from the rest of the world, by seas of immense extent, except the hypothesis that has been mentioned on another occasion be adopted, and this rock be supposed to have been left behind, when a large tract of country, of which it was part, subsided by some convulsion of nature, and was swallowed up in the ocean.

At one o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th of May, we weighed and stood out of the road, in company with the Portland man-of-war, and twelve sail of Indiamen.

We continued to sail in company with the fleet, till the 10th in the morning, when, perceiving that we sailed much heavier than any other ship, and thinking it for that reason probable that the Portland would get home before us, I made the signal to speak with her, upon which Captain Elliot himself came on board, and I delivered to him a letter to the Admiralty, with a box, containing the common log-books of the ship, and the journals of some of the officers. We continued in company, however, till the 23d in the morning, and then there was not one of the ships in sight. About one o'clock in the afternoon died our first lieutenant Mr. Hicks, and in the evening we committed his body to the sea, with the usual ceremonies. The disease of which he died was a consumption, and as he was not free from it when we sailed from England, it may truly be said that he was dying during the whole voyage, though his decline was very gradual till we came to Batavia: the next day I gave Mr. Charles Clerk an order to act as lieutenant in his room, a young man who was extremely well qualified for that station.

Our rigging and sails were now become so bad, that something was giving way every day. We continued our course, however, in safety till the 10th of June, when land, which proved to be the Lizard, was discovered by Nicholas Young, the same boy that first saw New Zealand: on the 11th, we run up the channel; at six in the morning of the 12th we passed Beachy Head; at noon we were abreast of Dover, and about three came to an anchor in the Downs, and went ashore at Deal.

\* This statement is retracted in a note to the introduction to the Second Voyage.—Ed.





COOK'S SECOND VOYAGE.

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A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD,

PERFORMED IN

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S SHIPS THE RESOLUTION AND ADVENTURE, IN THE YEARS  
1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775.

WRITTEN

BY JAMES COOK, COMMANDER OF THE RESOLUTION;  
AND GEORGE FORSTER, F.R.S.





## GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND VOYAGE.

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WHETHER the unexplored part of the *Southern Hemisphere* be only an immense mass of water, or contain another continent, as speculative geography seemed to suggest, was a question which had long engaged the attention, not only of learned men, but of most of the maritime powers of Europe. To put an end to all diversity of opinion about a matter so curious and important, was his Majesty's principal motive in directing this voyage to be undertaken, the history of which is now submitted to the public.

But in order to give the reader a clear idea of what has been done in it, and to enable him to judge more accurately how far the great object that was proposed has been obtained, it will be necessary to prefix a short account of the several voyages which have been made on discoveries to the Southern Hemisphere prior to that which I had lately the honour to conduct, and which I am now going to relate.

The first who crossed the vast Pacific Ocean was Ferdinand Magalhaens, a Portuguese, who, in the service of Spain, sailed from Seville, with five ships, on the 10th of April, 1519. He discovered the Straits which bear his name; and having passed through them on the 27th of November, 1520, entered the South Pacific Ocean. In this sea he discovered two uninhabited islands, whose situations are not well known. He afterwards crossed the Line, discovered the Ladrone Islands, and then proceeded to the Philippines, in one of which he was killed in a skirmish with the natives. His ship, called the Victory, was the first that circumnavigated the globe, and the only one of his squadron that surmounted the dangers and distresses which attended his heroic enterprise.

The Spaniards, after Magalhaens had showed them the way, made several voyages from America to the westward, previous to that of Alvaro Mendana De Neyra, in 1595, which is the first that can be traced step by step; for the antecedent expeditions are not handed down to us with much precision. We know, however, in general, that in them New Guinea, the islands called Solomon's, and several others, were discovered. Geographers differ greatly concerning the situation of the Solomon Islands: the most probable opinion is, that they are the cluster which comprises what has since been called New Britain, New Ireland, &c.

On the 9th of April, 1595, Mendana, with intention to settle these islands, sailed from Callao with four ships; and his discoveries in his route to the West were, the Marquesas, in the latitude of  $10^{\circ}$  south; the island of St. Bernardo, which I take to be the same that Commodore Byron calls the Island of Danger; after that, Solitary Island, in the latitude  $10^{\circ} 40'$  south, longitude  $178^{\circ}$  west; and, lastly, Santa Cruz, which is undoubtedly the same that Captain Carteret calls Egmont Island. In this last island, Mendana, with many of his companions, died; and the shattered remains of the squadron were conducted to Manilla by Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, the chief pilot.

This same Quiros was the first sent out, with the sole view of discovering a Southern Continent; and, indeed, he seems to have been the first who had any idea of the existence of one. He sailed from Callao the 21st of December, 1605, as pilot of the fleet, commanded by Luis Paz de Torres, consisting of two ships and a tender; and steering to the W.S.W. on the 26th of January, 1606, being then, by their reckoning, a thousand Spanish leagues from the coast of America, they discovered a small low island in latitude  $25^{\circ}$  South.—Two



days after, they discovered another that was high, with a plain on the top. This is, probably, the same that Captain Carteret calls Pitcairn's Island. After leaving these islands, Quiros seems to have directed his course to the W.N.W. and N.W. to  $10^{\circ}$  or  $11^{\circ}$  South latitude, and then westward, till he arrived at the bay of St. Philip and Jago, in the island of Tierra del Espiritu Santo. In this route he discovered several islands; probably, some of those that have been seen by later navigators. On leaving the Bay of St. Philip and St. Jago, the two ships were separated. Quiros, with the Capitana, stood to the north, and returned to New Spain, after having suffered greatly for want of provisions and water.—Torres, with the Almiranta and the tender, steered to the west, and seems to have been the first who sailed between New Holland and New Guinea.

The next attempt to make discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean was conducted by Le Maire and Schouten.—They sailed from the Texel on the 14th of June, 1615, with the ships Concord and Horn. The latter was burnt by accident in Port Desire. With the other, they discovered the Strait that bears the name of Le Maire, and were the first who ever entered the Pacific Ocean, by the way of Cape Horn. They discovered the Island of Dogs, in latitude  $15^{\circ} 15'$  South, longitude  $136^{\circ} 30'$  West;—Sondre Grondt, in  $15^{\circ}$  South latitude, and  $143^{\circ} 10'$  West longitude;—Waterland, in  $14^{\circ} 46'$  South, and  $144^{\circ} 10'$  West;—and, twenty-five leagues westward of this, Fly Island, in latitude  $15^{\circ} 20'$ ;—Traitor's and Cocos Islands, in latitude  $15^{\circ} 43'$  S. longitude  $173^{\circ} 13'$  W.:—two degrees more to the westward, the Isle of Hope;—and, in the latitude of  $14^{\circ} 56'$  South, longitude  $179^{\circ} 30'$  East, Horn Island. They next coasted the north side of New Britain and New Guinea, and arrived at Batavia in October 1616.

Except some discoveries on the western and northern coasts of New Holland, no important voyage to the Pacific Ocean was undertaken till 1642, when Captain Tasman sailed from Batavia, with two ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company, and discovered Van Diemen's Land;—a small part of the western coast of New Zealand;—the Friendly Isles; and those called Prince William's.

Thus far I have thought it best not to interrupt the progress of discovery in the South Pacific Ocean; otherwise I should before have mentioned, that Sir Richard Hawkins in 1594, being about fifty leagues to the eastward of the river Plate, was driven by a storm to the eastward of his intended course, and when the weather grew moderate, steering towards the Straits of Magalhaens, he unexpectedly fell in with land; about sixty leagues of which he coasted, and has very particularly described. This he named Hawkins's Maiden Land, in honour of his royal mistress, Queen Elizabeth, and says it lies some threescore leagues from the nearest part of South America. This land was afterwards discovered to be two large islands by Captain John Strong, of the Farewell, from London, who, in 1639, passed through the Strait which divides the eastern from the western of those islands. To this Strait he gave the name of Falkland's Sound, in honour of his patron, Lord Falkland; and the name has since been extended, through inadvertency, to the two islands it separates.

Having mentioned these islands, I will add, that future navigators will misspend their time, if they look for Pepys's Island in  $47^{\circ}$  South; it being now certain, that Pepys's Island is no other than these Islands of Falkland.

In April 1675, Anthony la Roche, an English merchant, in his return from the South Pacific Ocean, where he had been on a trading voyage, being carried, by the winds and currents, far to the east of Strait Le Maire, fell in with a coast, which may possibly be the same with that which I visited during this voyage, and have called the Island of Georgia. Leaving this land, and sailing to the north, La Roche, in the latitude of  $45^{\circ}$  South, discovered a large island, with a good port, towards the eastern part, where he found wood, water, and fish.

In 1699, that celebrated astronomer Dr. Edmund Halley was appointed to the command of his Majesty's ship the Paramour Pink, on an expedition for improving the knowledge of the longitude, and of the variation of the compass; and for discovering the unknown lands supposed to lie in the southern part of the Atlantic Ocean. In this voyage he determined the longitude of several places; and after his return, constructed his Variation Chart, and proposed a method of observing the longitude at sea, by means of the appulses, and occulta-

tions of the fixed stars. But, though he so successfully attended to the two first articles of his instructions, he did not find any unknown southern land.

The Dutch, in 1721, fitted out three ships to make discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, under the command of Admiral Roggewein. He left the Texel on the 21st of August, and arriving in that ocean, by going round Cape Horn, discovered Easter Island; probably seen before, though not visited by Davis\*;—then, between  $14^{\circ} 41'$  and  $15^{\circ} 47'$  South latitude, and between the longitude of  $142^{\circ}$  and  $150^{\circ}$  West, fell in with several other islands, which I take to be some of those seen by the late English navigators.—He next discovered two islands in latitude  $15^{\circ}$  South, longitude  $170^{\circ}$  West, which he called Baumen's islands;—and, lastly, Single Island, in latitude  $13^{\circ} 41'$  South, longitude  $171^{\circ} 30'$  West.—These three islands are, undoubtedly, the same that Bougainville calls the Isles of Navigators.

In 1738, the French East India Company sent Lozier Bouvet with two ships, the *Eagle* and *Mary*, to make discoveries in the South Atlantic Ocean. He sailed from Port L'Orient on the 19th of July, in that year; touched at the island of St. Catherine; and from thence shaped his course towards the S.E. On the 1st of January, 1739, he discovered land, or what he judged to be land, in the latitude  $54^{\circ}$  South, longitude  $11^{\circ}$  East. It will appear in the course of the following narrative, that we made several attempts to find this land without success. It is, therefore, very probable, that what Bouvet saw was nothing more than a large ice-island. From hence he stood to the East, in  $51^{\circ}$  of latitude, to  $35^{\circ}$  of East longitude: after which the two ships separated; one going to the island of Mauritius, and the other returning to France.

After this voyage of Bouvet, the spirit of discovery ceased, till his present Majesty formed a design of making discoveries, and exploring the Southern Hemisphere; and, in the year 1764, directed it to be put in execution. Accordingly, Commodore Byron, having under his command the *Dolphin* and *Tamer*, sailed from the Downs on the 21st of June the same year; and having visited the Falkland Islands, passed through the Straits of Magalhaens into the Pacific Ocean, where he discovered the Islands of Disappointment; George's; Prince of Wales's; the Isles of Danger; York Island; and Byron Island.

He returned to England the 9th of May, 1766; and, in the month of August following, the *Dolphin* was again sent out, under the command of Captain Wallis, with the *Swallow*, commanded by Captain Carteret. They proceeded together, till they came to the west end of the Straits of Magalhaens, and the Great South Sea in sight, where they were separated. Captain Wallis directed his course more westerly than any navigator had done before him in so high a latitude; but met with no land till he got within the tropic, where he discovered the islands Whitsunday; Queen Charlotte; Egmont; Duke of Gloucester; Duke of Cumberland; Maitea; Otaheite; Eimeo; Tapamanou; How; Scilly; Boscawen; Keppel, and Wallis; and returned to England in May 1768. His companion Captain Carteret kept a different route; in which he discovered the islands Osnaburg; Gloucester; Queen Charlotte's Isles; Carteret's; Gower's; and the Strait between New Britain and New Ireland; and returned to England in March 1769.

In November, 1766, Commodore Bougainville sailed from France, in the frigate *La Bouteuse*, with the store-ship *L'Etoile*. After spending some time on the coast of Brazil, and at Falkland Islands, he got into the Pacific Sea, by the Straits of Magalhaens, in January 1768. In this ocean he discovered the Four Facardines; the Isle of Lanciers; and Harpe Island, which I take to be the same that I afterwards named Lagoon; Thrum Cap, and Bow Island. About twenty leagues farther to the west, he discovered four other islands; afterwards fell in with Maitea; Otaheite; Isles of Navigators; and Forlorn Hope; which to him were new discoveries. He then passed through between the Hebrides; discovered the Shoal of Diana, and some others; the land of Cape Deliverance; several islands more to the north; passed to the north of New Ireland; touched at Batavia; and arrived in France in March 1769.

This year was rendered remarkable by the transit of the planet Venus over the sun's disc; a phenomenon of great importance to astronomy; and which everywhere engaged the attention of the learned in that science. In the beginning of the year 1768, the Royal

\* See Wafer's Description of the Isthmus of Darien.



Society presented a memorial to his Majesty, setting forth the advantages to be derived from accurate observations of this transit in different parts of the world; particularly from a set of such observations made in a southern latitude, between the 140th and 180th degrees of longitude, west from the Royal Observatory at Greenwich; and that vessels, properly equipped, would be necessary to convey the observers to their destined stations; but that the Society were in no condition to defray the expense of such an undertaking. In consequence of this memorial, the Admiralty were directed by his Majesty to provide proper vessels for this purpose. Accordingly, the *Endeavour* bark, which had been built for the coal-trade, was purchased and fitted out for the southern voyage; and I was honoured with the command of her. The Royal Society soon after appointed me, in conjunction with Mr. Charles Green the astronomer, to make the requisite observations on the transit.

It was at first intended to perform this great, and now a principal business of our voyage, either at the Marquesas, or else at one of those islands which Tasman had called Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Middleburgh, now better known under the name of the Friendly Islands. But while the *Endeavour* was getting ready for the expedition, Captain Wallis returned from his voyage round the world, in the course of which he had discovered several islands in the South Sea; and amongst others, Otaheite. This island was preferred to any of those before mentioned, on account of the conveniences it afforded; and because its place had been well ascertained, and found to be extremely well suited to our purpose. I was therefore ordered to proceed directly to Otaheite; and, after the astronomical observations should be completed, to prosecute the design of making discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, by proceeding to the south as far as the latitude of  $40^{\circ}$ ; then, if I found no land, to proceed to the west between  $40^{\circ}$  and  $35^{\circ}$ , till I fell in with New Zealand, which I was to explore; and thence to return to England, by such route as I should think proper.

In the prosecution of these instructions, I sailed from Deptford the 30th of July, 1768; from Plymouth the 26th of August; touched at Madeira, Rio de Janeiro, and Straits Le Maire; and entered the South Pacific Ocean by Cape Horn, in January the following year. I endeavoured to make a direct course to Otaheite, and in part succeeded; but I made no discovery till I got within the tropic, where I fell in with Lagoon Island; Two Groups; Bird Island; Chain Island; and on the 13th of April arrived at Otaheite, where I remained three months, during which time the observations on the transit were made. I then left it; discovered, and visited the Society Isles, and Oheteroa; thence proceeded to the south till I arrived in the latitude of  $40^{\circ} 22'$ , longitude  $147^{\circ} 29'$  West; and on the 6th of October fell in with the east side of New Zealand.

I continued exploring the coast of this country till the 31st of March, 1770, when I quitted it, and proceeded to New Holland; and having surveyed the eastern coast of that vast country, which part had not before been visited, I passed between its northern extremity and New Guinea; landed on the latter; touched at the island of Savu, Batavia, the Cape of Good Hope, and St. Helena\*; and arrived in England on the 12th of July, 1771.

In this voyage I was accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander; the first a gentleman of ample fortune; the other an accomplished disciple of Linnæus, and one of the librarians of the British Museum: both of them distinguished in the learned world for their extensive and accurate knowledge of natural history. These gentlemen, animated by the love of science, and by a desire to pursue their inquiries in the remote regions I was preparing to visit, desired permission to make the voyage with me. The Admiralty readily complied with a request that promised such advantage to the republic of letters. They accordingly embarked with me, and participated in all the dangers and sufferings of our tedious and fatiguing navigation.

To illustrate this short abstract of the several discoveries made in the Southern Pacific, Atlantic, and Indian Oceans, before my departure on this second voyage, now laid before the public, I have delineated on the general chart hereunto annexed the tracks of most of

\* In the account given of St. Helena in the narrative of my former voyage I find two mistakes. Its inhabitants are far from exercising a wanton cruelty over their slaves; and they have had wheel-carriages and porters' knots for many years.







the navigators, without which the abstract could not be so easily understood.\* The voyages of Messrs. de Surville, Kerguelen, and Marion, of which some account is given in the following work, did not come to my knowledge time enough to afford me any advantage; and as they have not been communicated to the world in a public way, I can say little about them, or about two other voyages which, I am told, have been made by the Spaniards; one to Easter Island in the year 1769, and the other to Otaheite in 1773.

Before I begin my narrative of the expedition intrusted to my care, it will be necessary to add here some account of its equipment, and of some other matters, equally interesting, connected with my subject. Soon after my return home in the *Endeavour*, it was resolved to equip two ships, to complete the discovery of the Southern Hemisphere. The nature of this voyage required ships of a particular construction, and the *Endeavour* being gone to Falkland Isles, as a store-ship, the Navy-board was directed to purchase two such ships as were most suitable for this service. At this time various opinions were espoused by different people, touching the size and kind of vessels most proper for such a voyage. Some were for having large ships; and proposed those of forty guns, or East India Company's ships. Others preferred large good sailing frigates, or three-decked ships, employed in the Jamaica trade, fitted with round-houses. But of all that was said and offered to the Admiralty's consideration on this subject, as far as has come to my knowledge, what, in my opinion, was most to the purpose, was suggested by the Navy-board.

As the kind of ships most proper to be employed on discoveries is a very interesting consideration to the adventurers in such undertakings, it may possibly be of use to those who, in future, may be so employed, to give here the purport of the sentiments of the Navy-board thereon, with whom, after the experience of two voyages of three years each, I perfectly agree. The success of such undertakings as making discoveries in distant parts of the world will principally depend on the preparations being well adapted to what ought to be the first considerations, namely, the preservation of the adventurers and ships; and this will ever chiefly depend on the kind, the size, and the properties of the ships chosen for the service. These primary considerations will not admit of any other that may interfere with the necessary properties of the ships. Therefore, in choosing the ships, should any of the most advantageous properties be wanting, and the necessary room in them be in any degree diminished, for less important purposes, such a step would be laying a foundation for rendering the undertaking abortive in the first instance†.

As the greatest danger to be apprehended and provided against on a voyage of discovery, especially to the most distant parts of the globe, is that of the ship's being liable to be run aground on an unknown desert, or, perhaps, savage coast, so no consideration should be set in competition with that of her being of a construction of the safest kind, in which the officers may, with the least hazard, venture upon a strange coast. A ship of this kind must not be of a great draught of water, yet of a sufficient burden and capacity to carry a proper quantity of provisions and necessaries for her complement of men, and for the time requisite to perform the voyage. She must also be of a construction that will bear to take the ground; and of a size which, in case of necessity, may be safely and conveniently laid on shore, to repair any accidental damage or defects. These properties are not to be found in ships of war of forty guns, nor in frigates, nor in East India Company's ships, nor in large three-decked West India ships, nor indeed in any other but north-country built ships, or such as are built for the coal-trade, which are peculiarly adapted to this purpose. In such a vessel an able sea-officer will be most venturesome, and better enabled to fulfil his instructions, than he possibly can (or indeed than would be prudent for him to attempt) in one of any other sort or size.

\* It has been thought better to exclude the tracks of all other navigators, except Cook himself, from the general map annexed to this edition of his voyages, to avoid the confusion attendant on the multiplication of such details.—Ed.

† An allusion is here made to a misunderstanding which took place between Captain Cook and Sir Joseph Banks, relative to the alterations judged necessary to remedy the

defects of the "*Resolution*," mentioned in the commencement of the first chapter. Sir Joseph had formed the determination of accompanying Captain Cook, in his second, as in his first voyage, but conceiving that his convenience had been unnecessarily disregarded in the alterations made in the vessel at Sheerness, under the directions of the captain, he took offence and abandoned his design.—Ed.



Upon the whole, I am firmly of opinion, that no ships are so proper for discoveries in distant unknown parts as those constructed as was the *Endeavour*, in which I performed my former voyage. For no ships of any other kind can contain stores and provisions sufficient (in proportion to the necessary number of men), considering the length of time it will be necessary they should last. And, even if another kind of ships could stow a sufficiency, yet, on arriving at the parts for discovery, they would still, from the nature of their construction and size, be less fit for the purpose. Hence, it may be concluded, so little progress had been hitherto made in discoveries in the southern hemisphere. For all ships which attempted it before the *Endeavour* were unfit for it, although the officers employed in them had done the utmost in their power.

It was upon these considerations that the *Endeavour* was chosen for that voyage. It was to these properties in her that those on board owed their preservation; and hence we were enabled to prosecute discoveries in those seas so much longer than any other ship ever did or could do. And, although discovery was not the first object of that voyage, I could venture to traverse a far greater space of sea, till then unnavigated, to discover greater tracts of country in high and low south latitudes, and to persevere longer in exploring and surveying more correctly the extensive coasts of those new-discovered countries, than any former navigator, perhaps, had done during one voyage. In short, these properties in the ships, with perseverance and resolution in their commanders, will enable them to execute their orders; to go beyond former discoverers; and continue to Britain the reputation of taking the lead of all nations in exploring the globe.

These considerations concurring with Lord Sandwich's opinion on the same subject, the Admiralty determined to have two such ships as are here recommended. Accordingly, two were purchased of Captain William Hammond of Hull. They were both built at Whitby, by the same person who built the *Endeavour*, being about fourteen or sixteen months old at the time they were purchased, and were, in my opinion, as well adapted to the intended service as if they had been built for the purpose. The largest of the two was four hundred and sixty-two tons burthen. She was named *Resolution*, and sent to Deptford to be equipped. The other was three hundred and thirty-six tons burthen. She was named *Adventure*, and sent to be equipped at Woolwich.

It was first proposed to sheath them with copper; but, on considering that copper corrodes the iron-work, especially about the rudder, this intention was laid aside, and the old method of sheathing and fitting pursued, as being the most secure; for, although it is usual to make the rudder-bands of the same composition, it is not, however, so durable as iron, nor would it, I am well assured, last out such a voyage as the *Resolution* performed. Therefore, till a remedy is found to prevent the effect of copper upon the iron-work, it would not be advisable to use it on a voyage of this kind, as the principal fastenings of the ship being iron, they may be destroyed.\*

On the 28th of November, 1771, I was appointed to the command of the *Resolution*; and Tobias Furneaux (who had been second lieutenant with Captain Wallis) was promoted, on this occasion, to the command of the *Adventure*.

I had all the reason in the world to be perfectly satisfied with the choice of the officers. The second and third lieutenants, the lieutenant of marines, two of the warrant officers, and

\* Notwithstanding the strong opinion here expressed by Captain Cook, copper-sheathing has now for a long period been in use, not only in our navy, but in our merchant service, even on occasions of the longest and most arduous service; upon surveys of the stormy coasts of South America, which, under the direction of Captains King and Fitzroy, extended on one occasion for four, and another for five years, and in all recent voyages of discovery, (except those whose destination has been to force their passage through the fields of arctic and antarctic icebergs.) and in our merchant service, when vessels are frequently three and four years, and even longer away, with very imperfect opportunities of refitting, copper-sheathing and fastening are constantly made use of.

Captain Cook's estimate of the relative strength and durability of iron and copper rudder-bands, was, however, perfectly correct, but experience has since shown that copper bands, although not equal to iron, can still be manufactured of sufficient strength to remain perfectly serviceable during the whole period in which a vessel will continue fit to keep the sea, without damage from other causes. When Captain Cook wrote, this fact had not been sufficiently tested, for no vessel in the British navy was copper-sheathed before 1761, when the experiment was tried upon the "*Alarm*" frigate. The result was so favourable that the practice was strongly recommended, and at the close of the American war (of Independence) it was generally adopted.—Ed.

several of the petty officers, had been with me during the former voyage. The others were men of known abilities ; and all of them, on every occasion, showed their zeal for the service in which they were employed, during the whole voyage.

Our complements of officers and men were fixed, as in the following table :—

OFFICERS AND MEN.	RESOLUTION.		ADVENTURE.	
	No.	OFFICERS' NAMES.	No.	OFFICERS' NAMES.
Captain	1	James Cook.	1	Tobias Furneaux.
Lieutenants	3	Robert P. Cooper. Charles Clarke. Richard Pickersgill.	2	Joseph Shank. Arthur Kempe.
Master	1	Joseph Gilbert.	1	Peter Fannin.
Boatswain	1	James Gray.	1	Edward Johns.
Carpenter	1	James Wallis.	1	William Offord.
Gunner	1	Robert Anderson.	1	Andrew Gloag.
Surgeon	1	James Patten.	1	Thomas Andrews.
Master's Mates	3		2	
Midshipmen	6		4	
Surgeon's Mates	2		2	
Captain's Clerk	1		1	
Master at Arms	1		1	
Corporal	1			
Armourer	1		1	
Ditto Mate	1		1	
Sail Maker	1		1	
Ditto Mate	1		1	
Boatswain's Mates	3		2	
Carpenter's Ditto	3		2	
Gunner's Ditto	2		1	
Carpenter's Crew	4		4	
Cook	1		1	
Ditto Mate	1			
Quarter Masters	6		4	
Able Seamen	45		33	
		Marines.		
Lieutenant	1	John Edgcumbe.	1	James Scott.
Serjeant	1		1	
Corporals	2		1	
Drummer	1		1	
Privates	15		8	
Total	112		81	

In the equipping of these ships, they were not confined to ordinary establishments, but were fitted in the most complete manner, and supplied with every extra article that was suggested to be necessary. Lord Sandwich paid an extraordinary attention to this equipment, by visiting the ships from time to time, to satisfy himself that the whole was completed to his wish, and to the satisfaction of those who were to embark in them. Nor were the Navy and Victualling Boards wanting in providing them with the very best of stores and provisions, and whatever else was necessary for so long a voyage. Some alterations were adopted in the species of provisions usually made use of in the navy. That is, we were supplied with wheat in lieu of so much oatmeal, and sugar in lieu of so much oil ; and when completed, each ship had two years and a half provisions on board, of all species.

We had, besides, many extra articles, such as *malt*, *sour-krout*, *salted cabbage*, *portable broth*, *saloup*, *mustard*, *marmalade of carrots*, and *inspissated juice of wort and beer*. Some of these articles had before been found to be highly antiscorbutic ; and others were now sent out on trial, or by way of experiment ;—the inspissated juice of beer and wort, and marmalade of carrots especially.—As several of these antiscorbutic articles are not generally known, a more particular account of them may not be amiss.

Of *malt* is made *sweet wort*, which is given to such persons as have got the scurvy, or whose habit of body threatens them with it, from one to five or six pints a day, as the



surgeon sees necessary. *Sour-kROUT*, is cabbage cut small, to which is put a little salt, juniper-berries, and annis-seeds ; it is then fermented, and afterwards close packed in casks : in which state it will keep good a long time. This is a wholesome vegetable food, and a great antiscorbutic. The allowance to each man is two pounds a week, but I increased or diminished their allowance as I thought proper. *Salted cabbage* is cabbage cut to pieces, and salted down in casks, which will preserve it a long time. *Portable broth* is so well known, that it needs no description. We were supplied with it both for the sick and well, and it was exceedingly beneficial. *Saloup*, and *rob of lemons* and *oranges*, were for the sick and scorbutic only, and wholly under the surgeon's care. *Marmalade of carrots* is the juice of yellow carrots inspissated till it is of the thickness of fluid honey, or treacle, which last it resembles both in taste and colour. It was recommended by Baron Storsch, of Berlin, as a very great antiscorbutic ; but we did not find that it had much of this quality.

For the *inspissated juice of wort* and *beer*, we were indebted to Mr. Pelham, secretary to the commissioners of the Victualling-office. This gentleman, some years ago, considered that if the juice of malt, either as beer or wort, was inspissated by evaporation, it was probable this inspissated juice would keep good at sea ; and if so, a supply of beer might be had at any time, by mixing it with water. Mr. Pelham made several experiments, which succeeded so well, that the commissioners caused thirty-one half-barrels of this juice to be prepared, and sent out with our ships for trial ; nineteen on board the *Resolution*, and the remainder on board the *Adventure*. The success of the experiments will be mentioned in the narrative, in the order they were made.

The frame of a small vessel, twenty tons burthen, was properly prepared, and put on board each of the ships, to be set up, (if found necessary,) to serve as tenders upon any emergency, or to transport the crew in case the ship was lost. We were also well provided with fishing-nets, lines, and hooks of every kind for catching of fish. And, in order to enable us to procure refreshments in such inhabited parts of the world as we might touch at, where money was of no value, the Admiralty caused to be put on board both the ships, several articles of merchandize ; as well to trade with the natives for provisions, as to make them presents to gain their friendship and esteem. Their Lordships also caused a number of medals to be struck, the one side representing His Majesty, and the other the two ships. These medals were to be given to the natives of new-discovered countries, and left there, as testimonies of our being the first discoverers.

Some additional clothing, adapted to a cold climate, was put on board ; to be given to the seamen whenever it was thought necessary. In short, nothing was wanting that could tend to promote the success of the undertaking, or contribute to the conveniences and health of those who embarked in it.

The Admiralty showed no less attention to science in general, by engaging Mr. William Hodges, a landscape painter, to embark in this voyage, in order to make drawings and paintings of such places, in the countries we should touch at, as might be proper to give a more perfect idea thereof than could be formed from written descriptions only. And it being thought of public utility, that some persons skilled in natural history should be engaged to accompany me in this voyage, the parliament granted an ample sum for that purpose, and Mr. John Reinhold Forster, with his son, were pitched upon for this employment.

The Board of Longitude agreed with Mr. William Wales, and Mr. William Bayley, to make astronomical observations ; the former on board the *Resolution*, the latter on board the *Adventure*. The great improvements which astronomy and navigation have met with from the many interesting observations they have made, would have done honour to any person whose reputation for mathematical knowledge was not so well known as theirs. The same Board furnished them with the best of instruments, for making both astronomical and nautical observations and experiments ; and likewise with four time-pieces, or watch machines ; three made by Mr. Arnold, and one made by Mr. Kendal on Mr. Harrison's principles. A particular account of the going of these watches, as also the astronomical and nautical observations made by the astronomers, will be laid before the public by order of the Board of Longitude, under the inspection of Mr. Wales.

Besides the obligations I was under to this gentleman for communicating to me the

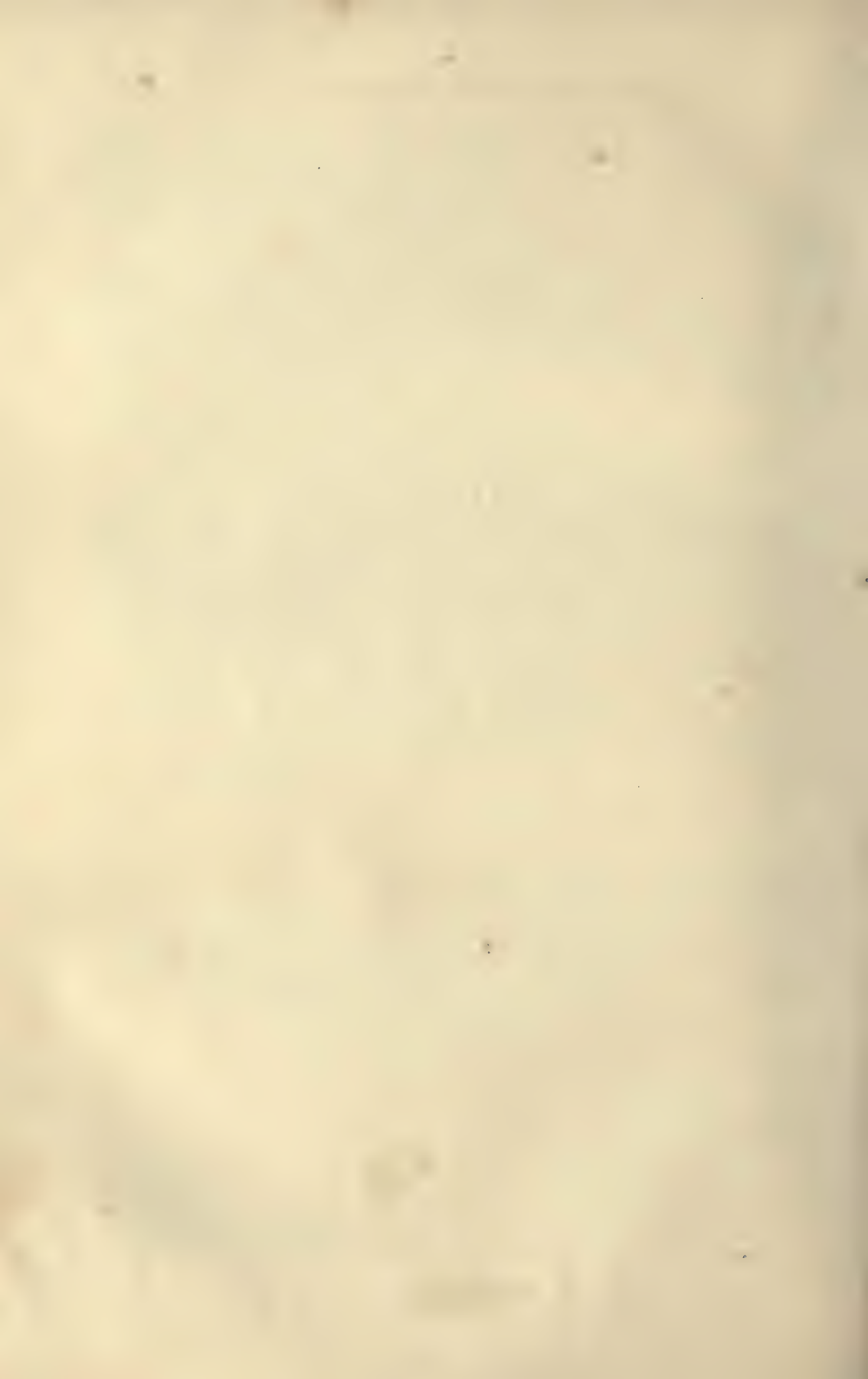
observations he made, from time to time, during the voyage, I have since been indebted to him for the perusal of his journal, with leave to take from it whatever I thought might contribute to the improvement of this work. For the convenience of the generality of readers, I have reduced the time from the nautical to the civil computation, so that whenever the terms A. M. and P. M. are used, the former signifies the forenoon, and the latter the afternoon of the same day. In all the courses, bearings, &c. the variation of the compass is allowed, unless the contrary is expressed.

And now it may be necessary to say, that, as I am on the point of sailing on a third expedition, I leave this account of my last voyage in the hands of some friends, who in my absence have kindly accepted the office of correcting the press for me; who are pleased to think, that what I have here to relate is better to be given in my own words, than in the words of another person, especially as it is a work designed for information and not merely for amusement; in which it is their opinion, that candour and fidelity will counterbalance the want of ornament.

I shall, therefore, conclude this introductory discourse with desiring the reader to excuse the inaccuracies of style, which doubtless he will frequently meet with in the following narrative; and that, when such occur, he will recollect that it is the production of a man who has not had the advantage of much school education, but who has been constantly at sea from his youth; and though, with the assistance of a few good friends, he has passed through all the stations belonging to a seaman, from an apprentice boy in the coal trade, to a post captain in the Royal Navy, he has had no opportunity of cultivating letters. After this account of myself, the public must not expect from me the elegance of a fine writer, or the plausibility of a professed book-maker; but will, I hope, consider me as a plain man, zealously exerting himself in the service of his country, and determined to give the best account he is able of his proceedings.

*Plymouth Sound,  
July 7, 1776.*





# VOYAGE TOWARDS THE SOUTH POLE, AND ROUND THE WORLD.

IN 1772, 1773, 1774, AND 1775.

## BOOK I.

FROM OUR DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND TO LEAVING THE SOCIETY ISLES, THE FIRST TIME.

CHAPTER I.—PASSAGE FROM DEPTFORD TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED BY THE WAY, AND TRANSACTIONS THERE.

I SAILED from Deptford, April 9th, 1772, but got no farther than Woolwich; where I was detained by easterly winds till the 22nd, when the ship fell down to Long Reach, and the next day was joined by the *Adventure*. Here both ships received on board their powder, guns, gunner's stores, and marines.

On the 10th of May, we left Long Reach with orders to touch at Plymouth; but in plying down the river, the *Resolution* was found to be very crank, which made it necessary to put into Sheerness, in order to remove this evil, by making some alterations in her upper works. These the officers of the yard were ordered to take in hand immediately; and Lord Sandwich and Sir Hugh Palliser came down to see them executed in such a manner as might effectually answer the purpose intended.

On the 22nd of June the ship was again completed for sea, when I sailed from Sheerness; and on the 3rd of July, joined the *Adventure* in Plymouth Sound. The evening before we met off the Sound, Lord Sandwich, in the *Augusta* yacht (who was on his return from visiting the several dockyards), with the *Glory* frigate and *Hazard* sloop. We saluted his lordship with seventeen guns; and soon after he and Sir Hugh Palliser gave us the last mark of the very great attention they had paid to this equipment, by coming on board, to satisfy themselves that everything was done to my wish, and that the ship was found to answer to my satisfaction.

At Plymouth I received my instructions, dated the 25th of June, directing me to take under my command the *Adventure*; to make the best of my way to the island of Madeira, there to take in a supply of wine, and then proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, where I was to refresh the ships' companies, and take on board such provisions and necessaries as I might stand in need of. After leaving the Cape of Good Hope, I was to proceed to the southward, and endeavour to fall in with Cape Circumcision, which was said by Monsieur Bouvet to lie in the latitude of 54° south, and in about 11° 20' east longitude from Greenwich\*. If I discovered this cape, I was to satisfy myself whether it was a part of the continent, which had so much engaged the attention of geographers and former navigators, or a part of an island. If it proved to be the former, I was to employ myself diligently in exploring as great an extent of it as I could; and to make such notations thereon, and observations of

\* See further as to this supposed discovery in the Introduction to the Third Voyage —Ed.



every kind, as might be useful either to navigation or commerce, or tend to the promotion of natural knowledge. I was also directed to observe the genius, temper, disposition, and number of the inhabitants, if there were any, and endeavour, by all proper means, to cultivate a friendship and alliance with them; making them presents of such things as they might value; inviting them to traffic, and showing them every kind of civility and regard. I was to continue to employ myself on this service, and making discoveries, either to the eastward or westward, as my situation might render most eligible; keeping in as high a latitude as I could, and prosecuting my discoveries as near to the South Pole as possible, so long as the condition of the ships, the health of their crews, and the state of their provisions, would admit of; taking care to reserve as much of the latter as would enable me to reach some known port, where I was to procure a sufficiency to bring me home to England. But if Cape Circumcision should prove to be part of an island only, or if I should not be able to find the said cape, I was, in the first case, to make the necessary survey of the island, and then to stand on to the southward, so long as I judged there was a likelihood of falling in with the continent; which I was also to do in the latter case; and then to proceed to the eastward, in further search of the said continent, as well as to make discoveries of such islands as might be situated in that unexplored part of the southern hemisphere; keeping in high latitudes, and prosecuting my discoveries as above-mentioned, as near the Pole as possible, until I had circumnavigated the globe; after which I was to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to Spithead.

In the prosecution of these discoveries, whenever the season of the year rendered it unsafe for me to continue in high latitudes, I was to retire to some known place to the northward, to refresh my people, and refit the ships; and to return again to the southward, as soon as the season of the year would admit of it. In all unforeseen cases, I was authorised to proceed according to my own discretion; and in case the *Resolution* should be lost or disabled, I was to prosecute the voyage on board the *Adventure*. I gave a copy of these instructions to Captain Furneaux, with an order directing him to carry them into execution; and in case he was separated from me, appointed the island of Madeira for the first place of rendezvous. Port Praya in the island of St. Jago for the second, Cape of Good Hope for the third, and New Zealand for the fourth.

During our stay at Plymouth, Messieurs Wales and Bayley, the two astronomers, made observations on Drake's Island, in order to ascertain the latitude, longitude, and true time for putting the time-pieces or watches in motion. The latitude was found to be  $50^{\circ} 21' 30''$  north; and the longitude  $4^{\circ} 20'$  west of Greenwich, which, in this voyage, is everywhere to be understood as the first meridian, and from which the longitude is reckoned east and west to  $180^{\circ}$  each way. On the 10th of July, the watches were set a-going in the presence of the two astronomers, Captain Furneaux, the first lieutenants of the ships, and myself, and put on board. The two on board the *Adventure* were made by Mr. Arnold, and also one of those on board the *Resolution*; but the other was made by Mr. Kendal, upon the same principle, in every respect, as Mr. Harrison's time-piece. The commander, first lieutenant, and astronomer, on board each of the ships, kept each of them keys of the boxes which contained the watches, and were always to be present at the winding them up, and comparing the one with the other; or some other officer, if, at any time, through indisposition, or absence upon any other necessary duties, any of them could not conveniently attend. The same day, according to the custom of the navy, the companies of both ships were paid two months' wages in advance; and as a further encouragement for their going this extraordinary voyage, they were also paid the wages due to them to the 28th of the preceding May. This enabled them to provide necessaries for the voyage.

On the 13th, at six o'clock in the morning, I sailed from Plymouth Sound, with the *Adventure* in company; and on the evening of the 29th, anchored in Funchal Road, in the island of Madeira. The next morning I saluted the garrison with eleven guns; which compliment was immediately returned. Soon after I went on shore, accompanied by Capt. Furneaux, the two Mr. Forsters, and Mr. Wales. At our landing we were received by a gentleman from the vice-consul, Mr. Sills, who conducted us to the house of Mr. Loughnans, the most considerable English merchant in the place. This gentleman not only

obtained leave for Mr. Forster to search the island for plants, but procured us every other thing we wanted, and insisted on our accommodating ourselves at his house during our stay.

The town of Funchal, which is the capital of the island, is situated about the middle of the south side, in the bottom of the bay of the same name, in latitude  $32^{\circ} 33' 34''$  north, longitude  $17^{\circ} 12\frac{1}{8}'$  west. The longitude was deduced from lunar observations made by Mr. Wales, and reduced to the town by Mr. Kendal's watch, which made the longitude  $17^{\circ} 10' 14''$  west. During our stay here, the crews of both ships were supplied with fresh beef and onions; and a quantity of the latter was distributed amongst them for a sea store.

Having got on board a supply of water, wine, and other necessaries, we left Madeira on the 1st of August, and stood to the southward, with a fine gale at N.E. On the 4th we passed Palma, one of the Canary Isles. It is of a height to be seen twelve or fourteen leagues, and lies in the latitude  $28^{\circ} 38'$  north, longitude  $17^{\circ} 58'$  west. The next day we saw the isle of Ferro and passed it at the distance of fourteen leagues. I judged it to lie in the latitude  $27^{\circ} 42'$  north, and longitude  $18^{\circ} 9'$  west.

I now made three puncheons of beer, of the inspissated juice of malt. The proportion I made use of was about ten of water to one of juice. Fifteen of the nineteen half-barrels of the inspissated juice which we had on board were produced from wort that was hopped before inspissated. The other four were made of beer that had been both hopped and fermented before inspissated. This last requires no other preparation to make it fit for use, than to mix it with cold water, from one part in eight, to one part in twelve of water (or in such other proportion as might be liked), then stop it down; and in a few days it will be brisk, and drinkable. But the other sort, after being mixed with water in the same manner, will require to be fermented with *yeast*, in the usual way of making beer; at least it was so thought. However, experience taught us that this will not always be necessary. For by the heat of the weather and the agitation of the ship, both sorts were at this time in the highest state of fermentation, and had hitherto evaded all our endeavours to stop it. If this juice could be kept from fermenting, it certainly would be a most valuable article at sea.

On finding that our stock of water would not last us to the Cape of Good Hope, without putting the people to a scanty allowance, I resolved to stop at St. Jago for a supply. On the 9th, at nine o'clock in the morning, we made the island of Bonavista, bearing S.W. The next day we passed the island of Mayo on our right; and the same evening anchored in Port Praya, in the island of St. Jago, in eighteen fathom water. The east point of the bay bore east; the west point S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S., and the fort N.W. I immediately despatched an officer to ask leave to water, and purchase refreshments; which was granted. On the return of the officer I saluted the fort with eleven guns, on a promise of its being returned with an equal number. But by a mistake, as they pretended, the salute was returned with only nine; for which the governor made an excuse the next day. The 14th, in the evening, having completed our water, and got on board a supply of refreshments; such as hogs, goats, fowls, and fruit; we put to sea, and proceeded on our voyage.

Port Praya is a small bay, situated about the middle of the south side of the island of St. Jago, in the latitude of  $14^{\circ} 53' 30''$  north, longitude  $23^{\circ} 30'$  west. It may be known, especially in coming from the east, by the southernmost hill on the island; which is round, and peaked at top; and lies a little way inland, in the direction of west from the port. This mark is the more necessary, as there is a small cove about a league to the eastward, with a sandy beach in the bottom of it, a valley and cocoa-nut trees behind, which strangers may mistake for Port Praya, as we ourselves did. The two points which form the entrance of Port Praya Bay, are rather low, and in the direction of W.S.W. and E.N.E. half a league from each other. Close to the west point are sunken rocks, on which the sea continually breaks. The bay lies in N.W. near half a league; and the depth of water is from fourteen to four fathoms. Large ships ought not to anchor in less than eight, in which depth the south end of the Green Island (a small island lying under the west shore) will bear west. You water at a well that is behind the beach at the head of the bay. The water is tolerable,



but scarce, and bad getting off, on account of a great surf on the beach. The refreshments to be got here are, bullocks, hogs, goats, sheep, poultry, and fruits. The goats are of the antelope kind, so extraordinary lean, that hardly anything can equal them; and the bullocks, hogs, and sheep are not much better. Bullocks must be purchased with money; the price is twelve Spanish dollars a head, weighing between 250 and 300 pounds. Other articles may be got from the natives in exchange for old clothes, &c. But the sale of bullocks is confined to a company of merchants, to whom this privilege is granted, and who keep an agent residing upon the spot. The fort above-mentioned seems wholly designed for the protection of the bay, and is well situated for that purpose, being built on an elevation, which rises directly from the sea on the right, at the head of the bay.

We had no sooner got clear of Port Praya, than we got a fresh gale at N.N.E. which blew in squalls, attended with showers of rain. But the next day the wind and showers abated, and veered to the south. It was, however, variable and unsettled for several days, accompanied with dark, gloomy weather, and showers of rain. On the 19th, in the afternoon, one of the carpenter's mates fell overboard, and was drowned. He was over the side, fitting in one of the scuttles, from whence, it was supposed, he had fallen: for he was not seen till the very instant he sunk under the ship's stern, when our endeavours to save him were too late. This loss was sensibly felt during the voyage, as he was a sober man and a good workman. About noon the next day the rain poured down upon us not in drops, but in streams. The wind, at the same time, was variable, and squally, which obliged the people to attend the decks, so that few in the ships escaped a good soaking. We, however, benefited by it, as it gave us an opportunity of filling all our empty water-casks. This heavy rain at last brought on a dead calm, which continued twenty-four hours, when it was succeeded by a breeze from S.W. Betwixt this point and south it continued for several days, and blew, at times, in squalls, attended with rain and hot sultry weather. The mercury in the thermometers, at noon, kept generally from 79 to 82.

On the 27th, spake with Captain Furneaux, who informed us that one of his petty officers was dead. At this time we had not one sick on board; although we had everything of this kind to fear from the rain we had had, which is a great promoter of sickness in hot climates. To prevent this, and agreeable to some hints I had from Sir Hugh Palliser, and from Captain Campbell, I took every necessary precaution, by airing and drying the ship with fires made betwixt decks, smoking, &c., and by obliging the people to air their bedding, wash and dry their clothes, whenever there was an opportunity. A neglect of these things causeth a disagreeable smell below, affects the air, and seldom fails to bring on sickness; but more especially in hot and wet weather.

We now began to see some of those birds which are said never to fly far from land; that is, man-of-war and tropic birds, gannets, &c. No land, however, that we knew of, could be nearer than eighty leagues.

On the 30th, at noon, being in the latitude of  $2^{\circ} 35'$  north, longitude  $7^{\circ} 30'$  west, and the wind having veered to the east of south, we tacked and stretched to the S.W. In the latitude of  $0^{\circ} 52'$  north, longitude  $9^{\circ} 25'$  west, we had one calm day, which gave us an opportunity of trying the current in a boat. We found it set to the north one-third of a mile an hour. We had reason to expect this from the difference we frequently found between the observed latitude and that given by the log: and Mr. Kendal's watch showed us, that it set to the east also. This was fully confirmed by the lunar observations; when it appeared that we were  $3^{\circ}$  more to the east than the common reckoning. At the time of trying the current, the mercury in the thermometer, in the open air, stood at  $75\frac{1}{2}$ ; and when immersed in the surface of the sea, at 74: but when immersed eighty fathoms deep (where it remained fifteen minutes), when it came up, the mercury stood at 66. At the same time we sounded, without finding bottom with a line of two hundred and fifty fathoms.

The calm was succeeded by a light breeze at S.W., which kept veering by little and little to the south, and at last to the eastward of south, attended with clear, serene weather. At length, on the 8th of September, we crossed the line in the longitude of  $8^{\circ}$  west; after which the ceremony of ducking, &c., generally practised on this occasion, was not omitted.

The wind now veering more and more to the east, and blowing a gentle top-gallant gale,

in eight days it carried us into the latitude of  $9^{\circ} 30'$  south, longitude  $18^{\circ}$  west. The weather was pleasant; and we daily saw some of those birds, which are looked upon as signs of the vicinity of land; such as boobies, men-of-war, tropic birds, and gannets. We supposed they came from the Isle of St. Matthew, or Ascension; which isles we must have passed at no great distance.

On the 27th, in the latitude of  $25^{\circ} 29'$ , longitude  $24^{\circ} 54'$ , we discovered a sail to the west, standing after us. She was a snow; and the colours she showed, either a Portuguese or St. George's ensign, the distance being too great to distinguish the one from the other; and I did not choose to wait to get nearer, or to speak with her. The wind now began to be variable. It first veered to the north, where it remained two days with fair weather. Afterwards it came round by the west to the south, where it remained two days longer, and after a few hours' calm, sprang up at S.W. But here it remained not long before it veered to E.S.E., and to the north of east; blew fresh, and by squalls, with showers of rain.

With these winds we advanced but slowly, and without meeting with anything remarkable till the 11th of October, when at  $6^h 24^m 12^s$ , by Mr. Kendal's watch, the moon rose about four digits eclipsed; and soon after we prepared to observe the end of the eclipse, as follows, viz:—

	H.	M.	S.	
By me at . . . . .	6	53	51	with a common refractor.
By Mr. Forster . . . . .	6	55	23	
By Mr. Wales . . . . .	6	54	57	quadrant telescope.
By Mr. Pickersgill . . . . .	6	55	30	three feet refractor.
By Mr. Gilbert . . . . .	6	53	24	naked eye.
By Mr. Hervey . . . . .	6	55	34	quadrant telescope.
Mean . . . . .	6	54	$46\frac{1}{2}$	by the watch.
Watch slow of apparent time - }	0	3	59	
Apparent time . . . . .	6	58	$45\frac{1}{2}$	end of the eclipse.
Ditto . . . . .	7	25	0	at Greenwich.
Dif. of longitude . . . . .	0	26	$14\frac{1}{2}$	= . . . . $6^{\circ} 33' 30''$
The longitude observed by Mr. Wales was,—				
By the $\gamma$ and $\alpha$ . Aquilæ $5^{\circ} 51'$	} Mean . . . . $6^{\circ} 13' 0''$			
By the $\gamma$ and Aldebaran $6^{\circ} 35'$				
By Mr. Kendal's watch . . . . .	6	53	$\frac{1}{2}$	

The next morning, having but little wind, we hoisted a boat out, to try if there was any current, but found none. From this time to the 16th, we had the wind between the north and east, a gentle gale. We had for some time ceased to see any of the birds before-mentioned; and were now accompanied by albatrosses, pintadoes, sheerwaters, &c., and a small grey peterel, less than a pigeon. It has a whitish belly, and grey back, with a black stroke across from the tip of one wing to the tip of the other. These birds sometimes visited us in great flights. They are, as well as the pintadoes, southern birds; and are, I believe, never seen within the tropics, or north of the line.

On the 17th, we saw a sail to the N.W. standing to the eastward, which hoisted Dutch colours. She kept us company for two days, but the third we outsailed her. On the 21st, at  $7^h 30^m 20^s$  A.M., our longitude, by the mean of two observed distances of the sun and moon, was  $8^{\circ} 4' 30''$  east; Mr. Kendal's watch at the same time gave  $7^{\circ} 22'$ . Our latitude was  $35^{\circ} 20'$  south. The wind was now easterly, and continued so till the 23d, when it veered to N. and N.W. after some hours' calm; in which we put a boat in the water, and Mr. Forster shot some albatrosses and other birds, on which we feasted the next day, and found them exceedingly good. At the same time we saw a seal, or, as some thought, a sea-lion, which probably might be an inhabitant of one of the isles of Tristian de Cunha, being now nearly in their latitude, and about  $5^{\circ}$  east of them.

The wind continued but two days at N.W. and S.W., then veered to the S.E., where it remained two days longer, then fixed at N.W., which carried us to our intended port. As we approached the land, the sea-fowl, which had accompanied us hitherto, began to leave us—at least they did not come in such numbers; nor did we see gannets, or the black bird



commonly called the Cape hen, till we were nearly within sight of the Cape; nor did we strike sounding till Penguin Island bore N.N.E. distant two or three leagues, where we had fifty fathom water. Not but that the soundings may extend farther off. However, I am very sure that they do not extend very far west from the Cape; for we could not find ground with a line of 210 fathoms, 25 leagues west of Table Bay; the same at 35 leagues, and at 64 leagues. I sounded these three times, in order to find a bank which, I had been told, lies to the west of the Cape; but how far I never could learn.

I was told, before I left England, by some gentlemen who were well enough acquainted with the navigation between England and the Cape of Good Hope, that I sailed at an improper season of the year, and that I should meet with much calm weather near and under the line. This probably may be the case some years; it is, however, not general; on the contrary, we hardly met with any calms; but a brisk S.W. wind in those very latitudes where the calms are expected. Nor did we meet with any of those tornadoes, so much spoken of by other navigators. However, what they have said of the current setting towards the coast of Guinea, as you approach that shore, is true; for, from the time of our leaving St. Jago to our arrival into the latitude of  $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  north, which was eleven days, we were carried by the current  $3^{\circ}$  of longitude more east than our reckoning. On the other hand, after we had crossed the line, and got the S.E. trade wind, we always found, by observation, that the ship outstripped the reckoning, which we judged to be owing to a current setting between the south and west. But, upon the whole, the currents in this run seemed to balance each other; for, upon our arrival at the Cape, the difference of longitude by dead reckoning kept from England, without once being corrected, was only three quarters of a degree less than that by observation.

At two in the afternoon, on the 29th, we made the land of the Cape of Good Hope. The Table Mountain, which is over the Cape Town, bore E.S.E. distance 12 or 14 leagues. At this time it was a good deal obscured by clouds, otherwise it might, from its height, have been seen at a much greater distance. We now crowded all the sail we could, thinking to get into the bay before dark. But when we found this could not be accomplished, we shortened sail, and spent the night standing off and on. Between eight and nine o'clock, the whole sea, within the compass of our sight, became at once, as it were, illuminated; or, what the seamen call, all on fire. This appearance of the sea, in some degree, is very common; but the cause is not so generally known. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander had satisfied me that it was occasioned by sea insects. Mr. Forster, however, seemed not to favour this opinion. I therefore had some buckets of water drawn up from along-side the ship, which we found full of an innumerable quantity of small globular insects, about the size of a common pin's head, and quite transparent. There was no doubt of their being living animals, when in their own proper element, though we could not perceive any life in them: Mr. Forster, whose province it is more minutely to describe things of this nature, was now well satisfied with the cause of the sea's illumination.

At length daylight came, and brought us fair weather; and having stood into Table Bay, with the Adventure in company, we anchored in five fathom water. We afterwards moored N.E. and S.W.; Green Point, on the west point of the bay, bearing N.W. by W. ; and the church, in one with the valley between the Table Mountain and the Sugar-Loaf or Lion's Head, bearing S.W. by S., and distant from the landing-place, near the fort, one mile.

We had no sooner anchored than we were visited by the Captain of the port, or Master Attendant, some other officers belonging to the Company, and Mr. Brandt. This last gentleman brought us off such things as could not fail of being acceptable to persons coming from sea. The purport of the Master Attendant's visit was, according to custom, to take an account of the ships; to inquire into the health of the crews; and, in particular, if the small-pox was on board; a thing they dread, above all others, at the Cape, and for these purposes a surgeon is always one of the visitants.

My first step, after anchoring, was to send an officer to wait on Baron Plettenberg, the governor, to acquaint him with our arrival, and the reasons which induced me to put in there. To this the officer received a very polite answer; and, upon his return, we saluted the garrison with eleven guns, which compliment was returned. Soon after, I went on

shore myself, and waited upon the governor, accompanied by Captain Furneaux, and the two Mr. Forsters. He received us with great politeness, and promised me every assistance the place could afford. From him I learned that two French ships from the Mauritius, about eight months before, had discovered land, in the latitude of  $48^{\circ}$  south, and in the meridian of that island, along which they sailed forty miles, till they came to a bay into which they were about to enter, when they were driven off and separated in a hard gale of wind, after having lost some of their boats and people, which they had sent to sound the bay. One of the ships, viz. the *La Fortune*, soon after arrived at the Mauritius, the captain of which was sent home to France with an account of the discovery. The governor also informed me, that in March last two other French ships from the Island of Mauritius touched at the Cape in their way to the South Pacific Ocean; where they were going to make discoveries, under the command of M. Marion. Aotourou, the man M. de Bougainville brought from Otaheite, was to have returned with M. Marion, had he been living.

After having visited the governor and some other principal persons of the place, we fixed ourselves at Mr. Brandt's, the usual residence of most officers belonging to English ships. This gentleman spares neither trouble nor expense to make his house agreeable to those who favour him with their company, and to accommodate them with everything they want. With him I concerted measures for supplying the ships with provisions, and all other necessities they wanted; which he set about procuring without delay, while the seamen on board were employed in overhauling the rigging; and the carpenters in caulking the ship's sides and decks, &c.

Messrs. Wales and Bayley got all their instruments on shore, in order to make astronomical observations for ascertaining the going of the watches, and other purposes. The result of some of these observations showed, that Mr. Kendal's watch had answered beyond all expectation, by pointing out the longitude of this place to within one minute of time to what it was observed by Messrs. Mason and Dixon in 1761. Three or four days after us, two Dutch Indiamen arrived here from Holland, after a passage of between four and five months, in which one lost, by the scurvy and other putrid diseases, 150 men; and the other 41. They sent, on their arrival, great numbers to the hospital in very dreadful circumstances. It is remarkable, that one of these ships touched at Port Praya, and left it a month before we arrived there; and yet we got here three days before her. The Dutch at the Cape, having found their hospital too small for the reception of their sick, were going to build a new one at the east part of the town; the foundation of which was laid with great ceremony while we were there.

By the healthy condition of the crews of both ships at our arrival, I thought to have made my stay at the Cape very short. But, as the bread we wanted was unbaked, and the spirit, which I found scarce, to be collected from different parts out of the country, it was the 18th of November before we had got everything on board, and the 22d before we could put to sea. During this stay the crews of both ships were served every day with fresh beef or mutton, new baked bread, and as much greens as they could eat. The ships were caulked and painted; and, in every respect, put in as good a condition as when they left England. Some alterations in the officers took place in the *Adventure*. Mr. Shank, the first lieutenant, having been in an ill state of health ever since we sailed from Plymouth, and not finding himself recover here, desired my leave to quit, in order to return home for the re-establishment of his health. As his request appeared to be well founded, I granted him leave accordingly, and appointed Mr. Kemp first lieutenant in his room; and Mr. Burney, one of my midshipmen, second, in the room of Mr. Kemp.

Mr. Forster, whose whole time was taken up in the pursuit of natural history and botany, met with a Swedish gentleman, one Mr. Sparman\*, who understood something of these sciences, having studied under Dr. Linnæus. He being willing to embark with us, Mr. Forster strongly importuned me to take him on board; thinking that he would be of great assistance to him in the course of the voyage. I at last consented, and he embarked

\* This is the celebrated Dr. Andrew Sparman, the friend and pupil of Linnæus, so well known for his extensive researches into the natural history of the Cape of Good Hope.—Ed.



with us accordingly, as an assistant to Mr. Forster ; who bore his expenses on board, and allowed him a yearly stipend besides.

Mr. Hodges employed himself here in drawing a view of the Cape, town, and parts adjacent, in oil colours ; which was properly packed up, with some others, and left with Mr. Brandt, in order to be forwarded to the Admiralty by the first ship that should sail for England.

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CHAPTER II.—DEPARTURE FROM THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, IN SEARCH OF A SOUTHERN CONTINENT.

HAVING at length finished my business at the Cape, and taken leave of the governor and some others of the chief officers, who, with very obliging readiness, had given me all the assistance I could desire, on the 22d November we repaired on board, and at three o'clock in the afternoon weighed, and came to sail with the wind at N. by W. As soon as the anchor was up, we saluted the fort with fifteen guns, which was immediately returned ; and after making a few trips, got out of the bay by seven o'clock, at which time the town bore S.E., distant four miles. After this we stood to the westward all night, in order to get clear of the land ; having the wind at N.N.W. and N.W., blowing in squalls, attended with rain, which obliged us to reef our topsails. The sea was again illuminated for some time, in the same manner as it was the night before we arrived in Table Bay.

Having got clear of the land, I directed my course for Cape Circumcision. The wind continued at N.W. a moderate gale, until the 24th ; when it veered round to the eastward. On the noon of this day, we were in the latitude of  $35^{\circ} 25'$  south, and  $29'$  west of the Cape ; and had abundance of albatrosses about us, several of which were caught with hook and line ; and were very well relished by many of the people, notwithstanding they were at this time served with fresh mutton. Judging that we should soon come into cold weather, I ordered slops to be served to such as were in want ; and gave to each man the fearnought jacket and trowsers allowed them by the Admiralty.

The wind continued easterly for two days, and blew a moderate gale, which brought us into the latitude of  $39^{\circ} 4'$ , and  $2^{\circ}$  of longitude west of the Cape ; thermometer  $52\frac{1}{2}$ . The wind now came to W. and S.W., and on the 29th fixed at W.N.W. and increased to a storm, which continued, with some few intervals of moderate weather, till the 6th of December ; when we were in the latitude of  $48^{\circ} 41'$  south, and longitude  $18^{\circ} 24'$  east. This gale, which was attended with rain and hail, blew at times with such violence that we could carry no sails : by which means we were driven far to the eastward of our intended course, and no hopes were left me of reaching Cape Circumcision. But the greatest misfortune that attended us, was the loss of great part of our live stock ; which we had brought from the Cape ; and which consisted of sheep, hogs, and geese. Indeed this sudden transition from warm mild weather, to extreme cold and wet, made every man in the ship feel its effects. For by this time the mercury in the thermometer had fallen to 38 ; whereas at the Cape it was generally at 67 and upwards. I now made some addition to the people's allowance of spirit, by giving them a dram whenever I thought it necessary, and ordered Captain Furneaux to do the same. The night proved clear and serene, and the only one that was so since we left the Cape ; and the next morning the rising sun gave us such flattering hopes of a fine day, that we were induced to let all the reefs out of the top-sails, and to get top-gallant-yards across, in order to make the most of a fresh gale at north. Our hopes, however, soon vanished ; for before eight o'clock, the serenity of the sky was changed into a thick haze, accompanied with rain. The gale increasing, obliged us to hand the main-sail, close-reef our top-sails, and to strike top-gallant-yards. The barometer at this time was unusually low, which foreboded an approaching storm ; and this happened accordingly ; for, by one o'clock P.M., the wind, which was at N.W., blew with such strength as obliged us to take in all our sails, to strike top-gallant-masts, and to get the sprit-sail-yard in. And I thought proper to wear, and lie to, under a mizzen-stay-sail, with the ships' heads to the N.E., as they would bow the sea, which ran prodigiously high, better on this tack.

At eight o'clock next morning, being the 8th, we wore, and lay on the other tack; the gale was a little abated, but the sea ran too high to make sail, any more than the fore-top-mast stay-sail. In the evening, being in the latitude of  $49^{\circ} 40'$  south, and  $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  east of the Cape, we saw two penguins, and some sea or rock weed, which occasioned us to sound, without finding ground at 100 fathoms. At eight, P. M. we wore, and lay with our heads to the N.E. till three o'clock in the morning of the 9th, then wore again to the southward, the wind blowing in squalls, attended with showers of snow. At eight, being something more moderate, I made the Adventure signal to make sail, and soon after made sail ourselves under the courses, and close-reefed top-sails. In the evening, took in the top-sails and main-sail, and brought to, under fore-sail and mizzen; thermometer at  $36^{\circ}$ . The wind, still at N.W., blew a fresh gale, accompanied with a very high sea. In the night, had a pretty smart frost with snow.

In the morning of the 10th, we made sail under courses and top-sails close-reefed; and made the signal for the Adventure to make sail and lead. At eight o'clock, saw an island of ice to the westward of us, being then in the latitude of  $50^{\circ} 40'$  south, and longitude  $2^{\circ} 0'$  east of the Cape of Good Hope. Soon after, the wind moderated, and we let all the reefs out of the top-sails, got the spritsail-yard out, and top-gallant-mast up. The weather coming hazy, I called the Adventure by signal under my stern; which was no sooner done, than the haze increased so much, with snow and sleet, that we did not see an island of ice, which we were steering directly for, till we were less than a mile from it. I judged it to be about 50 feet high, and half a mile in circuit. It was flat at top, and its sides rose in a perpendicular direction, against which the sea broke exceedingly high. Captain Furneaux at first took this ice for land, and hauled off from it, until called back by signal. As the weather was foggy, it was necessary to proceed with caution. We therefore reefed our topsails, and at the same time sounded, but found no ground with 150 fathoms. We kept on to the southward with the wind at north till night, which we spent in making short trips, first one way and then another, under an easy sail; thermometer this 24 hours from  $36\frac{1}{2}$  to 31.

At daylight in the morning of the 11th, we made sail to the southward with the wind at west, having a fresh gale, attended with sleet and snow. At noon we were in the latitude of  $51^{\circ} 50'$  S., and longitude  $21^{\circ} 3'$  E., where we saw somewhite birds about the size of pigeons, with blackish bills and feet. I never saw any such before; and Mr. Forster had no knowledge of them. I believe them to be of the peterel tribe, and natives of these icy seas. At this time we passed between two ice islands, which lay at a little distance from each other.

In the night, the wind veered to N.W., which enabled us to steer S.W. On the 12th, we had still thick hazy weather, with sleet and snow; so that we were obliged to proceed with great caution on account of the ice islands: six of these we passed this day; some of them near two miles in circuit, and 60 feet high. And yet, such was the force and height of the waves, that the sea broke quite over them. This exhibited a view, which for a few moments was pleasing to the eye; but when we reflected on the danger, the mind was filled with horror; for, were a ship to get against the weather-side of one of these islands when the sea runs high, she would be dashed to pieces in a moment. Upon our getting among the ice islands, the albatrosses left us; that is, we saw but one now and then; nor did our other companions, the pintadoes, sheer-waters, small grey birds, fulmars, &c. appear in such numbers; on the other hand, penguins began to make their appearance. Two of these birds were seen to-day.

The wind in the night veered to west, and at last fixed at S.W., a fresh gale, with sleet and snow, which froze on our sails and rigging as it fell, so that they were all hung with icicles. We kept on to the southward, passed no less than eighteen ice islands, and saw more penguins. At noon on the 13th, we were in the latitude of  $54^{\circ}$  south, which is the latitude of Cape Circumcision, discovered by M. Bouvet in 1739; but we were ten degrees of longitude east of it; that is, near 118 leagues in this latitude. We stood on to the S.S.E. till eight o'clock in the evening, the weather still continuing thick and hazy, with sleet and snow. From noon till this time, twenty ice islands, of various extent both for height and circuit, presented themselves to our view. At eight o'clock we sounded, but found no ground with 150 fathom of line.



We now tacked, and made a trip to the northward till midnight, when we stood again to the southward; and at half-an-hour past six o'clock in the morning of the 14th, we were stopped by an immense field of low ice; to which we could see no end, either to the east, west, or south. In different parts of this field, were islands, or hills of ice, like those we found floating in the sea; and some on board thought they saw land also over the ice, bearing S.W. by S. I even thought so myself; but changed my opinion upon more narrowly examining these ice hills, and the various appearances they made when seen through the haze; for at this time it was both hazy and cloudy in the horizon, so that a distant object could not be seen distinct. Being now in the latitude of  $54^{\circ} 50'$  south, and longitude  $21^{\circ} 34'$  east, and having the wind at N.W., we bore away along the edge of the ice, steering S.S.E. and S.E., according to the direction of the north side of it, where we saw many whales, penguins, some white birds, pintadoes, &c.

At eight o'clock, we brought to under a point of the ice, where we had smooth water: and I sent on board for Captain Furneaux. After we had fixed on rendezvouses in case of separation, and some other matters for the better keeping company, he returned on board, and we made sail again along the ice. Some pieces we took up along-side, which yielded fresh water. At noon we had a good observation, and found ourselves in latitude  $54^{\circ} 55'$  south.

We continued a S.E. course along the edge of the ice till one o'clock, when we came to a point round which we hauled S.S.W., the sea appearing to be clear of ice in that direction. But after running four leagues upon this course, with the ice on our starboard side, we found ourselves quite embayed; the ice extending from N.N.E. round by the west and south, to east, in one compact body. The weather was indifferently clear; and yet we could see no end to it. At five o'clock, we hauled up east, wind at north, a gentle gale, in order to clear the ice. The extreme east point of it, at eight o'clock, bore E. by S., over which appeared a clear sea. We however spent the night in making short boards, under an easy sail. Thermometer, these 24 hours, from 32 to 30.

Next day, the 15th, we had the wind at N.W., a small gale, thick foggy weather, with much snow: thermometer from 32 to 27; so that our sails and rigging were all hung with icicles. The fog was so thick, at times, that we could not see the length of the ship; and we had much difficulty to avoid the many islands of ice that surrounded us. About noon, having but little wind, we hoisted out a boat to try the current, which we found set S.E. near  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile an hour. At the same time, a thermometer, which in the open air was at  $32^{\circ}$ , in the surface of the sea was at  $30^{\circ}$ ; and, after being immerged 100 fathoms deep for about 15 or 20 minutes, came up at  $34^{\circ}$ , which is only  $2^{\circ}$  above freezing. Our latitude at this time was  $55^{\circ} 8'$ . The thick fog continued till two o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, when it cleared away a little, and we made sail to the southward, wind still at N.W., a gentle gale. We had not run long to the southward before we fell in with the main field of ice, extending from S.S.W. to E. We now bore away to east along the edge of it; but at night hauled off north, with the wind at W.N.W., a gentle gale attended with snow.

At four in the morning on the 17th, stood again to the south; but was again obliged to bear up on account of the ice, along the side of which we steered betwixt E. and S.S.W., hauling into every bay or opening, in hopes of finding a passage to the south. But we found everywhere the ice closed. We had a gentle gale at N.W. with showers of snow. At noon we were, by observation, in the latitude of  $55^{\circ} 16'$  south. In the evening, the weather was clear and serene. In the course of this day, we saw many whales, one seal, penguins, some of the white birds, another sort of peterel, which is brown and white, and not much unlike a pintado; and some other sorts already known. We found the skirts of the loose ice to be more broken than usual; and it extended some distance beyond the main field, insomuch that we sailed amongst it the most part of the day; and the high ice islands without us were innumerable. At eight o'clock we sounded, but found no ground with 250 fathoms of line. After this we hauled close upon a wind to the northward, as we could see the field of ice extend as far as N.E. But this happened not to be the northern point; for at eleven o'clock, we were obliged to tack to avoid it.

At two o'clock the next morning, we stood again to the northward, with the wind at

N.W. by W., thinking to weather the ice upon this tack ; on which we stood but two hours, before we found ourselves quite imbayed, being then in latitude  $55^{\circ} 8'$ , longitude  $24^{\circ} 3'$ . The wind veering more to the north, we tacked, and stood to the westward under all the sail we could carry, having a fresh breeze and clear weather, which last was of short duration. For at six o'clock, it became hazy, and soon after there was thick fog ; the wind veered to the N.E., freshened, and brought with it snow and sleet, which froze on the rigging as it fell. We were now enabled to get clear of the field of ice ; but at the same time we were carried in amongst the ice islands, in a manner equally dangerous, and which, with much difficulty, we kept clear of.



ICE ISLANDS.

Dangerous as it is to sail among these floating rocks (if I may be allowed to call them so) in a thick fog, this, however, is preferable to being entangled with immense fields of ice under the same circumstances. The great danger to be apprehended in this latter case, is the getting fast in the ice ; a situation which would be exceedingly alarming. I had two men on board that had been in the Greenland trade ; the one of them in a ship that lay nine weeks, and the other in one that lay six weeks, fast in this kind of ice ; which they called packed ice. What *they* call field ice is thicker ; and the whole field, be it ever so large, consists of one piece. Whereas this which *I* call field ice, from its immense extent, consists of many pieces of various sizes, both in thickness and surface, from 30 to 40 feet square to 3 or 4 ; packed close together ; and in places heaped one upon another. This, I am of opinion, would be found too hard for a ship's side, that is not properly armed against it. How long it may have lain, or will lie here, is a point not easily determined. Such ice is found in the Greenland seas all the summer long ; and I think it cannot be colder there in the summer, than it is here. Be this as it may, we certainly had no thaw ; on the contrary, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer kept generally below the freezing point, although it was the middle of summer.

It is a general opinion, that the ice I have been speaking of is formed in bays and rivers. Under this supposition, we were led to believe that land was not far distant ; and that it even lay to the southward behind the ice, which alone hindered us from approaching to it. Therefore, as we had now sailed about 30 leagues along the edge of the ice, without finding a passage to the south, I determined to run 30 or 40 leagues to the east, afterwards endea-



your to get to the southwards, and, if I met with no land, or other impediment, to get behind the ice, and put the matter out of all manner of dispute. With this view, we kept standing to the N.W. with the wind at N.E. and N., thick foggy weather, with sleet and snow, till six in the evening, when the wind veered to N.W., and we tacked and stood to the eastward, meeting with many islands of ice of different magnitudes, and some loose pieces: the thermometer from 30 to 34; weather very hazy, with sleet and snow, and more sensibly colder than the thermometer seemed to point out, insomuch that the whole crew complained. In order to enable them to support this weather the better, I caused the sleeves of their jackets (which were so short as to expose their arms) to be lengthened with baize; and had a cap made for each man of the same stuff, together with canvas: which proved of great service to them.

Some of our people beginning to have symptoms of the scurvy, the surgeons began to give them fresh wort every day, made from the malt we had on board for that purpose. One man in particular was highly scorbutic; and yet he had been taking of the rob of lemon and orange for some time, without being benefited thereby. On the other hand, Captain Furneaux told me, that he had two men who, though far gone in this disease, were now in a manner entirely cured of it.

We continued standing to the eastward till eight o'clock in the morning of the 21st, when, being in the latitude of 53° 50', and longitude 29° 24' east, we hauled to the south with the wind at west, a fresh gale and hazy, with snow. In the evening the wind fell, and the weather cleared up, so as that we could see a few leagues round us; being in the latitude of 54° 43' south, longitude 29° 30' east. At ten o'clock, seeing many islands of ice ahead, and the weather coming on foggy, with snow, we wore and stood to the northward, till three in the morning, when we stood again to the south. At eight the weather cleared up, and the wind came to W.S.W., with which we made all the sail we could to the south; having never less than ten or twelve islands of ice in sight.

Next day we had the wind at S.W. and S.S.W. a gentle gale, with now and then showers of snow and hail. In the morning, being in the latitude of 55° 20' south, and longitude 31° 30' east, we hoisted out a boat to see if there was any current, but found none. Mr. Forster, who went in the boat, shot some of the small grey birds before mentioned, which were of the peterel tribe, and about the size of a small pigeon. Their back, and upper side of their wings, their feet and bills, are of a blue-grey colour. Their bellies, and under side of their wings, are white, a little tinged with blue. The upper side of their quill-feathers is a dark blue tinged with black. A streak is formed by feathers nearly of this colour along the upper parts of the wings, and crossing the back a little above the tail. The end of the tail-feathers is also of the same colour. Their bills are much broader than any I have seen of the same tribe; and their tongues are remarkably broad. These blue peterels, as I shall call them, are seen nowhere but in the southern hemisphere, from about the latitude of 28°, and upwards. Thermometer at 33° in the open air, at 32° in the sea at the surface, and at 34½° when drawn, and 6½ minutes in drawing up from 100 fathoms below it, where it had been 16 minutes.

On the 24th, the wind blew from N.W. to N.E. a gentle gale, fair and cloudy. At noon we were by observation in the latitude of 56° 31' south, and longitude 31° 19' east; the thermometer at 35°. And being near an island of ice which was about fifty feet high, and four hundred fathoms in circuit, I sent the master in the jolly-boat to see if any water ran from it. He soon returned with an account that there was not one drop, or any other appearances of thaw. In the evening, we sailed through several floats or fields of loose ice, lying in the direction of S.E. and N.W., at the same time we had continually several islands of the same composition in sight. On the 25th, the wind veering round from the N.E. by the east to south, it blew a gentle gale; with which we stood to the W.S.W., and at noon were in the latitude of 57° 50' south, and longitude 29° 32' east. The weather was fair and cloudy; the air sharp and cold, attended with a hard frost. And, although this, was the middle of summer with us, I much question if the day was colder in any part of England. The wind continued at south, blew a fresh gale, fair and cloudy weather, till near noon the next day, when we had clear sunshine, and found ourselves, by observation, in the latitude of 58° 31' south, longitude 26° 57' east.

In the course of the last twenty-four hours, we passed through several fields of broken,



loose ice. They were in general narrow, but of a considerable length, in the direction of N.W. and S.E. The ice was so close in one, that it would hardly admit the ship through it. The pieces were flat, from four to six or eight inches thick, and appeared of that sort of ice which is generally formed in bays or rivers. Others again were different; the pieces forming various honey-combed branches, exactly like coral rocks, and exhibiting such a variety of figures as can hardly be conceived. We supposed this ice to have broken from the main field we had lately left; and which I was determined to get to the south of, or behind, if possible, in order to satisfy myself whether or not it joined to any land, as had been conjectured. With this view, I kept on to the westward, with a gentle gale at S. and S.S.W., and soon after six o'clock in the evening we saw some penguins, which occasioned us to sound; but we found no ground with 150 fathoms.

In the morning of the 27th, we saw more loose ice, but not many islands; and those we did see were but small. The day being calm and pleasant, and the sea smooth, we hoisted out a boat, from which Mr. Forster shot a penguin and some peterels. These penguins differ not from those seen in other parts of the world, except in some minute particulars distinguishable only by naturalists. Some of the peterels were of the blue sort, but differed from those before mentioned, in not having a broad bill; and the ends of their tail-feathers were tipped with white instead of dark blue. But whether these were only the distinctions between the male and female, was a matter disputed by our naturalists. We were now in the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 19'$  south, longitude  $24^{\circ} 39'$  east, and took the opportunity of the calm to sound; but found no ground with a line of 220 fathoms. The calm continued till six in the evening, when it was succeeded by a light breeze from the east, which afterwards increased to a fresh gale.

In the morning of the 28th, I made the signal to the *Adventure* to spread four miles on my starboard beam; and in this position we continued sailing W.S.W. until four o'clock in the afternoon, when the hazy weather, attended with snow showers, made it necessary for us to join. Soon after we reefed our top-sails, being surrounded on all sides with islands of ice. In the morning of the 29th, we let them out again, and set top-gallant sails, still continuing our course to the westward, and meeting with several penguins. At noon we were, by observation, in the latitude of  $59^{\circ} 12'$ , longitude  $19^{\circ} 1'$  east, which is  $3^{\circ}$  more to the west than we were when we first fell in with the field ice; so that it is pretty clear that it joined to no land, as was conjectured.

Having come to a resolution to run as far west as the meridian of Cape Circumcision, provided we met with no impediment, as the distance was not more than 80 leagues, the wind favourable, and the sea seemed to be pretty clear of ice, I sent on board for Captain Furneaux, to make him acquainted therewith; and after dinner he returned to his ship. At one o'clock we steered for an island of ice, thinking, if there were any loose ice round it, to take some on board, and convert it into fresh water. At four we brought to, close under the lee of the island, where we did not find what we wanted, but saw upon it eighty-six penguins. This piece of ice was about half a mile in circuit, and one hundred feet high, and upwards; for we lay for some minutes with every sail becalmed under it. The side on which the penguins were rose sloping from the sea, so as to admit them to creep up it.

It is a received opinion that penguins never go far from land, and that the sight of them is a sure indication of its vicinity. This opinion may hold good where there are no ice islands; but where such are, these birds, as well as many others which usually keep near the shores, finding a roosting-place upon these islands, may be brought by them a great distance from any land. It will however be said, that they must go on shore to breed; that probably the females were there, and that these were only the males which we saw. Be this as it may, I shall continue to take notice of these birds whenever we see them, and leave every one to judge for himself\*.

\* Mr. Darwin, in remarking on the habits of the penguin, as observed by him at the Falkland Islands, states, that "in diving its little plumelless wings are used as fins; but on the land, as front legs. When crawling (it may be said on four legs) through the tussocks, or on the side of a grassy cliff, it moved so very quickly that it might

readily have been mistaken for a quadruped. When at sea, and fishing, it comes to the surface, for the purpose of breathing, with such a spring, and dives again so instantaneously, that I defy any one, at first sight, to be sure that it is not a fish leaping for sport."—*Surveying Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle*, vol. iii. p. 257.



We continued our course to the westward, with a gentle gale at E.N.E., the weather being sometimes tolerably clear, and at other times thick and hazy, with snow. The thermometer for a few days past was from 31 to 36. At nine o'clock the next morning, being the 30th, we shot one of the white birds; upon which we lowered a boat into the



PENGUINS.

water to take it up, and by that means killed a penguin which weighed  $11\frac{1}{2}$  pounds. The white bird was of the peterel tribe; the bill, which is rather short, is of a colour between black and dark blue, and their legs and feet are blue. I believe them to be the same sort of birds that Bouvet mentions to have seen when he was off Cape Circumcision.

We continued our westerly course till eight o'clock in the evening, when we steered N.W., the point on which I reckoned the above-mentioned cape to bear. At midnight we fell in with loose ice, which soon after obliged us to tack, and stretch to the southward. At half an hour past two o'clock in the morning of the 31st, we stood for it again, thinking to take some on board; but this was found impracticable. For the wind, which had been at N.E., now veered to S.E., and increasing to a fresh gale, brought with it such a sea as made it very dangerous for the ships to remain among the ice. The danger was yet farther increased by discovering an immense field to the north, extending from N.E. by E. to S.W. by W. farther than the eye could reach. As we were not above two or three miles from this, and surrounded by loose ice, there was no time to deliberate. We presently wore, got our tacks on board, hauled to the south, and soon got clear, but not before we had received several hard knocks from the loose pieces, which were of the largest sort, and among which we saw a seal. In the afternoon, the wind increased in such a manner as to oblige us to hand the topsails, and strike top-gallant-yards. At eight o'clock we tacked, and stood to the east till midnight, when, being in the latitude of  $60^{\circ} 21'$  south, longitude  $13^{\circ} 32'$  east, we stood again to the west. Next day, towards noon, the gale abated; so that we could carry close-reefed topsails. But the weather continued thick and hazy, with sleet and snow, which froze on the rigging as it fell, and ornamented the whole with icicles; the mercury in the thermometer being generally below the freezing point. This weather continued till near noon the next day; at which time we were in the latitude of  $59^{\circ} 12'$  south, longitude  $9^{\circ} 45'$  east, and here we saw some penguins.

The wind had now veered to the west, and was so moderate that we could bear two reefs out of the topsails. In the afternoon we were favoured with a sight of the moon, whose face we had seen but once since we left the Cape of Good Hope. By this a judgment may be formed of the sort of weather we had had since we left that place. We did not fail to seize the opportunity to make several observations of the sun and moon. The longitude

deduced from them was  $9^{\circ} 34' 30''$  east: Mr. Kendal's watch, at the same time, giving  $10^{\circ} 6'$  east, and the latitude was  $58^{\circ} 53' 30''$  south. This longitude is nearly the same that is assigned to Cape Circumcision; and at the going down of the sun, we were about ninety-five leagues to the south of the latitude it is said to lie in. At this time the weather was so clear, that we might have seen land at fourteen or fifteen leagues' distance. It is therefore very probable that what Bouvet took for land was nothing but mountains of ice, surrounded by loose or field ice. We ourselves were undoubtedly deceived by the ice hills, the day we first fell in with the field ice. Nor was it an improbable conjecture that that ice joined to land. The probability was however now greatly lessened, if not entirely set aside. For the space between the northern edge of the ice, along which we sailed, and our route to the west, when south of it, nowhere exceeded a hundred leagues, and in some places not sixty. But a view of the chart will best explain this. The clear weather continued no longer than three o'clock the next morning, when it was succeeded by a thick fog, sleet, and snow. The wind also veered to N.E., and blew a fresh gale, with which we stood to S.E. It increased in such a manner, that before noon we were brought under close-reefed topsails. The wind continued to veer to the north, at last fixed at N.W., and was attended with intervals of clear weather.

Our course was east,  $\frac{3}{4}$  north, till noon the next day, when we were in the latitude of  $59^{\circ} 2'$  south, and nearly under the same meridian as we were when we fell in with the last field of ice, five days before; so that had it remained in the same situation, we must now have been in the middle of it; whereas we did not so much as see any. We cannot suppose that so large a float of ice as this was could be destroyed in so short a time; it therefore must have drifted to the northward; and this makes it probable that there is no land under this meridian, between the latitude of  $55^{\circ}$  and  $59^{\circ}$ , where we had supposed some to lie, as mentioned above.

As we were now only sailing over a part of the sea where we had been before, I directed the course E.S.E., in order to get more to the south. We had the advantage of a fresh gale, and the disadvantage of a thick fog; much snow and sleet, which, as usual, froze on our rigging as it fell, so that every rope was covered with the finest transparent ice I ever saw. This afforded an agreeable sight enough to the eye, but conveyed to the mind an idea of coldness much greater than it really was; for the weather was rather milder than it had been for some time past, and the sea less encumbered with ice. But the worst was, the ice so clogged the rigging, sails, and blocks, as to make them exceedingly bad to handle. Our people, however, surmounted those difficulties with a steady perseverance, and withstood this intense cold much better than I expected.

We continued to steer to the E.S.E., with a fresh gale at N.W., attended with snow and sleet, till the 8th, when we were in the latitude of  $61^{\circ} 12'$  south, longitude  $31^{\circ} 47'$  east. In the afternoon we passed more ice islands than we had seen for several days; indeed they were now so familiar to us, that they were often passed unnoticed, but more generally unseen, on account of the thick weather. At nine o'clock in the evening, we came to one which had a quantity of loose ice about it: as the wind was moderate, and the weather tolerably fair, we shortened sail, and stood on and off, with a view of taking some on board on the return of light; but at four o'clock in the morning, finding ourselves to leeward of this ice, we bore down to an island to leeward of us, there being about it some loose ice, part of which we saw break off. There we brought to, hoisted out three boats, and, in about five or six hours, took up as much ice as yielded fifteen tons of good fresh water. The pieces we took up were hard, and solid as a rock; some of them were so large that we were obliged to break them with pickaxes before they could be taken into the boats.

The salt water which adhered to the ice was so trifling as not to be tasted, and after it had lain on deck a short time entirely drained off; and the water which the ice yielded was perfectly sweet and well-tasted. Part of the ice we broke in pieces and put into casks, some we melted in the coppers, and filled up the casks with the water, and some we kept on deck for present use. The melting and stowing away the ice is a little tedious, and takes up some time, otherwise this is the most expeditious way of watering I ever met with.

Having got on board this supply of water, and the Adventure about two-thirds as much



(of which we stood in great need), as we had once broke the ice, I did not doubt of getting more whenever we were in want. I therefore, without hesitation, directed our course more to the south, with a gentle gale at N.W., attended, as usual, with snow showers. In the morning of the 11th, being then in the latitude of  $62^{\circ} 44'$  south, longitude  $37^{\circ}$  east, the variation of the compass was  $24^{\circ} 10'$  west, and the following morning in the latitude of  $64^{\circ} 12'$  south, longitude  $38^{\circ} 14'$  east, by the mean of three compasses, it was no more than  $23^{\circ} 52'$  west. In this situation we saw some penguins, and being near an island of ice, from which several pieces had broken, we hoisted out two boats, and took on board as much as filled all our empty casks; and the Adventure did the same. While this was doing, Mr. Forster shot an albatross, whose plumage was of a colour between brown and dark grey, the head and upper side of the wings rather inclining to black, and it had white eye-brows. We began to see these birds about the time of our first falling in with the ice islands, and some had accompanied us ever since. These, and the dark-brown sort with a yellow bill, were the only albatrosses that had not now forsaken us.

At four o'clock P.M. we hoisted in the boats, and made sail to the S.E. with a gentle breeze at S. by W., attended with showers of snow. On the 13th, at two o'clock A.M., it fell calm. Of this we took the opportunity to hoist out a boat, to try the current, which we found to set N.W., near one-third of a mile an hour. At the time of trying the current, a Fahrenheit's thermometer was immersed in the sea 100 fathoms below its surface, where it remained twenty minutes. When it came up, the mercury stood at 32, which is the freezing point. Some little time after, being exposed to the surface of the sea, it rose to  $33\frac{1}{2}$ , and in the open air to 36. The calm continued till five o'clock in the evening, when it was succeeded by a light breeze from the south and S.E., with which we stood to the N.E. with all our sails set.

Though the weather continued fair, the sky, as usual, was clouded. However, at nine o'clock the next morning it was clear, and we were enabled to observe several distances between the sun and moon; the mean result of which gave  $39^{\circ} 30' 30''$  east longitude. Mr. Kendal's watch, at the same time, gave  $38^{\circ} 27' 45''$ , which is  $1^{\circ} 2' 45''$  west of the observations; whereas, on the 3rd instant, it was half a degree east of them.

In the evening I found the variation by the mean of azimuths taken with Gre-

gory's compass, to be . . . . .	28° 14' 0
By the mean of six azimuths by one of Dr. Knight's . . . . .	28 32 0
And by another of Dr. Knight's . . . . .	28 34 0
Our latitude at this time was $63^{\circ} 57'$ , longitude $39^{\circ} 38\frac{1}{2}''$ east.	

The succeeding morning, the 15th, being then in latitude  $63^{\circ} 33'$  south, the longitude was observed by the following persons, viz.—

Myself, being the mean of six distances of the sun and moon . . . . .	40° 1' 45" E.
Mr. Wales, ditto . . . . .	39 29 45
Ditto, ditto . . . . .	39 56 45
Lieutenant Clerke, ditto . . . . .	39 38 0
Mr. Gilbert, ditto . . . . .	39 48 45
Mr. Smith, ditto . . . . .	39 18 15
Mean . . . . .	39 42 12

Mr. Kendal's watch made . . . . . 38 41 30

Which is nearly the same difference as the day before. But Mr. Wales and I took each of us six distances of the sun and moon, with the telescopes fixed to our sextants, which brought out the longitude nearly the same as the watch. The results were as follows:—  
By Mr. Wales  $38^{\circ} 35' 30''$ , and by me  $38^{\circ} 36' 45''$ .

It is impossible for me to say whether these or the former are the nearest the truth, nor can I assign any probable reason for so great a disagreement. We certainly can observe with greater accuracy through the telescope, than with the common sight, when the ship is sufficiently steady. The use of the telescope is found difficult at first, but a little practice will make it familiar. By the assistance of the watch, we shall be able to discover the

greatest error this method of observing the longitude at sea is liable to; which, at the greatest, does not exceed a degree and a half, and in general will be found to be much less. Such is the improvement navigation has received by the astronomers and mathematical instrument-makers of this age; by the former from the valuable tables they have communicated to the public, under the direction of the Board of Longitude, and contained in the astronomical ephemeris; and by the latter, from the great accuracy they observe in making instruments, without which the tables would, in a great measure, lose their effect. The preceding observations were made by four different sextants, of different workmen: mine was made by Mr. Bird; one of Mr. Wales's by Mr. Dollond; the other, and Mr. Clerke's, by Mr. Ramsden; as also Mr. Gilbert's and Smith's, who observed with the same instrument.

Five tolerably fine days had now succeeded one another. This, besides giving us an opportunity to make the preceding observations, was very serviceable to us on many other accounts, and came at a very seasonable time. For having on board a good quantity of fresh water or ice, which was the same thing, the people were enabled to wash and dry their clothes and linen; a care that can never be enough attended to in all long voyages. The winds during this time blew in gentle gales, and the weather was mild. Yet the mercury in the thermometer never rose above 36, and was frequently as low as the freezing point.

In the afternoon, having but little wind, I brought to under an island of ice, and sent a boat to take up some. In the evening the wind freshened at east, and was attended with snow showers and thick hazy weather, which continued great part of the 16th. As we met with little ice, I stood to the south, close hauled; and at six o'clock in the evening, being in the latitude of  $64^{\circ} 56'$  south, longitude  $39^{\circ} 35'$  east, I found the variation by Gregory's compass to be  $26^{\circ} 41'$  west. At this time, the motion of the ship was so great, that I could by no means observe with any of Dr. Knight's compasses.

As the wind remained invariably fixed at east, and E. by S., I continued to stand to the south; and on the 17th, between eleven and twelve o'clock, we crossed the Antarctic circle in the longitude of  $39^{\circ} 35'$  east; for at noon we were by observation in the latitude of  $66^{\circ} 36' 30''$  south. The weather was now become tolerably clear, so that we could see several leagues round us; and yet we had only seen one island of ice since the morning. But about four P.M. as we were steering to the south, we observed the whole sea in a manner covered with ice, from the direction of S.E. round by the south to west.

In this space, thirty-eight ice islands, great and small, were seen, besides loose ice in abundance, so that we were obliged to luff for one piece, and bear up for another, and as we continued to advance to the south, it increased in such a manner, that at  $\frac{3}{4}$  past six o'clock, being then in the latitude of  $67^{\circ} 15'$  south, we could proceed no farther; the ice being entirely closed to the south, in the whole extent from E. to W.S.W., without the least appearance of any opening. This immense field was composed of different kinds of ice, such as high hills, loose or broken pieces packed close together, and what, I think, Greenlanders call field ice. A float of this kind of ice lay to the S.E. of us, of such extent that I could see no end to it, from the mast-head. It was sixteen or eighteen feet high at least, and appeared of a pretty equal height and surface. Here we saw many whales playing about the ice, and for two days before had seen several flocks of the brown and white pintadoes, which we named Antarctic peterels, because they seem to be natives of that region. They are undoubtedly of the peterel tribe; are in every respect shaped like the pintadoes, differing only from them in colour. The head and fore part of the body of these are brown; and the hind part of the body, tail, and ends of the wings, are white. The white peterel also appeared in greater numbers than before; some few dark grey albatrosses, and our constant companion the blue peterel. But the common pintadoes had quite disappeared, as well as many other sorts, which are common in lower latitudes.



CHAPTER III.—SEQUEL OF THE SEARCH FOR A SOUTHERN CONTINENT BETWEEN THE MERIDIAN OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE AND NEW ZEALAND—WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE SEPARATION OF THE TWO SHIPS, AND THE ARRIVAL OF THE RESOLUTION IN DUSKY BAY.

AFTER meeting with this ice, I did not think it was at all prudent to persevere in getting farther to the south, especially as the summer was already half spent, and it would have taken up some time to have got round the ice, even supposing it to have been practicable, which, however, is doubtful. I therefore came to a resolution to proceed directly in search of the land lately discovered by the French. And as the winds still continued at E. by S., I was obliged to return to the north, over some part of the sea I had already made myself acquainted with, and for that reason wished to have avoided. But this was not to be done; as our course, made good, was little better than north. In the night, the wind increased to a strong gale, attended with sleet and snow, and obliged us to double-reef our top-sails. About noon the next day, the gale abated; so that we could bear all our reefs out; but the wind still remained in its old quarter.

In the evening, being in the latitude of  $64^{\circ} 12'$  south, longitude  $40^{\circ} 15'$  east, a bird called by us, in my former voyage, Port Egmont hen (on account of the great plenty of them at Port Egmont, in Falkland Isles), came hovering several times over the ship, and then left us in the direction of N.E. They are a short, thick bird, about the size of a large crow, of a dark brown or chocolate colour, with a whitish streak under each wing in the shape of a half-moon. I have been told that these birds are found in great plenty at the Fero Isles, north of Scotland, and that they never go far from land. Certain it is, I never before saw them above forty leagues off; but I do not remember ever seeing fewer than two together, whereas here was but one, which, with the islands of ice, may have come a good way from land.

At nine o'clock, the wind veering to E.N.E., we tacked and stood to the S.S.E.; but at four in the morning of the 20th, it returned back to its old point, and we resumed our northerly course. One of the above birds was seen this morning; probably the same we saw the night before, as our situation was not much altered. As the day advanced, the gale increased, attended with thick hazy weather, sleet and snow, and at last obliged us to close-reef our top-sails, and strike top-gallant yards. But in the evening, the wind abated so as to admit us to carry whole top-sails and top-gallant yards aloft. Hazy weather, with snow and sleet, continued.

In the afternoon of the 21st, being in the latitude of  $62^{\circ} 24'$  south, longitude  $42^{\circ} 19'$  east, we saw a white albatross with black-tipped wings, and a pintadoe bird. The wind was now at south and S.W. a fresh gale. With this we steered N.E. against a very high sea, which did not indicate the vicinity of land in that quarter; and yet it was there we were to expect it. The next day we had intervals of fair weather; the wind was moderate, and we carried our studding-sails.

In the morning of the 23rd, we were in latitude  $60^{\circ} 27'$  south, longitude  $45^{\circ} 33'$  east.



ALBATROSS.

Snow showers continued, and the weather was so cold, that the water in our water vessels on deck had been frozen for several preceding nights. Having clear weather at intervals, I spread the ships abreast four miles from each other, in order the better to discover anything that might lie in our way. We continued to sail in this manner till six o'clock in the evening, when hazy weather, and snow showers, made it necessary for us to join.

We kept our course to the N.E. till eight o'clock in the morning of the 25th, when the wind having veered round to N.E. by E. by the west and north, we tacked, and stood to N.W. The wind was fresh, and yet we made but little way against a high northerly sea. We now began to see some of that sort of peterels so well known to sailors by the name of sheerwaters, latitude  $58^{\circ} 10'$ , longitude  $50^{\circ} 54'$  east. In the afternoon the wind veered to the southward of east, and at eight o'clock in the evening it increased to a storm, attended with thick hazy weather, sleet and snow. During night we went under our fore-sail and main-top-sail close-reefed; at daylight the next morning, added to them the fore and mizzen top-sails. At four o'clock it fell calm; but a prodigious high sea from the N.E. and a complication of the worst of weather, viz. snow, sleet, and rain, continued, together with the calm, till nine o'clock in the evening. Then the weather cleared up, and we got a breeze at S.E. by S. With this we steered N. by E. till eight o'clock the next morning, being the 27th, when I spread the ships and steered N.N.E. all sails set, having a fresh breeze at S. by W. and clear weather.

At noon we were, by observation, in the latitude of  $56^{\circ} 28'$  south, and about three o'clock in the afternoon, the sun and moon appearing at intervals, their distances were observed by the following persons, and the longitude resulting therefrom was—

By Mr. Wales (mean of two sets) $50^{\circ} 59'$ east		
Lieutenant Clerke	.	51 11
Mr. Gilbert	.	50 14
Mr. Smith	.	50 50
Mr. Kendal's watch	.	50 50

At six o'clock in the evening, being in latitude  $56^{\circ} 9'$  S., I now made signal to the Adventure to come under my stern; and at eight o'clock the next morning, sent her to look out on my starboard beam, having at this time a fresh gale at west, and pretty clear weather. But this was not of long duration; for at two in the afternoon, the sky became cloudy and hazy; the wind increased to a fresh gale; blew in squalls attended with snow, sleet, and drizzling rain. I now made signal to the Adventure to come under my stern, and took another reef in each top-sail. At eight o'clock I hauled up the main-sail, and ran all night under the fore-sail, and two top-sails; our course being N.N.E. and N.E. by N. with a strong gale at N.W.

The 29th, at noon, we observed in latitude  $52^{\circ} 29'$  south, the weather being fair and tolerably clear. But in the afternoon, it again became very thick and hazy, with rain; and the gale increased in such a manner as to oblige us to strike top-gallant yards, close-reef and hand the top-sails. We spent part of the night, which was very dark and stormy, in making a tack to the S.W., and in the morning of the 30th, stood again to the N.E., wind at N.W. and north, a very fresh gale; which split several of our small sails. This day no ice was seen; probably owing to the thick hazy weather. At eight o'clock in the evening we tacked and stood to the westward, under our courses; but as the sea ran high, we made our course no better than S.S.W. At four o'clock the next morning, the gale had a little abated; and the wind had backed to W. by S. We again stood to the northward, under courses and double-reefed top-sails, having a very high sea from the N.N.W., which gave us but little hopes of finding the land we were in search of. At noon, we were in the latitude of  $50^{\circ} 50'$  S. longitude  $56^{\circ} 48'$  east, and presently after we saw two islands of ice. One of these we passed very near, and found that it was breaking or falling to pieces, by the crackling noise it made; which was equal to the report of a four-pounder. There was a good deal of loose ice about it; and had the weather been favourable, I should have brought to, and taken some up. After passing this, we saw no more, till we returned again to the south. Hazy, gloomy weather continued, and the wind remained invariably fixed at N.W., so that



we could make our course no better than N.E. by N., and this course we held till four o'clock in the afternoon of the 1st of February. Being then in the latitude of  $48^{\circ} 30'$ , and longitude  $58^{\circ} 7'$  east, nearly in the meridian of the island of Mauritius, and where we were to expect to find the land said to be discovered by the French, of which at this time we saw not the least signs, we bore away east.

I now made the signal to the Adventure to keep at the distance of four miles on my starboard beam. At half an hour past six, Captain Furneaux made the signal to speak with me; and upon his coming under my stern, he informed me that he had just seen a large float of sea or rock weed, and about it several birds (divers). These were certainly signs of the vicinity of land; but whether it lay to the east or west was not possible for us to know. My intention was to have got into this latitude four or five degrees of longitude to the west of the meridian we were now in, and then to have carried on my researches to the east. But the W. and N.W. winds we had had the five preceding days, prevented me from putting this in execution.

The continual high sea we had lately had from the N.E., N.N.W. and west, left me no reason to believe that land of any extent lay to the west. We therefore continued to steer to the E., only lying-to a few hours in the night, and in the morning resumed our course again, four miles north and south from each other; the hazy weather not permitting us to spread farther. We passed two or three small pieces of rock-weed, and saw two or three birds known by the name of egg-birds; but saw no other signs of land. At noon we observed, in latitude  $48^{\circ} 36'$  south, longitude  $59^{\circ} 35'$  east. As we could only see a few miles farther to the south, and as it was not impossible that there might be land not far off in that direction, I gave orders to steer S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., and made the signal for the Adventure to follow, she being, by this movement, thrown astern: the weather continuing hazy till half an hour past six o'clock in the evening, when it cleared up so as to enable us to see about five leagues round us.

Being now in the latitude of  $49^{\circ} 13'$  south, without having the least signs of land, I wore and stood again to the eastward, and soon after spoke with Captain Furneaux. He told me that he thought the land was to the N.W. of us; as he had, at one time, observed the sea to be smooth when the wind blew in that direction. Although this was not conformable to the remarks we had made on the sea, I resolved to clear up the point, if the wind would admit of my getting to the west in any reasonable time.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 3rd, being in the latitude of  $48^{\circ} 56'$  south, longitude  $6^{\circ} 47'$  east, and upwards of  $3^{\circ}$  to the east of the meridian of Mauritius, I began to despair of finding land to the east; and as the wind had now veered to the northward, resolved to search for it to the west. I accordingly tacked and stood to the west with a fresh gale. This increased in such a manner, that before night we were reduced to our two courses; and at last, obliged to lie-to under the fore-sails, having a prodigious high sea from W.N.W., notwithstanding the height of the gale was from N. by W. At three o'clock the next morning, the gale abating, we made sail, and continued to ply to the west till ten o'clock in the morning of the 6th. At this time being in the latitude of  $48^{\circ} 6'$  south, longitude  $58^{\circ} 22'$  east, the wind seemingly fixed at W.N.W., and seeing no signs of meeting with land, I gave over plying, and bore away east a little southerly: being satisfied, that if there is any land hereabout, it can only be an isle of no great extent. And it was just as probable I might have found it to the east as west.

While we were plying about here, we took every opportunity to observe the variation of the compass, and found it to be from  $27^{\circ} 50'$ , to  $30^{\circ} 26'$  west. Probably the mean of the two extremes, viz.  $29^{\circ} 4'$ , is the nearest the truth, as it nearly agrees with the variation observed on board the Adventure. In making these observations, we found that, when the sun was on the starboard side of the ship, the variation was the least; and when on the larboard side, the greatest. This was not the first time we had made this observation, without being able to account for it. At four o'clock in the morning of the 7th, I made the Adventure's signal to keep at the distance of four miles on my starboard beam, and continued to steer E.S.E. This being a fine day, I had all our men's bedding and clothes spread on deck to air, and the ship cleaned and smoked betwixt decks. At noon I steered

a point more to the south, being then in the latitude of  $48^{\circ} 49'$  south, longitude  $61^{\circ} 48'$  east. At six o'clock in the evening, I called in the *Adventure*; and at the same time took several azimuths, which gave the variation  $31^{\circ} 28'$  west. These observations could not be taken with the greatest accuracy, on account of the rolling of the ship, occasioned by a very high westerly swell.

The preceding evening, three Port Egmont hens were seen; this morning another appeared. In the evening, and several times in the night, penguins were heard; and at daylight in the morning of the 8th, several of these were seen; and divers of two sorts, seemingly such as are usually met with on the coast of England. This occasioned us to sound; but we found no ground with a line of 210 fathoms. Our latitude now was  $49^{\circ} 53'$  south, and longitude  $63^{\circ} 39'$  east. This was at eight o'clock. By this time the wind had veered round by the N.E. to E., blew a brisk gale, and was attended with hazy weather, which soon after turned to a thick fog; and at the same time, the wind shifted to N.E.

I continued to keep the wind on the larboard tack, and to fire a gun every hour till noon; when I made the signal to tack, and tacked accordingly. But as neither this signal, nor any of the former, was answered by the *Adventure*, we had but too much reason to think that a separation had taken place; though we were at a loss to tell how it had been effected. I had directed Captain Furneaux, in case he was separated from me, to cruise three days in the place where he last saw me. I therefore continued making short boards, and firing half-hour guns, till the 9th in the afternoon, when the weather having cleared up, we could see several leagues round us, and found that the *Adventure* was not within the limits of our horizon. At this time, we were about two or three leagues to the eastward of the situation we were in when we last saw her, and were standing to the westward with a very strong gale at N.N.W., accompanied with a great sea from the same direction. This, together with an increase of wind, obliged us to lie-to, till eight o'clock the next morning; during which time we saw nothing of the *Adventure*, notwithstanding the weather was pretty clear, and we had kept firing guns, and burning false fires, all night. I therefore gave over looking for her, made sail, and steered S.E. with a very fresh gale at W. by N., accompanied with a high sea from the same direction. While we were beating about here, we frequently saw penguins and divers, which made us conjecture that land was not far off; but in what direction, it was not possible for us to tell. As we advanced to the south, we lost the penguins, and most of the divers, and, as usual, met with abundance of albatrosses, blue peterels, sheerwaters, &c.

The 11th at noon, and in the latitude of  $51^{\circ} 15'$  south, longitude  $67^{\circ} 20'$  east, we again met with penguins; and saw an egg-bird, which we also look upon to be a sign of the vicinity of land. I continued to steer to the S.E., with a fresh gale in the N.W. quarter, attended with a long hollow swell, and frequent showers of rain, hail, and snow. The 12th, in the morning, being in the latitude of  $52^{\circ} 32'$  south, longitude  $69^{\circ} 47'$  east, the variation was  $31^{\circ} 38'$  west. In the evening, in the latitude of  $53^{\circ} 7'$  south, longitude  $70^{\circ} 50'$  east, it was  $32^{\circ} 33'$ ; and the next morning, in the latitude of  $53^{\circ} 37'$  south, longitude  $72^{\circ} 10'$ , it was  $33^{\circ} 8'$  west. Thus far we had continually a great number of penguins about the ship, which seemed to be different from those we had seen near the ice; being smaller, with reddish bills and brownish heads. The meeting with so many of these birds, gave us some hopes of finding land, and occasioned various conjectures about its situation. The great westerly swell, which still continued, made it improbable that land of any considerable extent lay to the west. Nor was it very probable that any lay to the north; as we were only about 160 leagues to the south of Tasman's track in 1642; and I conjectured that Captain Furneaux would explore this place; which accordingly happened. In the evening we saw a Port Egmont hen, which flew away in the direction of N.E. by E.; and the next morning, a seal was seen, but no penguins. In the evening, being in the latitude of  $55^{\circ} 49'$  south, longitude  $75^{\circ} 52'$  east, the variation was  $34^{\circ} 48'$  west; and in the evening of the 15th, in latitude  $57^{\circ} 2'$  south, longitude  $79^{\circ} 56'$  east, it was  $38^{\circ}$  west. Five seals were seen this day, and a few penguins; which occasioned us to sound, without finding any bottom, with a line of 150 fathoms.

At daylight in the morning of the 16th, we saw an island of ice to the northward; for



which we steered, in order to take some on board; but the wind shifting to that direction, hindered us from putting this in execution. At this time we were in the latitude of  $57^{\circ} 8'$  south, longitude  $80^{\circ} 59'$  east, and had two islands of ice in sight. This morning we saw one penguin, which appeared to be of the same sort which we had formerly seen near the ice. But we had now been so often deceived by these birds, that we could no longer look upon them, nor indeed upon any other oceanic birds, which frequent high latitudes, as sure signs of the vicinity of land. The wind continued not long at north, but veered to E. by N.E., and blew a gentle gale, with which we stood to the southward; having frequent showers of sleet and snow. But in the night we had fair weather, and a clear serene sky; and between midnight and three o'clock in the morning, lights were seen in the heavens, similar to those in the northern hemisphere, known by the name of *Aurora Borealis*, or northern lights; but I never heard of the *Aurora Australis* being seen before. The officer of the watch observed, that it sometimes broke out in spiral rays, and in a circular form; then its light was very strong, and its appearance beautiful. He could not perceive it had any particular direction; for it appeared, at various times, in different parts of the heavens, and diffused its light throughout the whole atmosphere.

At nine in the morning, we bore down to an island of ice, which we reached by noon. It was full half a mile in circuit, and two hundred feet high at least; though very little loose ice about it. But while we were considering whether or not we should hoist out our boats to take some up, a great quantity broke from the island. Upon this we hoisted out our boats, and went to work to get some on board. The pieces of ice, both great and small, which broke from the island, I observed, drifted fast to the westward; that is, they left the island in that direction, and were, in a few hours, spread over a large space of sea. This, I have no doubt, was caused by a current setting in that direction; for the wind could have but little effect upon the ice; especially as there was a large hollow swell from the west. This circumstance greatly retarded our taking up ice. We, however, made a shift to get on board about nine or ten tons before eight o'clock, when we hoisted in the boats, and made sail to east, inclining to the south, with a fresh gale at south; which soon after veered to S.S.W. and S.W., with fair but cloudy weather. This course brought us among many ice isles; so that it was necessary to proceed with great caution. In the night the mercury in the thermometer fell two degrees below the freezing point; and the water in the scuttle casks on deck was frozen. As I have not taken notice of the thermometer of late, I shall now observe that, as we advanced to the north, the mercury gradually rose to 45, and fell again, as we advanced to the south, to what is above mentioned; nor did it rise, in the middle of the day, to above 34 or 35.

In the morning of the 18th, being in the latitude of  $57^{\circ} 54'$  south, longitude  $83^{\circ} 14'$  east, the variation was  $39^{\circ} 33'$  west. In the evening, in latitude  $58^{\circ} 2'$  south, longitude  $84^{\circ} 35'$  east, it was only  $37^{\circ} 8'$  west; which induced me to believe it was decreasing. But in the evening of the 20th, in the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 47'$  south, longitude  $90^{\circ} 56'$  east, I took nine azimuths, with Dr. Knight's compass, which gave the variation  $40^{\circ} 7'$ ; and nine others, with Gregory's, which gave  $40^{\circ} 15'$  west.

This day, at noon, being nearly in the latitude and longitude just mentioned, we thought we saw land to the S.W. The appearance was so strong, that we doubted not it was there in reality, and tacked to work up to it accordingly; having a light breeze at south, and clear weather. We were, however, soon undeceived, by finding that it was only clouds; which, in the evening, entirely disappeared, and left us a clear horizon, so that we could see a considerable way round us; in which space nothing was to be seen but ice islands.

In the night, the *Aurora Australis* made a very brilliant and luminous appearance. It was seen first in the east, a little above the horizon; and, in a short time, spread over the whole heavens. The 21st, in the morning, having little wind and a smooth sea, two favourable circumstances for taking up ice, I steered for the largest ice island before us, which we reached by noon. At this time, we were in the latitude of  $59^{\circ}$  south, longitude  $92^{\circ} 30'$  east; having, about two hours before, seen three or four penguins. Finding here a good quantity of loose ice, I ordered two boats out, and sent them to take some on board. While this was doing, the island, which was not less than half a mile in circuit, and three or four hundred



feet high above the surface of the sea, turned nearly bottom up. Its height, by this circumstance, was neither increased nor diminished, apparently. As soon as we had got on board as much ice as we could dispose of, we hoisted in the boats, and made sail to the S.E., with a gentle breeze at N. by E., attended with showers of snow, and dark gloomy weather. At this time, we had but few ice islands in sight; but the next day, seldom less than twenty or thirty were seen at once.

The wind gradually veered to the east, and, at last, fixing at E. by S., blew a fresh gale. With this, we stood to the south, till eight o'clock in the evening of the 23d; at which time, we were in the latitude  $61^{\circ} 52'$  south, longitude  $95^{\circ} 2'$  east. We now tacked, and spent the night, which was exceedingly stormy, thick, and hazy, with sleet and snow, in making short boards. Surrounded on every side with danger, it was natural for us to wish for daylight: this, when it came, served only to increase our apprehensions, by exhibiting to our view those huge mountains of ice which, in the night, we had passed without seeing.

These unfavourable circumstances, together with dark nights, at this advanced season of the year, quite discouraged me from putting in execution a resolution I had taken of crossing the Antarctic circle once more. Accordingly, at four o'clock in the morning, we stood to the north, with a very hard gale at E.S.E., accompanied with snow and sleet, and a very high sea, from the same point, which made great destruction among the ice islands. This circumstance, far from being of any advantage to us, greatly increased the number of pieces we had to avoid. The large pieces which break from the ice islands are much more dangerous than the islands themselves; the latter are so high out of water, that we can generally see them, unless the weather be very thick and dark, before we are very near them; whereas the others cannot be seen in the night, till they are under the ship's bows. These dangers were, however, now become so familiar to us, that the apprehensions they caused were never of long duration, and were, in some measure, compensated, both by the seasonable supplies of fresh water these ice islands afforded us, (without which we must have been greatly distressed,) and also by their very romantic appearance, greatly heightened by the foaming and dashing of the waves into the curious holes and caverns which are formed in many of them; the whole exhibiting a view which at once filled the mind with admiration and horror, and can only be described by the hand of an able painter. Towards the evening, the gale abated; and in the night we had two or three hours' calm. This was succeeded by a light breeze at west; with which we steered east, under all the sail we could set, meeting with many ice islands.

This night we saw a Port Egmont hen; and next morning, being the 25th, another. We had lately seen but few birds; and those were albatrosses, sheer-waters, and blue peterels. It is remarkable, that we did not see one of either the white, or Antarctic peterels, since we came last amongst the ice. Notwithstanding the wind kept at W. and N.W. all day, we had a very high sea from the east; by which we concluded that no land could be near in that direction. In the evening, being in the latitude  $60^{\circ} 51'$ , longitude  $95^{\circ} 41'$  east, the variation was  $43^{\circ} 6'$  west; and the next morning, being the 26th, having advanced about a degree and a half more to the east, it was  $41^{\circ} 30'$ ; both being determined by several azimuths. We had fair weather all the afternoon; but the wind was unsettled, veering round by the north to the east. With this, we stood to the S.E. and E. till three o'clock in the afternoon; when, being in the latitude of  $61^{\circ} 21'$  south, longitude  $97^{\circ} 7'$ , we tacked, and stood to the northward and eastward, as the wind kept veering to the south. This, in the evening, increased to a strong gale, blew in squalls, attended with snow and sleet, and thick hazy weather, which soon brought us under our close-reefed top-sails.

Between eight in the morning of the 26th and noon next day, we fell in among several islands of ice; from whence such vast quantities had broken, as to cover the sea all round us, and render sailing rather dangerous. However, by noon, we were clear of it all. In the evening the wind abated, and veered to S.W.; but the weather did not clear up till the next morning; when we were able to carry all our sails, and met with but very few islands of ice to impede us. Probably the late gale had destroyed a great number of them. Such a very large hollow sea had continued to accompany the wind, as it veered from E. to S.W., that I was certain no land of considerable extent could lie within 100 or 150 leagues of our situation between these two points.



The mean height of the thermometer at noon, for some days past, was about 35; which is something higher than it usually was, in the same latitude, about a month or five weeks before, consequently the air was something warmer. While the weather was really *warm*, the gales were not only stronger, but more frequent; with almost continual misty, dirty, wet weather. The very animals we had on board felt its effects. A sow having in the morning farrowed nine pigs, every one of them was killed by the cold, before four o'clock in the afternoon, notwithstanding all the care we could take of them. From the same cause, myself, as well as several of my people, had fingers and toes chilblained. Such is the summer weather we enjoyed.

The wind continued unsettled, veering from the south to the west, and blew a fresh gale till the evening. Then it fell little wind; and, soon after, a breeze sprung up at north; which quickly veered to N.E. and N.E. by E., attended with a thick fog, snow, sleet, and rain. With this wind and weather, we kept on to the S.E. till four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, being the 1st of March, when it fell calm; which continued for near twenty-four hours. We were now in the latitude of  $60^{\circ} 36'$  south, longitude  $107^{\circ} 54'$ ; and had a prodigious high swell from the S.W., and, at the same time, another from the S. or S.S.E. The dashing of the one wave against the other, made the ship both roll and pitch exceedingly; but, at length, the N.W. swell prevailed. The calm continued till noon the next day, when it was succeeded by a gentle breeze from S.E., which afterwards increased, and veered to S.W. With this we steered N.E. by E., and E. by N., under all the sail we could set.

In the afternoon of the 3rd, being in latitude  $60^{\circ} 13'$ , longitude  $110^{\circ} 18'$ , the variation was  $39^{\circ} 4'$ , west. But the observations by which this was determined, were none of the best; being obliged to make use of such as we could get, during the very few and short intervals when the sun appeared. A few penguins were seen this day, but not so many islands of ice as usual. The weather was also milder, though very changeable; thermometer from 36 to 38. We continued to have a N.W. swell, although the wind was unsettled, veering to N.E. by the west and north, attended with haze, sleet, and drizzling rain. We prosecuted our course to the east, inclining to the south, till three o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th, when (being in the latitude of  $60^{\circ} 37'$ , longitude  $113^{\circ} 24'$ ) the wind shifting at once to S.W. and S.W. by S., I gave orders to steer E. by N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. But in the night we steered E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. in order to have the wind, which was at S.S.W., more upon the beam; the better to enable us to stand back, in case we fell in with any danger in the dark. For we had not so much time to spare, to allow us to lie-to.

In the morning of the 5th, we steered E. by N. under all the sail we could set, passing one ice island and many small pieces, and at nine o'clock the wind, which of late had not remained long upon any one point, shifted all at once to east, and blew a gentle gale. With this we stood to the north, at which time we were in the latitude of  $60^{\circ} 44'$  south, and longitude  $116^{\circ} 50'$  east. The latitude was determined by the meridian altitude of the sun, which appeared, now and then, for a few minutes, till three in the afternoon. Indeed the sky was, in general, so cloudy, and the weather so thick and hazy, that we had very little benefit of sun or moon; very seldom seeing the face of either the one or the other. And yet, even under these circumstances, the weather for some days past could not be called very cold. It, however, had not the least pretension to be called summer weather, according to my ideas of summer in the northern hemisphere, as far as  $60^{\circ}$  of latitude; which is nearly as far north as I have been.

In the evening we had three islands of ice in sight, all of them large; especially one, which was larger than any we had yet seen. The side opposed to us seemed to be a mile in extent; if so, it could not be less than three in circuit. As we passed it in the night, a continual cracking was heard, occasioned, no doubt, by pieces breaking from it. For, in the morning of the 6th, the sea, for some distance round it, was covered with large and small pieces; and the island itself did not appear so large as it had done the evening before. It could not be less than 100 feet high; yet such was the impetuous force and height of the waves, which were broken against it, by meeting with such a sudden resistance, that they rose considerably higher. In the evening, we were in latitude  $59^{\circ} 58'$  south, longitude  $118^{\circ} 39'$  east. The 7th, the wind was variable in the N.E. and S.E. quarters, attended with snow and sleet,

till the evening. Then the weather became fair, the sky cleared up, and the night was remarkably pleasant, as well as the morning of the next day; which, for the brightness of the sky, and serenity and mildness of the weather, gave place to none we had seen since we left the Cape of Good Hope. It was such as is little known in this sea; and, to make it still more agreeable, we had not one island of ice in sight. The mercury in the thermometer rose to 40. Mr. Wales and the master made some observations of the moon and stars, which satisfied us that, when our latitude was  $59^{\circ} 44'$ , our longitude was  $121^{\circ} 9'$ . At three o'clock in the afternoon, the calm was succeeded by a breeze at S.E. The sky, at the same time, was suddenly obscured, and seemed to presage an approaching storm, which accordingly happened; for, in the evening, the wind shifted to south, blew in squalls, attended with sleet and rain, and a prodigious high sea. Having nothing to take care of but ourselves, we kept two or three points from the wind, and ran at a good rate to the E.N.E. under our two courses, and close-reefed top-sails.

The gale continued till the evening of the 10th; then it abated; the wind shifted to the westward; and we had fair weather, and but little wind, during the night, attended with a sharp frost. The next morning, being in the latitude of  $57^{\circ} 56'$ , longitude  $130^{\circ}$ , the wind shifted to N.E. and blew a fresh gale, with which we stood S.E., having frequent showers of snow and sleet, and a long hollow swell from S.S.E. and S.E. by S. This swell did not go down till two days after the wind which raised it had not only ceased to blow, but had shifted, and blown fresh at opposite points, good part of the time. Whoever attentively considers this, must conclude, that there can be no land to the south, but what must be at a great distance.

Notwithstanding so little was to be expected in that quarter, we continued to stand to the south till three o'clock in the morning of the 12th, when we were stopped by a calm; being then in the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 56'$  south, longitude  $131^{\circ} 26'$  east. After a few hours' calm, a breeze sprang up at west, with which we steered east. The S.S.E. swell having gone down, was succeeded by another from N.W. by W. The weather continued mild all this day, and the mercury rose to  $39\frac{1}{2}$ . In the evening it fell calm, and continued so till three o'clock in the morning of the 13th, when we got the wind at E. and S.E., a fresh breeze, attended with snow and sleet. In the afternoon it became fair, and the wind veered to S. and S.S.W. In the evening, being then in the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 59'$ , longitude  $134^{\circ}$ , the weather was so clear in the horizon, that we could see many leagues round us. We had but little wind during the night, some showers of snow, and a very sharp frost. As the day broke, the wind freshened at S.E. and S.S.E., and soon after, the sky cleared up, and the weather became clear and serene; but the air continued cold, and the mercury in the thermometer rose only one degree above the freezing point. The clear weather gave Mr. Wales an opportunity to get some observations of the sun and moon. Their results reduced to noon, when the latitude was  $58^{\circ} 22'$  south, gave us  $136^{\circ} 22'$  east longitude. Mr. Kendal's watch, at the same time, gave  $134^{\circ} 42'$ ; and that of Mr. Arnold, the same. This was the first and only time they pointed out the same longitude, since we left England. The greatest difference, however, between them, since we left the Cape, had not much exceeded two degrees.

The moderate, and I might almost say, the pleasant weather we had, at times, for the last two or three days, made me wish I had been a few degrees of latitude farther south, and even tempted me to incline our course that way. But we soon had weather which convinced us that we were full far enough; and that the time was approaching, when these seas were not to be navigated without enduring intense cold; which, by the bye, we were pretty well used to. In the afternoon, the serenity of the sky was presently obscured; the wind veered round by the S.W. to W., and blew in hard squalls, attended with thick and heavy showers of hail and snow, which continually covered our deck, sails, and rigging, till five o'clock in the evening of the 15th. At this time the wind abated and shifted to S.E.; the sky cleared up; and the evening was so serene and clear, that we could see many leagues round us; the horizon being the only boundary to our sight.

We were now in the latitude of  $59^{\circ} 17'$  south, longitude  $140^{\circ} 12'$  east, and had such a large hollow swell from W.S.W. as assured us that we had left no land behind us in that direction. I was also well assured that no land lay to the south on this side  $60^{\circ}$  of latitude.



We had a smart frost during the night, which was curiously illuminated with the southern lights.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the 16th, (which was as soon as the sun appeared,) in the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 51'$  south, our longitude was  $143^{\circ} 10'$  east. This good weather was, as usual, of short duration. In the afternoon of this day, we had again thick snow showers; but at intervals it was tolerably clear; and in the evening, being in the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 58'$  south, longitude  $144^{\circ} 37'$  east, I found the variation, by several azimuths, to be  $31^{\circ}$  east. I was not a little pleased with being able to determine with so much precision this point of the line, in which the compass has no variation. For I look upon half a degree as next to nothing; so that the intersection of the latitude and longitude just mentioned may be reckoned the point, without any sensible error. At any rate, the line can only pass a very small matter west of it.

I continued to steer to the east, inclining to the south, with a fresh gale at S.W. till five o'clock the next morning, when, being in the latitude of  $59^{\circ} 7'$  S., longitude  $146^{\circ} 53'$  E., I bore away N.E. and at noon north, having come to a resolution to quit the high southern latitudes, and to proceed to New Zealand, to look for the Adventure, and to refresh my people. I had also some thoughts, and even a desire, to visit the east coast of Van Diemen's Land, in order to satisfy myself if it joined the coast of New South Wales. In the night of the 17th, the wind shifted to N.W. and blew in squalls, attended with thick hazy weather and rain. This continued all the 18th, in the evening of which day, being in the latitude of  $56^{\circ} 15'$  S., longitude  $150^{\circ}$ , the sky cleared up, and we found the variation by several azimuths to be  $13^{\circ} 30'$  E. Soon after we hauled up with the log a piece of rock-weed, which was in a state of decay, and covered with barnacles. In the night the southern lights were very bright.

The next morning we saw a seal, and towards noon some penguins, and more rock-weed, being at this time in the latitude of  $55^{\circ} 1'$ , longitude  $152^{\circ} 1'$  E. In the latitude of  $54^{\circ} 4'$ , we also saw a Port-Egmont hen, and some weed. Navigators have generally looked upon all these to be certain signs of the vicinity of land; I cannot, however, support this opinion. At this time we knew of no land, nor is it even probable that there is any, nearer than New Holland, or Van Diemen's Land, from which we were distant 260 leagues. We had, at the same time, several porpoises playing about us; into one of which Mr. Cooper struck a harpoon; but, as the ship was running seven knots, it broke its hold, after towing it some minutes, and before we could deaden the ship's way.

As the wind, which continued between the north and the west, would not permit me to touch at Van Diemen's Land, I shaped my course to New Zealand; and, being under no apprehensions of meeting with any danger, I was not backward in carrying sail, as well by night as day, having the advantage of a very strong gale, which was attended with hazy rainy weather, and a very large swell from the W. and W.S.W. We continued to meet with, now and then, a seal, Port-Egmont hens, and sea-weed. On the morning of the 22d, the wind shifted to south, and brought with it fair weather. At noon, we found ourselves in the latitude of  $49^{\circ} 55'$ , longitude  $159^{\circ} 28'$ , having a very large swell out of the S.W. For the three days past the mercury in the thermometer had risen to 46, and the weather was quite mild. Seven or eight degrees of latitude had made a surprising difference in the temperature of the air, which we felt with an agreeable satisfaction.

We continued to advance to the N.E. at a good rate, having a brisk gale between the south and east; meeting with seals, Port-Egmont hens, egg-birds, sea-weed, &c. and having constantly a very large swell from the S.W. At ten o'clock in the morning of the 25th, the land of New Zealand was seen from the mast-head; and, at noon, from the deck; extending from N.E. by E. to east, distant ten leagues. As I intended to put into Dusky Bay, or any other port I could find, on the southern part of TAVAI POENAMMOO, we steered in for the land, under all the sail we could carry, having the advantage of a fresh gale at west, and tolerably clear weather. This last was not of long duration; for, at half an hour after four o'clock, the land, which was not above four miles distant, was in a manner wholly obscured in a thick haze. At this time, we were before the entrance of a bay, which I had mistaken for Dusky Bay, being deceived by some islands that lay in the mouth of it.

Fearing to run, in thick weather, into a place to which we were all strangers, and seeing some breakers and broken ground a-head, I tacked in twenty-five fathoms water, and stood out to sea with the wind at N.W. This bay lies on the S.E. side of Cape West, and may be known by a white cliff on one of the isles which lies in the entrance of the bay. This part of the coast I did not see but at a great distance, in my former voyage; and we now saw it under so many disadvantageous circumstances, that the less I say about it, the fewer mistakes I shall make. We stood out to sea, under close-reefed top-sails and courses, till eleven o'clock at night; when we wore and stood to the northward, having a very high and irregular sea. At five o'clock next morning, the gale abated, and we bore up for the land; at eight o'clock, the West Cape bore E. by N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. for which we steered, and entered Dusky Bay about noon. In the entrance of it, we found 44 fathoms water, a sandy bottom, the West Cape bearing S.S.E. and Five Fingers Point, or the north point of the bay, north. Here we had a great swell rolling in from S.W. The depth of water decreased to 40 fathoms; afterwards we had no ground with 60. We were, however, too far advanced to return; and therefore stood on, not doubting but that we should find anchorage. For in this bay we were all strangers; in my former voyage, having done no more than discover, and name it.

After running about two leagues up the bay, and passing several of the isles which lay in it, I brought to, and hoisted out two boats; one of which I sent away with an officer round a point on the larboard hand, to look for anchorage. This he found, and signified the same by signal. We then followed with the ship, and anchored in 50 fathoms water, so near the shore as to reach it with a hawser. This was on Friday the 26th of March, at three in the afternoon, after having been 117 days at sea; in which time we had sailed 3660 leagues, without having once sight of land.

After such a long continuance at sea, in a high southern latitude, it is but reasonable to think that many of my people must be ill of the scurvy. The contrary, however, happened. Mention hath already been made of sweet wort being given to such as were scorbutic. This had so far the desired effect, that we had only one man on board that could be called very ill of this disease; occasioned, chiefly, by a bad habit of body, and a complication of other disorders. We did not attribute the general good state of health in the crew wholly to the sweet wort, but to the frequent airing and sweetening the ship by fires, &c. We must also allow portable broth, and sour krout to have had some share in it. This last can never be enough recommended.

My first care, after the ship was moored, was to send a boat and people a-fishing; in the mean time, some of the gentlemen killed a seal (out of many that were upon a rock), which made us a fresh meal.

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#### CHAPTER IV.—TRANSACTIONS IN DUSKY BAY, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL INTERVIEWS WITH THE INHABITANTS.

As I did not like the place we had anchored in, I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill over to the S.E. side of the bay, to search for a better; and I went myself to the other side, for the same purpose, where I met with an exceedingly snug harbour, but nothing else worthy of notice. Mr. Pickersgill reported, upon his return, that he had found a good harbour, with every conveniency. As I liked the situation of this better than the other of my own finding, I determined to go there in the morning. The fishing-boat was very successful; returning with fish sufficient for all hands for supper, and, in a few hours in the morning, caught as many as served for dinner. This gave us certain hopes of being plentifully supplied with this article. Nor did the shores and woods appear less destitute of wild-fowl; so that we hoped to enjoy with ease, what in our situation might be called the luxuries of life. This determined me to stay some time in this bay, in order to examine it thoroughly; as no one had ever landed before, on any of the southern parts of this country.

On the 27th, at nine o'clock in the morning, we got under sail with a light breeze at S.W. and working over to Pickersgill Harbour, entered it by a channel scarcely twice the width of the ship; and, in a small creek, moored head and stern, so near the shore as to



reach it with a brow or stage, which nature had in a manner prepared for us in a large tree, whose end or top reached our gunwale. Wood, for fuel and other purposes, was here so convenient, that our yards were locked in the branches of the trees; and, about 100 yards from our stern, was a fine stream of fresh water. Thus situated, we began to clear places in the woods, in order to set up the astronomer's observatory, the forge to repair our iron work, tents for the sail-makers and coopers to repair the sails and casks in; to land our empty casks, to fill water, and to cut down wood for fuel; all of which were absolutely necessary occupations. We also began to brew beer from the branches or leaves of a tree, which much resembles the American black spruce. From the knowledge I had of this tree, and the similarity it bore to the spruce, I judged that with the addition of inspissated juice of wort and molasses, it would make a very wholesome beer, and supply the want of vegetables, which this place did not afford; and the event proved that I was not mistaken.

Now I have mentioned the inspissated juice of wort, it will not be amiss, in this place, to inform the reader that I had made several trials of it since I left the Cape of Good Hope, and found it to answer in a cold climate, beyond all expectation. The juice, diluted in warm water, in the proportion of twelve parts water to one part juice, made a very good and well-tasted small beer. Some juice which I had of Mr. Pelham's own preparing, would bear sixteen parts water. By making use of warm water, (which I think ought always to be done,) and keeping it in a warm place, if the weather be cold, no difficulty will be found in fermenting it. A little grounds of either small or strong beer will answer as well as yeast.

The few sheep and goats we had left were not likely to fare quite so well as ourselves; there being no grass here, but what was coarse and harsh. It was, however, not so bad, but that we expected they would devour it with great greediness, and were the more surprised to find that they would not taste it; nor did they seem over-fond of the leaves of more tender plants. Upon examination, we found their teeth loose; and that many of them had every other symptom of an inveterate sea-scurvy. Out of four ewes and two rams which I brought from the Cape, with an intent to put ashore in this country, I had only been able to preserve one of each; and even these were in so bad a state, that it was doubtful if they could recover, notwithstanding all the care possible had been taken of them.

Some of the officers, on the 28th, went up the bay in a small boat on a shooting party; but discovering inhabitants, they returned before noon, to acquaint me therewith; for hitherto we had not seen the least vestige of any. They had but just got aboard, when a canoe appeared off a point about a mile from us, and soon after returned behind the point out of sight, probably owing to a shower of rain which then fell: for it was no sooner over, than the canoe again appeared, and came within musket-shot of the ship. There were in it seven or eight people. They remained looking at us for some time, and then returned; all the signs of friendship we could make, did not prevail on them to come nearer. After dinner I took two boats and went in search of them, in the cove where they were first seen, accompanied by several of the officers and gentlemen. We found the canoe (at least a canoe) hauled upon the shore near to two small huts, where were several fire-places, some fishing-nets, a few fish lying on the shore, and some in the canoe. But we saw no people; they, probably, had retired into the woods. After a short stay, and leaving in the canoe some medals, looking-glasses, beads, &c., we embarked and rowed to the head of the cove, where we found nothing remarkable. In returning back we put ashore at the same place as before; but still saw no people. However, they could not be far off, as we smelled the smoke of fire, though we did not see it. But I did not care to search farther, or to force an interview which they seemed to avoid; well knowing that the way to obtain this, was to leave the time and place to themselves. It did not appear that anything I had left had been touched; however, I now added a hatchet, and with the night returned on board. On the 29th, were showers till the afternoon; when a party of the officers made an excursion up the bay; and Mr. Forster and his party were out botanising. Both parties returned in the evening without meeting with anything worthy of notice; and the two following days, every one was confined to the ship on account of rainy stormy weather.



In the afternoon of the 1st of April, accompanied by several of the gentlemen, I went to see if any of the articles I had left for the Indians were taken away. We found every thing remaining in the canoe; nor did it appear that anybody had been there since. After shooting some birds, one of which was a duck, with a blue-grey plumage and soft bill, we, in the evening, returned on board. The 2nd, being a pleasant morning, Lieutenants Clerke and Edgcomb, and the two Mr. Forsters, went in a boat up the bay to search for the productions of nature; and myself, Lieutenant Pickersgill, and Mr. Hodges, went to take a view of the N.W. side. In our way, we touched at the seal rock, and killed three seals, one of which afforded us much sport. After passing several isles, we at length came to the most northern and western arms of the bay; the same as is formed by the land of Five Fingers Point. In the bottom of this arm or cove we found many ducks, wood-hens, and other wild fowl, some of which we killed, and returned on board at ten o'clock in the evening; where the other party had arrived several hours before us, after having had but indifferent sport. They took with them a black dog we had got at the Cape, who, at the first musket they fired, ran into the woods, from whence he would not return. The three following days were rainy, so that no excursions were made.

Early in the morning on the 6th, a shooting party, made up of the officers, went to Goose Cove, the place where I was the 2nd; and myself, accompanied by the two Mr. Forsters and Mr. Hodges, set out to continue the survey of the bay. My attention was directed to the north side, where I discovered a fine capacious cove, in the bottom of which is a fresh water river; on the west side several beautiful small cascades; and the shores are so steep that a ship might lie near enough to convey the water into her by a hose. In this cove we shot fourteen ducks, beside other birds, which occasioned my calling it Duck Cove.

As we returned in the evening, we had a short interview with three of the natives, one man and two women. They were the first that discovered themselves on the N.E. point of Indian Island, named so on this occasion. We should have passed without seeing them, had not the man hallooed to us. He stood with his club in his hand upon the point of a rock, and behind him, at the skirts of the wood, stood the two women, with each of them a spear. The man could not help discovering great signs of fear when we approached the rock with our boat. He, however, stood firm; nor did he move to take up some things we threw him ashore. At length I landed, went up, and embraced him; and presented him with such articles as I had about me, which at once dissipated his fears. Presently after, we were joined by the two women, the gentlemen that were with me, and some of the seamen. After this, we spent about half an hour in chit-chat, little understood on either side, in which the youngest of the two women bore by far the greatest share. This occasioned one of the seamen to say, that women did not want tongue in any part of the world. We presented them with fish and fowl which we had in our boat; but these they threw into the boat again, giving us to understand that such things they wanted not. Night approaching, obliged us to take leave of them; when the youngest of the two women, whose volubility of tongue exceeded every thing I ever met with, gave us a dance; but the man viewed us with great attention. Some hours after we got on board, the other party returned, having had but indifferent sport.

Next morning, I made the natives another visit, accompanied by Mr. Forster and Mr. Hodges, carrying with me various articles which I presented them with, and which they received with a great deal of indifference, except hatchets and spike-nails; these they most esteemed. This interview was at the same place as last night; and now we saw the whole family. It consisted of the man, his two wives (as we supposed), the young woman before mentioned, a boy about fourteen years old, and three small children, the youngest of which was at the breast. They were all well-looking, except one woman, who had a large wen on her upper lip, which made her look disagreeable; and she seemed, on that account, to be in a great measure neglected by the man. They conducted us to their habitation, which was but a little way within the skirts of the wood, and consisted of two mean huts made of the bark of trees. Their canoe, which was a small double one, just large enough to transport the whole family from place to place, lay in a small creek near the huts. During our stay, Mr. Hodges made drawings of most of them: this occasioned them to give him the name of



*Tee-toe*, which word, we supposed, signifies marking or painting. When we took leave, the chief presented me with a piece of cloth or garment of their own manufacturing, and some other trifles. I at first thought it was meant as a return for the presents I had made him; but he soon undeceived me, by expressing a desire for one of our boat cloaks. I took the hint, and ordered one to be made for him of red baize, as soon as I got aboard; where rainy weather detained me the following day.

The 9th, being fair weather, we paid the natives another visit, and made known our approach by hallooing to them; but they neither answered us, nor met us at the shore as usual. The reason of this we soon saw; for we found them at their habitations, all dressed and dressing, in their very best, with their hair combed and oiled, tied up upon the crowns of their heads, and stuck with white feathers. Some wore a fillet of feathers round their heads; and all of them had bunches of white feathers stuck in their ears: thus dressed, and all standing, they received us with great courtesy. I presented the chief with the cloak I had got made for him, with which he seemed so well pleased, that he took his *pattapattou* from his girdle, and gave it me. After a short stay, we took leave; and having spent the remainder of the day in continuing my survey of the bay, with the night returned on board.

Very heavy rains falling on the two following days, no work was done; but the 12th proved clear and serene, and afforded us an opportunity to dry our sails and linen, two things very much wanted, not having had fair weather enough for this purpose since we put into this bay. Mr. Forster and his party also profited by the day in botanising.

About ten o'clock, the family of the natives paid us a visit. Seeing that they approached the ship with great caution, I met them in a boat, which I quitted when I got to them, and went into their canoe. Yet, after all, I could not prevail on them to put alongside the ship, and at last was obliged to leave them to follow their own inclination. At length they put ashore in a little creek hard by us, and afterwards came and sat down on the shore abreast of the ship, near enough to speak with us. I now caused the bagpipes and fife to play, and the drum to beat. The two first they did not regard, but the latter caused some little attention in them; nothing, however, could induce them to come on board. But they entered, with great familiarity, into conversation (little understood) with such of the officers and seamen as went to them, paying much greater regard to some than to others, and these we had reason to believe they took for women. To one man, in particular, the young woman showed an extraordinary fondness until she discovered his sex, after which she would not suffer him to come near her. Whether it was that she before took him for one of her own sex; or that the man, in order to discover himself, had taken some liberties with her which she thus resented, I know not.

In the afternoon, I took Mr. Hodges to a large cascade, which falls from a high mountain on the south side of the bay, about a league above the place where we lay. He took a drawing of it on paper, and afterwards painted it in oil-colours; which exhibits, at once, a better description of it than any I can give. Huge heaps of stones lay at the foot of this cascade, which had been broken off and brought by the stream from the adjacent mountains. These stones were of different sorts; none, however, according to Mr. Forster's opinion (who I believe to be a judge), contains either minerals or metals. Nevertheless, I brought away specimens of every sort, as the whole country, that is, the rocky part of it, seemed to consist of those stones and no other. This cascade is at the east point of a cove, lying in S.W. two miles, which I named Cascade Cove. In it is good anchorage and other necessities. At the entrance, lies an island, on each side of which is a passage; that on the east side is much the widest. A little above the isle, and near the S.E. shore, are two rocks, which are covered at high water. It was in this cove we first saw the natives.

When I returned aboard in the evening I found our friends the natives had taken up their quarters about 100 yards from our watering-place; a very great mark of the confidence they placed in us. This evening a shooting party of the officers went over to the north side of the bay, having with them a small cutter to convey them from place to place. Next morning, accompanied by Mr. Forster, I went in the pinnace to survey the isles and rocks which lie in the mouth of the bay. I began first with those which lie on the S.E.

side of Anchor Isle. I found here a very snug cove sheltered from all winds, which we called Luncheon Cove, because here we dined on cray-fish, on the side of a pleasant brook, shaded by the trees from both wind and sun. After dinner we proceeded, by rowing, out to the outermost isles, where we saw many seals, fourteen of which we killed and brought away with us; and might have got many more, would the surf have permitted us to land with safety on all the rocks. The next morning, I went out again to continue the survey, accompanied by Mr. Forster. I intended to have landed again on the seal isles; but there ran such a high sea that I could not come near them. With some difficulty we rowed out to sea, and round the S.W. point of Anchor Isle. It happened very fortunately that chance directed me to take this course, in which we found the sportsmen's boat adrift, and laid hold of her the very moment she would have been dashed against the rocks. I was not long at a loss to guess how she came there, nor was I under any apprehensions for the gentlemen that had been in her; and, after refreshing ourselves with such as we had to eat and drink, and securing the boat in a small creek, we proceeded to the place where we supposed them to be. This we reached about seven or eight o'clock in the evening, and found them upon a small isle in Goose Cove, where, as it was low water, we could not come with our boat until the return of the tide. As this did not happen till three o'clock in the morning, we landed on a naked beach, not knowing where to find a better place, and, after some time, having got a fire and broiled some fish, we made a hearty supper, having for sauce a good appetite. This done, we lay down to sleep, having a stony beach for a bed, and the canopy of heaven for a covering. At length the tide permitted us to take off the sportsmen; and with them we embarked, and proceeded for the place where we had left their boat, which we soon reached, having a fresh breeze of wind in our favour, attended with rain. When we came to the creek, which was on the N.W. side of Anchor Isle, we found there an immense number of blue peterels, some on the wing, others in the woods, in holes in the ground, under the roots of trees, and in the crevices of rocks, where there was no getting them, and where we supposed their young were deposited. As not one was to be seen in the day, the old ones were probably at that time out at sea searching for food, which in the evening they bring to their young. The noise they made was like the croaking of many frogs. They were, I believe, of the broad-bill kind, which are not so commonly seen at sea as the others. Here, however, they are in great numbers; and flying much about in the night, some of our gentlemen at first took them for bats. After restoring the sportsmen to their boat, we all proceeded for the ship, which we reached by seven o'clock in the morning, not a little fatigued with our expedition. I now learned that our friends the natives returned to their habitation at night, probably foreseeing that rain was at hand; which sort of weather continued the whole of this day.

On the morning of the 15th, the weather having cleared up and become fair, I set out with two boats to continue the survey of the N.W. side of the bay, accompanied by the two Mr. Forsters and several of the officers, whom I detached in one boat to Goose Cove, where we intended to lodge the night, while I proceeded in the other, examining the harbours and isles which lay in my way. In the doing of this, I picked up about a score of wild-fowl, and caught fish sufficient to serve the whole party; and, reaching the place of rendezvous a little before dark, I found all the gentlemen out duck-shooting. They, however, soon returned, not overloaded with game. By this time the cooks had done their parts, in which little art was required; and after a hearty repast on what the day had produced, we lay down to rest; but took care to rise early the next morning, in order to have the other bout among the ducks, before we left the cove.

Accordingly, at daylight, we prepared for the attack. Those who had reconnoitred the place before, chose their stations accordingly; whilst myself and another remained in the boat, and rowed to the head of the cove to start the game; which we did so effectually, that, out of some scores of ducks, we only detained one to ourselves, sending all the rest down to those stationed below. After this, I landed at the head of the cove and walked across the narrow isthmus that disjoins it from the sea, or rather from another cove which runs in from the sea about one mile, and lies open to the north winds. It, however, had all the appearance of a good harbour and safe anchorage. At the head is a fine sandy beach,



where I found an immense number of wood-hens, and brought away ten couple of them, which recompensed me for the trouble of crossing the isthmus, through the wet woods, up to the middle in water. About nine o'clock, we all got collected together, when the success of every one was known; which was by no means answerable to our expectations. The morning, indeed, was very unfavourable for shooting, being rainy the most of the time we were out. After breakfast, we set out on our return to the ship, which we reached by seven o'clock in the evening; with about seven dozen of wild-fowl, and two seals; the most of them shot while I was rowing about, exploring the harbours and coves which I found in my way; every place affording something; especially to us, to whom nothing came amiss.

It rained all the 17th; but the 18th bringing fair and clear weather, in the evening, our friends the natives before-mentioned paid us another visit; and the next morning, the chief and his daughter were induced to come on board, while the others went out in the canoe fishing. Before they came on board, I showed them our goats and sheep that were on shore; which they viewed, for a moment, with a kind of stupid insensibility. After this, I conducted them to the brow; but before the chief set his foot upon it to come into the ship, he took a small green branch in his hand, with which he struck the ship's side several times, repeating a speech or prayer. When this was over, he threw the branch into the main chains, and came on board. This custom and manner of making peace, as it were, is practised by all the nations in the South Seas that I have seen. I took them both down into the cabin, where we were to breakfast. They sat at table with us, but would not taste any of our victuals. The chief wanted to know where we slept, and, indeed, to pry into every corner of the cabin, every part of which he viewed with some surprise. But it was not possible to fix his attention to any one thing a single moment. The works of art appeared to him in the same light as those of nature, and were as far removed beyond his comprehension. What seemed to strike them most was the number and strength of our decks, and other parts of the ship. The chief, before he came aboard, presented me with a piece of cloth and a green talc hatchet; to Mr. Forster he also gave a piece of cloth; and the girl gave another to Mr. Hodges. This custom of making presents, before they receive any, is common with the natives of the South Sea Isles; but I never saw it practised in New Zealand before. Of all the various articles I gave my guest, hatchets and spike-nails were the most valuable in his eyes. These he never would suffer to go out of his hands after he had once laid hold of them; whereas many other articles he would lay carelessly down anywhere, and at last leave them behind him. As soon as I could get quit of them, they were conducted into the gun-room, where I left them, and set out with two boats to examine the head of the bay; myself in one, accompanied by Mr. Forster and Mr. Hodges; and Lieutenant Cooper in the other. We proceeded up the south-side; and, without meeting with anything remarkable, got to the head of the bay by sunset; where we took up our lodging for the night at the first place we could land upon; for the flats hindered us from getting quite to the head.

At daylight in the morning, I took two men in the small boat, and, with Mr. Forster, went to take a view of the flat land at the head of the bay, near to where we spent the night. We landed on one side, and ordered the boat to meet us on the other side; but had not been long on shore before we saw some ducks, which by their creeping through the bushes, we got a shot at, and killed one. The moment we had fired, the natives, whom we had not discovered before, set up a most hideous noise in two or three places close by us. We hallooed in our turn; and, at the same time, retired to our boat, which was full half-a-mile off. The natives kept up their clamouring noise, but did not follow us. Indeed we found, afterwards, that they could not, because of a branch of the river between us and them; nor did we find their numbers answerable to the noise they made. As soon as we got to our boat, and found that there was a river that would admit us, I rowed in, and was soon after joined by Mr. Cooper, in the other boat. With this reinforcement I proceeded up the river, shooting wild ducks, of which there were great numbers; as we went along, now and then, hearing the natives in the woods. At length two appeared on the banks of the river, a man and a woman; and the latter kept waving something white in her hand, as a sign of friendship. Mr. Cooper being near them, I called to him to land, as I wanted to take the



advantage of the tide to get as high up as possible, which did not much exceed half-a-mile, when I was stopped by the strength of the stream and great stones which lay in the bed of the river.

On my return, I found that, as Mr. Cooper did not land when the natives expected him, they had retired into the woods: but two others now appeared on the opposite bank. I endeavoured to have an interview with them; but this I could not effect. For, as I approached the shore they always retired farther into the woods, which were so thick as to cover them from our sight. The falling tide obliged me to retire out of the river, to the place where we had spent the night. There we breakfasted, and afterwards embarked, in order to return on board; but, just as we were going, we saw two men, on the opposite shore, hallooing to us, which induced me to row over to them. I landed, with two others, unarmed; the two natives standing about 100 yards from the water side, with each a spear in his hand. When we three advanced, they retired; but stood when I advanced alone. It was some little time before I could prevail upon them to lay down their spears: this, at last, one of them did, and met me with a grass plant in his hand, one end of which he gave me to hold, while he held the other: standing in this manner, he began a speech, not one word of which I understood; and made some long pauses; waiting, as I thought, for me to answer; for when I spoke he proceeded. As soon as this ceremony was over, which was not long, we saluted each other. He then took his hahou, or coat, from off his own back, and put it upon mine; after which, peace seemed firmly established. More people joining us did not in the least alarm them; on the contrary, they saluted every one as he came up.

I gave to each a hatchet and a knife, having nothing else with me: perhaps these were the most valuable things I could give them; at least they were the most useful. They wanted us to go to their habitation, telling us they would give us something to eat; and I was sorry that the tide, and other circumstances, would not permit me to accept of their invitation. More people were seen in the skirts of the wood, but none of them joined us; probably these were their wives and children. When we took leave they followed us to our boat, and seeing the muskets lying across the stern, they made signs for them to be taken away; which being done, they came alongside, and assisted us to launch her. At this time, it was necessary for us to look well after them, for they wanted to take away everything they could lay their hands upon, except the muskets; these they took care not to touch, being taught, by the slaughter they had seen us make among the wild-fowl, to look upon them as instruments of death.

We saw no canoes or other boats with them; two or three logs of wood tied together served the same purpose; and were indeed sufficient for the navigation of the river, on the banks of which they lived. There fish and fowl were in such plenty, that they had no occasion to go far for food; and they have but few neighbours to disturb them. The whole number, at this place, I believe, does not exceed three families. It was noon when we took leave of these two men, and proceeded down the north side of the bay; which I explored in my way, and the isles that lie in the middle; night, however, overtook us, and obliged me to leave one arm unlooked into, and hasten to the ship, which we reached by eight o'clock. I then learnt that the man and his daughter staid on board the day before till noon; and that, having understood from our people what things were left in Cascade Cove, the place where they were first seen, he sent and took them away. He and his family remained near us till to-day, when they all went away, and we saw them no more; which was the more extraordinary, as he never left us empty-handed. From one or another he did not get less than nine or ten hatchets, three or four times that number of large spike-nails, besides many other articles. So far as these things may be counted riches in New Zealand, he exceeds every man there; being at this time possessed of more hatchets and axes than are in the whole country besides.

In the afternoon of the 21st, I went with a party out to the isles on seal-hunting. The surf ran so high that we could only land in one place, where we killed ten. These animals served us for three purposes; the skins we made use of for our rigging; the fat gave oil for our lamps; and the flesh we ate. Their harslets are equal to that of a hog, and the flesh of some of them eats little inferior to beef-steaks. The following day nothing worthy of notice



was done. In the morning of the 23rd, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Gilbert, and two others, went to the Cascade Cove, in order to ascend one of the mountains, the summit of which they reached by two o'clock in the afternoon, as we could see by the fire they made. In the evening they returned on board, and reported, that inland nothing was to be seen but barren mountains, with huge craggy precipices, disjoined by valleys, or rather chasms, frightful to behold. On the S.E. side of Cape West, four miles out at sea, they discovered a ridge of rocks, on which the waves broke very high. I believe these rocks to be the same we saw the evening we first fell in with the land.

Having five geese left out of those we brought from the Cape of Good Hope, I went with them next morning to Goose Cove (named so on this account), where I left them. I chose this place for two reasons; first, here are no inhabitants to disturb them; and secondly, here being the most food. I make no doubt but that they will breed, and may in time spread over the whole country, and fully answer my intention in leaving them. We spent the day shooting in and about the Cove, and returned aboard about ten o'clock in the evening. One of the party shot a white hern, which agreed exactly with Mr. Pennant's description, in his *British Zoology*, of the white hems that either now are, or were formerly, in England.

The 25th was the eighth fair day we had had successively; a circumstance, I believe, very uncommon in this place, especially at this season of the year. This fair weather gave us an opportunity to complete our wood and water, to overhaul the rigging, calk the ship, and put her in a condition for sea. Fair weather was, however, now at an end; for it began to rain this evening, and continued, without intermission, till noon the next day, when we cast off the shore-fast, hove the ship out of the creek to her anchor, and steadied her with a hawser to the shore. On the 27th hazy weather, with showers of rain. In the morning I set out, accompanied by Mr. Pickersgill and the two Mr. Forsters, to explore the arm or inlet I discovered the day I returned from the head of the bay. After rowing about two leagues up it, or rather down, I found it to communicate with the sea, and to afford a better outlet for ships bound to the north, than the one I came in by. After making this discovery, and refreshing ourselves on broiled fish and wild-fowl, we set out for the ship, and got on board at eleven o'clock at night; leaving two arms we had discovered, and which run in the east, unexplored. In this expedition we shot forty-four birds, sea-pies, ducks, &c. without going one foot out of our way, or causing any other delay than picking them up.

Having got the tents and every other article on board on the 28th, we only now waited for a wind to carry us out of the harbour, and through New Passage, the way I proposed to go to sea. Everything being removed from the shore, I set fire to the top-wood, &c., in order to dry a piece of the ground we had occupied, which, next morning, I dug up, and sowed with several sorts of garden seeds. The soil was such as did not promise success to the planter; it was, however, the best we could find. At two o'clock in the afternoon, we weighed with a light breeze, at S.W., and stood up the bay for the new passage. Soon after we had got through, between the east end of Indian Island and the west end of Long Island, it fell calm, which obliged us to anchor in forty-three fathom water, under the north side of the latter island. In the morning of the 30th we weighed again with a light breeze at west, which, together with all our boats a-head towing, was hardly sufficient to stem the current; for, after struggling till six o'clock in the evening, and not getting more than five miles from our last anchoring-place, we anchored under the north side of Long Island, not more than one hundred yards from the shore, to which we fastened a hawser.

At daylight next morning, May 1st, we got again under sail, and attempted to work to windward, having a light breeze down the bay. At first we gained ground; but at last the breeze died away; when we soon lost more than we had got, and were obliged to bear up for a cove on the north side of Long Island, where we anchored in nineteen fathom water, a muddy bottom; in this cove we found two huts not long since inhabited; and near them two very large fire-places or ovens, such as they have in the Society Isles. In this cove we were detained by calms, attended with continual rain, till the 4th, in the afternoon, when, with the assistance of a small breeze at S.W., we got the length of the reach or passage leading to sea. The breeze then left us, and we anchored under the east point, before a sandy beach, in thirty fathoms' water; but this anchoring place hath nothing to recommend

it like the one we came from, which hath everything in its favour. In the night we had some very heavy squalls of wind, attended with rain, hail, and snow, and some thunder. Daylight exhibited to our view all the hills and mountains covered with snow. At two o'clock in the afternoon, a light breeze sprung up at S.S.W., which, with the help of our boats, carried us down the passage to our intended anchoring-place, where, at eight o'clock, we anchored in sixteen fathoms' water, and moored, with a hawser to the shore, under the first point on the starboard side, as you come in from sea; from which we were covered by the point.

In the morning of the 6th, I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill, accompanied by the two Mr. Forsters, to explore the second arm which turns into the east, myself being confined on board by a cold. At the same time, I had everything got up from between decks, the decks well cleaned and well aired with fires; a thing that ought never to be long neglected in wet moist weather. The fair weather which had continued all this day, was succeeded in the night by a storm from N.W., which blew in hard squalls, attended with rain, and obliged us to strike top-gallant and lower yards, and to carry out another hawser to the shore. The bad weather continued the whole day and the succeeding night, after which it fell calm with fair weather.

At seven in the morning, on the 8th, Mr. Pickersgill returned, together with his companions, in no very good plight; having been at the head of the arm he was sent to explore, which he judged to extend into the eastward about eight miles; in it is a good anchoring-place, wood, fresh water, wild fowl, and fish. At nine o'clock I set out to explore the other inlet, or the one next the sea; and ordered Mr. Gilbert, the master, to go and examine the passage out to sea, while those on board were getting everything in readiness to depart. I proceeded up the inlet till five o'clock in the afternoon, when bad weather obliged me to return, before I had seen the end of it. As this inlet lay nearly parallel with the sea-coast, I was of opinion that it might communicate with Doubtful Harbour, or some other inlet to the northward; appearances were, however, against this opinion, and the bad weather hindered me from determining the point, although a few hours would have done it: I was about ten miles up, and thought I saw the end of it: I found on the north side three coves, in which, as also on the south side, between the main and the isles that lie about four miles up the inlet, is good anchorage, wood, water, and what else can be expected, such as fish and wild-fowl; of the latter we killed, in this excursion, three dozen. After a very hard row, against both wind and rain, we got on board about nine o'clock at night, without a dry thread on our backs.

This bad weather continued no longer than till the next morning, when it became fair, and the sky cleared up; but as we had not wind to carry us to sea, we made up two shooting parties; myself, accompanied by the two Mr. Forsters and some others, went to the arm I was in the day before; and the other party to the coves and isles Mr. Gilbert had discovered when he was out, and where he found many wild-fowl. We had a pleasant day, and the evening brought us all on board; myself and party met with good sport; but the other party found little. All the forenoon of the 10th, we had strong gales from the west, attended with heavy showers of rain, and blowing in such flurries over high land, as made it unsafe for us to get under sail. The afternoon was more moderate, and became fair; when myself, Mr. Cooper, and some others, went out in the boats to the rocks, which lie at this entrance of the bay, to kill seals: the weather was rather unfavourable for this sport, and the sea ran high, so as to make landing difficult; we, however, killed ten, but could only wait to bring away five, with which we returned on board.

In the morning of the 11th, while we were getting under sail, I sent a boat for the other five seals. At nine o'clock we weighed, with a light breeze at S.E., and stood out to sea, taking up the boat in our way. It was noon before we got clear of the land; at which time we observed in  $45^{\circ} 34' 30''$  south; the entrance of the bay bore S.E. by E. and Break-sea Isles (the outermost isles that lie at the south point of the entrance of the bay) bore S.S.E. distant three miles; the southernmost point, or that of Five Fingers' Point, bore south  $42^{\circ}$  west; and the northernmost land N.N.E.; in this situation we had a prodigious swell from S.W., which broke with great violence on all the shores that were exposed to it.



CHAPTER V.—DIRECTIONS FOR SAILING IN AND OUT OF DUSKY BAY, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE ADJACENT COUNTRY, ITS PRODUCE AND INHABITANTS. — ASTRONOMICAL AND NAUTICAL OBSERVATIONS.

As there are few places where I have been in New Zealand that afford the necessary refreshments in such plenty as Dusky Bay, a short description of it, and of the adjacent country, may prove of use to some future navigators, as well as acceptable to the curious reader. For although this country be far remote from the present trading part of the world, we can by no means tell what use future ages may make of the discoveries made in the present. The reader of this journal must already know that there are two entrances to this bay. The south entrance is situated on the north side of Cape West, in latitude  $45^{\circ} 48'$  south. It is formed by the land of the Cape to the south, and Five Fingers' Point to the north. This point is made remarkable by several pointed rocks lying off it, which when viewed from certain situations, have some resemblance to the five fingers of a man's hand; from whence it takes its name. The land of this point is still more remarkable by the little similarity it bears to any other of the lands adjacent; being a narrow peninsula lying north and south, of a moderate and equal height, and all covered with wood.

To sail into the bay by this entrance is by no means difficult, as I know of no danger but what shows itself. The worst that attends it is the depth of water, which is too great to admit of anchorage, except in the coves and harbours, and very near the shores; and even, in many places, this last cannot be done. The anchoring-places are however numerous enough, and equally safe and commodious. Pickersgill Harbour, where we lay, is not inferior to any other bay, for two or three ships; it is situated on the south shore abreast of the west end of Indian Island, which island may be known from the others by its greater proximity to that shore. There is a passage into the harbour on both sides of the isle which lies before it. The most room is on the upper or east side, having regard to a sunken rock near the main, abreast this end of the isle. Keep the isle close aboard, and you will not only avoid the rock, but keep in anchoring-ground. The next place on this side is Cascade Cove, where there is room for a fleet of ships, and also a passage in on either side of the isle which lies in the entrance; taking care to avoid a sunken rock which lies near the S.E. shore a little above the isle. This rock, as well as the one in Pickersgill Harbour, may be seen at half ebb.

It must be needless to enumerate all the anchoring-places in this capacious bay; one or two on each side will be quite sufficient. Those who want to be acquainted with more need only consult the annexed chart, which they may depend upon as being without any material error\*. To such as put into this bay, and are afterwards bound to the south, I would recommend Facile Harbour. To sail into this harbour, keep the inside of the land of Five Fingers' Point aboard, until you are the length of the isles, which lie abreast the middle of that land. Haul round the north point of these isles, and you will have the harbour before you, bearing east. But the chart will be a sufficient guide, not only to sail into this, but into all the other anchoring-places, as well as to sail quite through, from the south to the north entrance. However, I shall give some directions for this navigation. In coming in at the south entrance, keep the south shore aboard, until you approach the west end of Indian Island, which you will know not only by its apparent, but real nearness to the shore. From this situation, it will appear as a point dividing the bay into two arms. Leave this isle on your starboard side, and continue your course up the bay, which is E. by N.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N., without turning either to the right or left. When you are abreast, or above the east end of this isle, you will find the bay of a considerable breadth; and, higher up, to be contracted by two projecting points. Three miles above the one, on the north side, and abreast of two

\* The map accompanying the present edition is constructed from the latest authorities, and renders a repetition of Cook's chart unnecessary.—Ed.

small isles, is the passage out to sea, or to the north entrance; and this lies nearly in the direction of N. by W. and S. by E.

The north entrance lies in the latitude of  $45^{\circ} 38'$  south, and five leagues to the north of Five Fingers' Point. To make this entrance plain, it will be necessary to approach the shore within a few miles, as all the land within, and on each side, is of considerable height. Its situation may, however, be known at a greater distance, as it lies under the first craggy mountains which rise to the north of the land of Five Fingers' Point. The southernmost of these mountains is remarkable, having at its summit two small hillocks. When this mountain bears S. S. E. you will be before the entrance, on the south side of which are several isles. The westernmost and outermost is the most considerable, both for height and circuit; and this I have called Break-sea Isle, because it effectually covers this entrance from the violence of the S.W. swell, which the other entrance is so much exposed to. In sailing in you leave this isle, as well as all the others, to the south. The best anchorage is in the first or north arm, which is on the larboard hand going in, either in one of the coves, or behind the isles that lie under the S.E. shore.

The country is exceedingly mountainous; not only about Dusky Bay, but through all the southern part of this western coast of Tavia Poenammoo. A prospect more rude and craggy is rarely to be met with; for inland appears nothing but the summits of mountains of a stupendous height, and consisting of rocks that are totally barren and naked, except where they are covered with snow. But the land bordering on the sea-coast, and all the islands, are thickly clothed with wood, almost down to the water's edge. The trees are of various kinds, such as are common to other parts of this country, and are fit for the shipwright, house-carpenter, cabinet-maker, and many other uses. Except in the river Thames, I have not seen finer timber in all New Zealand: both here and in that river, the most considerable for size is the spruce-tree, as we called it, from the similarity of its foliage to the American spruce, though the wood is more ponderous, and bears a greater resemblance to the pitch-pine. Many of these trees are from six to eight, and ten feet in girth, and from sixty to eighty or one hundred feet in length; large enough to make a mainmast for a fifty-gun ship.

Here are, as well as in all other parts of New Zealand, a great number of aromatic trees and shrubs, most of the myrtle kind; but amidst all this variety we met with none which bore fruit fit to eat. In many parts the woods are so overrun with supple-jacks, that it is scarcely possible to force one's way amongst them. I have seen several which were fifty or sixty fathoms long.

The soil is a deep black mould, evidently composed of decayed vegetables, and so loose that it sinks under you at every step; and this may be the reason why we meet with so many large trees as we do, blown down by the wind, even in the thickest part of the woods. All the ground amongst the trees is covered with moss and fern, of both which there is great variety; but except the flax or hemp plant, and a few other plants, there is very little herbage of any sort, and none that was eatable that we found, except about a handful of water cresses, and about the same quantity of celery. What Dusky Bay most abounds with is fish: a boat with six or eight men with hooks and lines caught daily sufficient to serve the whole ship's company: of this article the variety is almost equal to the plenty; and of such kinds as are common to the more northern coast; but some are superior; and in particular the cole-fish, as we called it, which is both larger and finer flavoured than any I had seen before, and was, in the opinion of most on board, the highest luxury the sea afforded us. The shell-fish are muscles, cockles, scallops, cray-fish, and many other sorts; all such as are to be found in every other part of the coast. The only amphibious animals are seals; these are to be found in great numbers about this bay, on the small rocks and isles near the sea-coast.

We found here five different kinds of ducks, some of which I do not recollect to have anywhere seen before: the largest are as big as a Muscovy duck, with a very beautiful variegated plumage; on which account we called it the painted duck: both male and female have a large white spot on each wing; the head and neck of the latter is white, but all the other feathers, as well as those on the head and neck of the drake, are of a dark variegated colour.



The second sort have a brown plumage, with bright green feathers in their wings, and are about the size of an English tame duck. The third sort is the blue-grey duck, before mentioned, or the whistling duck, as some called them, from the whistling noise they made. What is most remarkable in these is, that the end of their beaks is soft, and of a skinny, or more properly, cartilaginous substance. The fourth sort is something bigger than teal, and all black except the drake, which has some white feathers in his wing. There are but few of this sort; and we saw them nowhere but in the river at the head of the bay. The last sort is a good deal like a teal, and very common, I am told, in England. The other fowls, whether belonging to the sea or land, are the same that are to be found in common in other parts of this country, except the blue peterel, before mentioned, and the water or wood hens: these last, although they are numerous enough here, are so scarce in other parts, that I never saw but one. The reason may be, that, as they cannot fly, they inhabit the skirts of the woods, and feed on the sea-beach; and are so very tame, or foolish, as to stand and stare at us till we knocked them down with a stick. The natives may have in a manner wholly destroyed them; they are a sort of rail, about the size, and a good deal like a common dunghill hen; most of them are of a dirty black or dark brown colour, and eat very well in a pie or fricassee. Amongst the small birds I must not omit to particularise the wattle-bird, poy-bird, and fan-tail, on account of their singularity, especially as I find they are not mentioned in the narrative of my former voyage.

The wattle-bird, so called because it has two wattles under its beak, as large as those of a small dunghill cock, is larger, particularly in length, than an English blackbird; its bill is short and thick, and its feathers of a dark lead colour; the colour of its wattles is a dull yellow, almost an orange colour.

The poy-bird is less than the wattle-bird; the feathers of a fine mazarine blue, except those of its neck, which are of a most beautiful silver-grey, and two or three short white ones, which are on the pinion-joint of the wing: under its throat hang two little tufts of curled snow-white feathers, called its *poies*, which being the Otaheitean word for ear-rings, occasioned our giving that name to the bird, which is not more remarkable for the beauty of its plumage than for the sweetness of its note: the flesh is also most delicious, and was the greatest luxury the woods afforded us.

Of the fan-tail, there are different sorts; but the body of the most remarkable one is scarcely larger than a good filbert, yet it spreads a tail of most beautiful plumage, full three-quarters of a semicircle of at least four or five inches radius.

For three or four days after we arrived in Pickersgill Harbour, and as we were clearing the woods to set up our tents, &c., a four-footed animal was seen by three or four of our people; but as no two gave the same description of it, I cannot say of what kind it is; all, however, agreed that it was about the size of a cat, with short legs, and of mouse-colour: one of the seamen, and he who had the best view of it, said it had a bushy tail, and was the most like a jackall of any animal he knew. The most probable conjecture is, that it is of a new species; be this as it may, we are now certain that this country is not so destitute of quadrupeds as was once thought. The most mischievous animals here are the small black



THE POY BIRD.

sand-flies, which are very numerous, and so troublesome, that they exceed everything of the kind I ever met with; wherever they bite they cause a swelling, and such an intolerable itching, that it is not possible to refrain from scratching, which at last brings on ulcers like the small-pox.

The almost continual rains may be reckoned another evil attending this bay, though, perhaps, this may only happen at this season of the year; nevertheless, the situation of the country, the vast height, and nearness of the mountains, seem to subject it to much rain at all times. Our people, who were daily exposed to the rain, felt no ill effects from it; on the contrary, such as were sick and ailing when we came in, recovered daily, and the whole crew soon became strong and vigorous, which can only be attributed to the healthiness of the place and the fresh provisions it afforded. The beer certainly contributed not a little: as I have already observed, we at first made it of a decoction of the spruce leaves; but finding that this alone made the beer too astringent, we afterwards mixed with it an equal quantity of the tea-plant (a name it obtained in my former voyage, from our using it as tea then, as we also did now), which partly destroyed the astringency of the other, and made the beer exceedingly palatable, and esteemed by every one on board. We brewed it in the same manner as spruce-beer, and the process is as follows: first make a strong decoction of the small branches of the spruce and tea-plants, by boiling them three or four hours, or until the bark will strip with ease from off the branches; then take them out of the copper, and put in the proper quantity of molasses; ten gallons of which is sufficient to make a tun, or two hundred and forty gallons of beer. Let this mixture just boil, then put it into the casks, and to it add an equal quantity of cold water, more or less, according to the strength of the decoction or your taste. When the whole is milk-warm, put in a little grounds of beer, or yeast, if you have it, or anything else that will cause fermentation, and in a few days the beer will be fit to drink. After the casks have been brewed in two or three times, the beer will generally ferment itself, especially if the weather is warm. As I had inspissated juice of wort on board, and could not apply it to a better purpose, we used it together with molasses or sugar, to make these two articles go farther; for of the former I had but one cask, and of the latter little to spare for this brewing. Had I known how well this beer would have succeeded, and the great use it was of to the people, I should have come better provided; indeed I was partly discouraged by an experiment made during my former voyage, which did not succeed then, owing, as I now believe, to some mismanagement.

Any one who is in the least acquainted with spruce pines, will find the tree which I have distinguished by that name. There are three sorts of it; that which has the smallest leaves and deepest colour is the sort we brewed with; but, doubtless, all three might safely serve that purpose. The tea-plant is a small tree or shrub, with five white petals, or flower-leaves, shaped like those of a rose, having smaller ones of the same figure in the intermediate spaces, and twenty or more filaments or threads. The tree sometimes grows to a moderate height, and is generally bare on the lower part, with a number of small branches growing close together towards the top. The leaves are small and pointed, like those of the myrtle; it bears a dry roundish seed-case, and grows commonly in dry places near the shores. The leaves, as I have already observed, were used by many of us as tea, which has a very agreeable bitter and flavour when they are recent, but loses some of both when they are dried. When the infusion was made strong, it proved emetic to some, in the same manner as green tea.

The inhabitants of this bay are of the same race of people with those in the other parts of this country, speak the same language, and observe nearly the same customs. These, indeed, seem to have a custom of making presents before they receive any, in which they come nearer to the Otaheiteans than the rest of their countrymen. What could induce three or four families (for I believe there are not more) to separate themselves so far from the society of the rest of their fellow-creatures, is not easy to guess. By our meeting with inhabitants in this place, it seems probable, that there are people scattered over all this southern island. But the many vestiges of them in different parts of this bay, compared with the number that we actually saw, indicates that they live a wandering life; and, if one may judge from appearances and circumstances, few as they are, they live not in perfect amity one family



with another. For, if they did, why do they not form themselves into some society? a thing not only natural to man, but observed even by the brute creation.

I shall conclude this account of Dusky Bay with some observations made and communicated to me by Mr. Wales. He found, by a great variety of observations, that the latitude of his observatory at Pickersgill Harbour, was  $45^{\circ} 47' 26\frac{1}{2}''$  south; and by the mean of several distances of the moon from the sun, that its longitude was  $166^{\circ} 18'$  east; which is about half a degree less than it is laid down in my chart constructed in my former voyage. He found the variation of the needle or compass by the mean of three different needles, to be  $13^{\circ} 49'$  east, and the dip of the south end  $70^{\circ} 53'$ . The times of high water on the full and change days, he found to be at 10 57', and the tide to rise and fall at the former eight feet, at the latter five feet eight inches. This difference in the rise of the tides between the new and full moon is a little extraordinary, and was probably occasioned, at this time, by some accidental cause, such as winds, &c., but be it as it will, I am well assured there was no error in the observations.

Supposing the longitude of the observatory to be as above, the error of Mr. Kendal's watch, in longitude, will be  $1^{\circ} 48'$ , minus, and that of Mr. Arnold's  $39^{\circ} 25''$ . The former was found to be gaining  $6''$ , 461 a-day, on mean time, and the latter losing  $99''$ , 361. Agreeably to these rates, the longitude by them was not to be determined until an opportunity of trying them again. I must observe, that in finding the longitude by Mr. Kendal's watch, we supposed it to have gone mean time from the Cape of Good Hope. Had its Cape rate been allowed, the error would not have been so great.

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CHAPTER VI.—PASSAGE FROM DUSKY BAY TO QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SOME WATER-SPOUTS, AND OF OUR JOINING THE ADVENTURE.

AFTER leaving Dusky Bay, as hath been already mentioned, I directed my course along shore for Queen Charlotte's Sound, where I expected to find the Adventure. In this passage we met with nothing remarkable or worthy of notice till the 17th, at four o'clock in the afternoon. Being then about three leagues to the westward of Cape Stephens, having a gentle gale at west by south, and clear weather, the wind at once flattened to a calm, the sky became suddenly obscured by dark, dense clouds, and seemed to forebode much wind. This occasioned us to clew up all our sails, and presently after, six water-spouts were seen. Four rose and spent themselves between us and the land; that is, to the S.W. of us; the fifth was without us; the sixth first appeared in the S.W. at the distance of two or three miles at least from us. Its progressive motion was to the N.E. not in a straight, but in a crooked line, and passed within fifty yards of our stern, without our feeling any of its effects. The diameter of the base of this spout I judged to be about fifty or sixty feet; that is, the sea within this space was much agitated, and foamed up to a great height. From this a tube or round body was formed, by which the water or air, or both, was carried in a spiral stream up to the clouds. Some of our people said they saw a bird in the one near us; which was whirled round like the fly of a jack as it was carried upwards. During the time these spouts lasted, we had, now and then, light puffs of wind from all points of the compass; with some few slight showers of rain, which generally fell in large drops; and the weather continued thick and hazy for some hours after, with variable light breezes of wind. At length the wind fixed in its old point, and the sky resumed its former serenity. Some of these spouts appeared, at times, to be stationary; and, at other times, to have a quick, but very unequal, progressive motion, and always in a crooked line, sometimes one way, and sometimes another; so that, once or twice, we observed them to cross one another. From the ascending motion of the bird, and several other circumstances, it was very plain to us that these spouts were caused by whirlwinds, and that the water in them was violently hurried upwards, and did not descend from the clouds, as I have heard some assert. The first appearance of them is by the violent agitation and rising up of the water; and, presently after, you see a round column or tube forming from the clouds above, which apparently descends till it joins the agitated water below. I say apparently, because I believe it not to

be so in reality, but that the tube is already formed from the agitated water below, and ascends, though at first it is either too small or too thin to be seen. When the tube is formed, or becomes visible, its apparent diameter increaseth, until it is pretty large; after that, it decreaseth, and, at last, it breaks or becomes invisible towards the lower part. Soon after the sea below resumes its natural state, and the tube is drawn, by little and little, up to the clouds, where it is dissipated. The same tube would sometimes have a vertical, and sometimes a crooked or inclined direction. The most rational account I have read of water-spouts is in Mr. Falconer's *Marine Dictionary*, which is chiefly collected from the philosophical writings of the ingenious Dr. Franklin. I have been told that the firing of a gun will dissipate them, and I am very sorry I did not try the experiment, as we were near enough, and had a gun ready for the purpose; but, as soon as the danger was past, I thought no more about it, being too attentive in viewing these extraordinary meteors. At the time this happened the barometer stood at 29.75, and the thermometer at 56.

In coming from Cape Farewell to Cape Stephens, I had a better view of the coast than I had when I passed in my former voyage, and observed that, about six leagues to the east of the first-mentioned cape, is a spacious bay, which is covered from the sea by a low point of land. This is, I believe, the same that Captain Tasman anchored in on the 18th of December, 1642, and by him called Murderer's Bay, by reason of some of his men being killed by the natives. Blind Bay, so named by me in my former voyage, lies to the S. E. of this, and seems to run a long way in-land to the south; the sight in this direction not being bounded by any land. The wind having returned to the west, as already mentioned, we resumed our course to the east; and at daylight the next morning (being the 18th), we appeared off Queen Charlotte's Sound, where we discovered our consort the *Adventure*, by the signals which she made to us; an event which every one felt with an agreeable satisfaction. The fresh westerly wind now died away, and was succeeded by light airs from the south and S. W., so that we had to work in, with our boats a-head towing. In the doing of this, we discovered a rock, which we did not see in my former voyage. It lies in the direction of S. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., distant four miles from the outermost of the Two Brothers, and in a line with the White Rocks, on with the middle of Long Island. It is just even with the surface of the sea, and hath deep water all round it. At noon, Lieutenant Kempe of the *Adventure* came on board; from whom I learnt that their ship had been here about six weeks. With the assistance of a light breeze, our boats, and the tides, we, at six o'clock in the evening, got to an anchor in Ship Cove near the *Adventure*; when Captain Furneaux came on board, and gave me the following account of his proceedings, from the time we parted, to my arrival here.

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CHAPTER VII.—CAPTAIN FURNEAUX'S NARRATIVE, FROM THE TIME THE TWO SHIPS WERE SEPARATED, TO THEIR JOINING AGAIN IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

On the 7th of February, 1773, in the morning, the *Resolution* being then about two miles a-head, the wind shifting then to the westward, brought on a very thick fog, so that we lost sight of her. We soon after heard a gun, the report of which we imagined to be on the larboard beam; we then hauled up S. E. and kept firing a four-pounder every half hour; but had no answer, nor further sight of her; then we kept the course we steered on before the fog came on. In the evening it began to blow hard, and was, at intervals, more clear; but could see nothing of her, which gave us much uneasiness. We then tacked and stood to the westward, to cruize in the place where we last saw her, according to agreement in case of separation; but, next day, came on a very heavy gale of wind and thick weather, that obliged us to bring to, and thereby prevented us reaching the intended spot. However, the wind coming more moderate, and the fog in some measure clearing away, we cruized as near the place as we could get, for three days; when giving over all hopes of joining company again, we bore away for winter quarters, distant fourteen hundred leagues, through a sea entirely unknown, and reduced the allowance of water to one quart per day.



We kept between the latitude of 52 and 53 south; had much westerly wind, hard gales with squalls, snow and sleet, with a long hollow sea from the S.W. so that we judged there is no land in that quarter. After we reached the longitude of 95° east, we found the variation decrease very fast; but for a more perfect account, I refer you to the table at the end of this book.

On the 26th at night, we saw a meteor of uncommon brightness in the N.N.W. It directed its course to the S.W. with a very great light in the southern sky, such as is known to the northward by the name of Aurora Borealis, or Northern Lights. We saw the light for several nights running; and, what is remarkable, we saw but one ice island after we parted company with the Resolution, till our making land, though we were most of the time two or three degrees to the southward of the latitude we first saw it in. We were daily attended by great numbers of sea birds, and frequently saw porpoises curiously spotted white and black.

On the first of March we were alarmed with the cry of land by the man at the mast-head, on the larboard beam; which gave us great joy. We immediately hauled our wind and stood for it, but to our mortification were disappointed in a few hours; for what we took to be land, proved no more than clouds, which disappeared as we sailed towards them. We then bore away and directed our course toward the land laid down in the charts by the name of Van Diemen's Land, discovered by Tasman in 1642, and laid down in the latitude 44° south, and longitude 140° east, and supposed to join to New Holland.

On the 9th of March, having little wind and pleasant weather, about nine A.M., being then in the latitude 43° 37' south longitude, by lunar observation, 145° 36' east, and by account, 143° 10' east, from Greenwich, we saw the land bearing N.N.E. about eight or nine leagues distance. It appeared moderately high, and uneven near the sea; the hills further back formed a double land and much higher. There seemed to be several islands, or broken land, to the N.W. as the shore trended; but by reason of clouds that hung over them, we could not be certain whether they did not join to the main. We hauled immediately up for it, and by noon were within three or four leagues of it. A point, much like the Ramhead, off Plymouth, which I take to be the same that Tasman calls South Cape, bore north four leagues off us. The land from this cape runs directly to the eastward; about four leagues alongshore are three islands about two miles long, and several rocks, resembling the Mewstone (particularly one which we so named) about four or five leagues E.S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. off the above Cape, which Tasman has not mentioned, or laid down in his drafts. After you pass these islands the land lies E. by N. and W. by S. by the compass nearly. It is a bold shore, and seems to afford several bays or anchoring places, but believe deep water. From the S. W. cape, which is in the latitude of 43° 39' south, and longitude 145° 50' east, to the S.E. cape, in the latitude 43° 36' south, longitude 147° east, is nearly sixteen leagues, and sounding from forty-eight to seventy fathoms, sand and broken shells, three or four leagues off shore. Here the country is hilly and full of trees, the shore rocky and difficult landing, occasioned by the wind blowing here continually from the westward, which occasions such a surf that the sand cannot lie on the shore. We saw no inhabitants here.

The morning on the 10th of March being calm, the ship then about four miles from the land, sent the great cutter on shore with the second lieutenant, to find if there was any harbour or good bay. Soon after, it beginning to blow very hard, made the signal for the boat to return several times, but they did not see or hear anything of it; the ship then three or four leagues off, that we could not see anything of the boat, which gave us great uneasiness, as there was a very great sea. At half-past one P.M. to our great satisfaction, the boat returned on board safe. They landed, but with much difficulty, and saw several places where the Indians had been, and one they lately had left, where they had a fire, with a great number of pearl scallop shells round it, which shells they brought on board, with some burnt sticks and green boughs. There was a path from this place, through the woods, which in all probability leads to their habitations; but, by reason of the weather, had not time to pursue it. The soil seems to be very rich; the country well clothed with wood, particularly on the lee side of the hills; plenty of water, which falls from the rocks in beautiful cascades for two or three hundred feet perpendicular into the sea; but they did

not see the least sign of any place to anchor in with safety. Hoisted in the boat, and made sail for Frederick Henry Bay. From noon to three P.M. running along-shore E. by N. at which time we were abreast of the westernmost point of a very deep bay, called by Tasman, Stormy Bay. From the west to the east point of this bay, there are several small islands, and black rocks which we called the Fryars. While crossing this bay we had very heavy squalls and thick weather; at times, when it cleared up, I saw several fires in the bottom of the bay, which is near two or three leagues deep, and has, I doubt not, good places for anchoring, but the weather being so bad, did not think it safe to stand into it. From the Fryars the land trenches away about N. by E. four leagues. We had smooth water, and kept in-shore, having regular soundings from twenty to fifteen fathoms water. At half-past six we hauled round a high bluff point, the rocks whereof were like so many fluted pillars, and had ten fathoms water, fine sand, within half a mile of the shore. At seven, being abreast of a fine bay, and having little wind, we came to, with the small bower, in twenty-four fathoms, sandy bottom. Just after we anchored, being a fine clear evening, had a good observation of the star Antares and the moon, which gave the longitude of  $147^{\circ} 34'$  east, being in the latitude of  $43^{\circ} 20'$  south. We first took this bay to be that which Tasman called Frederic Henry Bay; but afterwards found that his is laid down five leagues to the northward of this.

At day-break the next morning, I sent the master in-shore to sound the bay, and to find out a watering-place; at eight he returned, having found a most excellent harbour, clear ground from side to side, from eighteen to five fathom water all over the bay, gradually decreasing as you go in-shore. We weighed and turned up into the bay; the wind being westerly, and very little of it, which baffled us much in getting in. At seven o'clock in the evening, we anchored in seven fathoms water, with the small bower, and moored with the coasting anchor to the westward, the north point of the bay N.N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., (which we take to be Tasman's Head,) and the easternmost point (which we named Penguin Island, from a curious one we caught there) N.E. by E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. the watering-place W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. about one mile from the shore on each side; Maria's Island, which is about five or six leagues off, shut in with both points; so that you are quite land-locked in a most spacious harbour.

We lay here five days, which time was employed in wooding and watering (which is easily got), and overhauling the rigging. We found the country very pleasant; the soil a black, rich, though thin one; the sides of the hills covered with large trees, and very thick, growing to a great height before they branch off. They are, all of them, of the evergreen kind, different from any I ever saw; the wood is very brittle and easily split; there is very little variety of sorts, having seen but two. The leaves of one are long and narrow; and the seed (of which I got a few) is in the shape of a button, and has a very agreeable smell. The leaves of the other are like the bay, and it has a seed like the whitethorn, with an agreeable spicy taste and smell. Out of the trees we cut down for fire-wood, there issued some gum, which the surgeon called gumlac. The trees are mostly burnt, or scorched near the ground, occasioned by the natives setting fire to the underwood in the most frequented places; and by these means they have rendered it easy walking. The land birds we saw, are a bird like a raven; some of the crow kind, black, with the tips of the feathers of the tail and wings white, their bill long and very sharp; some parrots; and several kinds of small birds. The sea-fowl are ducks, teal, and the sheldrake. I forgot to mention a large white bird, that one of the gentlemen shot, about the size of a large kite, of the eagle kind. As for beasts, we saw but one, which was an *opossum*: but we observed the dung of some, which we judged to be of the deer kind. The fish in the bay are scarce; those we caught were mostly sharks, dog-fish, and a fish called by the seamen nurses, like the dog-fish, only full of small white spots; and some small fish not unlike eprats. The lagoons (which are brackish) abound with trout, and several other sorts of fish, of which we caught a few with lines, but being much encumbered with stumps of trees, we could not haul the seine.

While we lay here, we saw several smokes and large fires, about eight or ten miles in-shore to the northward, but did not see any of the natives; though they frequently come into this bay, as there were several wigwams or huts, where we found some bags and nets



made of grass, in which I imagine they carry their provisions and other necessities. In one of them there was the stone they strike fire with, and tinder made of bark, but of what tree could not be distinguished. We found, in one of their huts, one of their spears, which was made sharp at one end, I suppose with a shell or stone. Those things we brought away, leaving in the room of them, medals, gun-flints, a few nails, and an old empty barrel with the iron hoops on it. They seem to be quite ignorant of every sort of metal. The boughs of which their huts are made, are either broken or split, and tied together with grass in a circular form, the largest end stuck in the ground, and the smaller parts meeting in a point at the top, and covered with fern and bark; so poorly done, that they will hardly keep out a shower of rain. In the middle is the fire-place, surrounded with heaps of muscle, pearl scallop, and cray-fish shells; which I believe to be their chief food, though we could not find any of them. They lie on the ground, on dried grass, round the fire; and, I believe, they have no settled place of habitation (as their houses seemed built only for a few days), but wander about in small parties from place to place in search of food, and are actuated by no other motive. We never found more than three or four huts in a place, capable of containing three or four persons each only; and what is remarkable, we never saw the least marks either of canoe or boat, and it is generally thought they have none; being altogether, from what we could judge, a very ignorant and wretched set of people, though natives of a country capable of producing every necessary of life, and a climate the finest in the world. We found not the least signs of any minerals or metals.

Having completed our wood and water, we sailed from Adventure Bay, intending to coast it up alongshore, till we should fall in with the land seen by Captain Cook, and discover whether Van Diemen's Land joins with New Holland. On the 16th we passed Maria's Islands, so named by Tasman; they appear to be the same as the mainland. On the 17th, having passed Schouten's Islands, we hauled in for the mainland, and stood alongshore at the distance of two or three leagues off. The country here appears to be very thickly inhabited, as there was a continual fire along-shore as we sailed. The land hereabouts is much pleasanter, low and even; but no signs of a harbour or bay, where a ship might anchor with safety. The weather being bad, and blowing hard at S.S.E., we could not send a boat on shore to have any intercourse with the inhabitants. In the latitude of  $40^{\circ} 50'$  south, the land trenches away to the westward, which I believe forms a deep bay, as we saw from the deck several smokes arising a-back of the islands that lay before it, when we could not see the least signs of land from the mast-head.

From the latitude of  $40^{\circ} 50'$  south, to the latitude of  $39^{\circ} 50'$  south, is nothing but islands and shoals; the land high, rocky, and barren. On the 19th, in the latitude of  $40^{\circ} 30'$  south, observing breakers about half a mile within-shore of us, we sounded, and finding but eight fathoms, immediately hauled off, deepened our water to fifteen fathoms, then bore away, and kept along-shore again. From the latitude of  $39^{\circ} 50'$  to  $39^{\circ}$  S. we saw no land, but had regular soundings from fifteen to thirty fathoms. As we stood on to the northward, we made land again in about  $39^{\circ}$ ; after which we discontinued our northerly course, as we found the ground very uneven, and shoal water some distance off. I think it a very dangerous shore to fall in with.

The coast, from Adventure Bay to the place where we stood away for New Zealand, lies in the direction S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. and N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. about seventy-five leagues; and it is my opinion that there is no strait between New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, but a very deep bay. I should have stood farther to the northward, but the wind blowing strong at S.S.E., and looking likely to haul round to the eastward, which would have blown right on the land, I therefore thought it more proper to leave the coast, and steer for New Zealand.

After we left Van Diemen's Land, we had very uncertain weather, with rain and very heavy gusts of wind. On the 24th, we were surprised with a very severe squall, that reduced us from top-gallant sails to reefed courses, in the space of an hour. The sea rising equally quick, we shipped many waves, one of which stove the large cutter, and drove the small one from her lashing into the waist; and with much difficulty we saved her from being washed overboard. This gale lasted twelve hours, after which we had more moderate weather, intermixed with calms. We frequently hoisted out the boats to try the currents,

and in general found a small drift to the W.S.W. We shot many birds, and had upon the whole good weather; but as we got near to the land, it came on thick and dirty for several days, till we made the coast of New Zealand in  $40^{\circ} 30'$  S. having made twenty-four degrees of longitude, from Adventure Bay, after a passage of fifteen days. We had the winds much southerly in this passage, and I was under some apprehensions of not being able to fetch the Straits, which would have obliged us to steer away for George's Island; I would therefore advise any who sail to this part, to keep to the southward; particularly in the fall of the year, when the S. and S.E. winds prevail.

The land, when we first made it, appeared high, and formed a confused jumble of hills and mountains. We steered along-shore to the northward, but were much retarded in our course by reason of the swell from the N.E. At noon on the 3d of April, Cape Farewell, which is the south point of the entrance of the west side of the Straits, bore E. by N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. by the compass, three or four leagues distant. About eight o'clock we entered the Straits, and steered N.E. till midnight; then brought-to till daylight, and had soundings from forty-five to fifty-eight fathoms, sand and broken shells. At daylight, made sail and steered S.E. by E.; had light airs; Mount Egmont N.N.E. eleven or twelve leagues, and Point Stephens S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. seven leagues. At noon, Mount Egmont N. by E. twelve leagues; Stephens' Island S.E. five leagues. In the afternoon we put the dredge overboard in sixty-five fathoms; but caught nothing except a few small scallops, two or three oysters, and broken shells.

Standing to the eastward for Charlotte's Sound, with a light breeze at N.W. in the morning on the 5th, Stephens' Island bearing S.W. by W. four leagues, we were taken aback with a strong easterly gale, which obliged us to haul our wind to the S.E. and work to windward up under Point Jackson. The course from Stephens' Island to Point Jackson is nearly S.E. by the compass, eleven leagues distant, depth of water from forty to thirty-two fathoms, sandy ground. As we stood off and on, we fired several guns, but saw no signs of any inhabitants. In the afternoon, at half past two o'clock, finding the tide set the ship to the westward, we anchored with the coasting anchor in thirty-nine fathoms water, muddy ground; Point Jackson S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. three leagues; the east point of an inlet (about four leagues to the westward of Point Jackson, and which appears to be a good harbour) S.W. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. At eight p.m. the tide slackening, we weighed and made sail (having while at anchor caught several fish with hook and line), and found the tide to run to the westward at the rate of two and a half knots per hour. Standing to the east, we found no ground at seventy fathoms, off Point Jackson N.N.W. two leagues. At eight the next morning, had the sound open, but the wind being down it, obliged us to work up under the western shore, as the tide sets up strong there, when it runs down in mid channel. At ten, the tide being done, was obliged to come to with the best bower in thirty-eight fathoms, close to some white rocks, Point Jackson bearing N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. the northernmost of the Brothers E. by S. and the middle of Entry Island, (which lies on the north side of the Straits,) N.E. We made  $15^{\circ} 30'$  E. variation in the Straits. As we sailed up the sound, we saw the tops of high mountains covered with snow, which remains all the year. When the tide slackened, we weighed and sailed up the sound; and about five o'clock on the 7th, anchored in Ship Cove, in ten fathoms water, muddy ground, and moored the best bower to the N.N.E. and small to S.S.W. In the night, we heard the howling of dogs, and people hallooing on the east shore.

The two following days were employed in clearing a place on Motuara Island for erecting our tents for the sick (having then several on board much afflicted with the scurvy), the sailmakers and coopers. On the top of the island was a post, erected by the Endeavour's people, with her name and time of departure on it. On the 9th, we were visited by three canoes with about sixteen of the natives: and to induce them to bring us fish and other provisions we gave them several things, with which they seemed highly pleased. One of our young gentlemen seeing something wrapped up in a better manner than common, had the curiosity to examine what it was; and, to his great surprise, found it to be the head of a man lately killed. They were very apprehensive of its being forced from them; and particularly the man who seemed most interested in it, whose very flesh crept on his bones,



for fear of being punished by us, as Captain Cook had expressed his great abhorrence of this unnatural act. They used every method to conceal the head, by shifting it from one to another; and by signs endeavouring to convince us, that there was no such thing amongst them, though we had seen it but a few minutes before. They then took their leave of us, and went on shore.

They frequently mentioned *Tupia*, which was the name of the native of *George's Island* (or *Otaheite*), brought here by the *Endeavour*, and who died at *Batavia*; and when we told them he was dead, some of them seemed to be very much concerned, and, as well as we could understand them, wanted to know whether we killed him, or if he died a natural death. By these questions, they are the same tribe Captain Cook saw. In the afternoon, they returned again with fish and fern roots, which they sold for nails and other trifles; though the nails are what they set the most value on. The man and woman who had the head, did not come off again. Having a catalogue of words in their language, we called several things by name, which surprised them greatly. They wanted it much, and offered a great quantity of fish for it.

Next morning they returned again, to the number of fifty or sixty, with their chief at their head, as we supposed, in five double canoes. They gave us their implements of war, stone hatchets, and clothes, &c. for nails and old bottles, which they put a great value on. A number of the head men came on board us, and it was with some difficulty we got them out of the ship by fair means; but on the appearance of a musket with a fixed bayonet, they all went into their canoes very quickly. We were daily visited by more or less, who brought us fish in great plenty for nails, beads, and other trifles, and behaved very peaceably.

We settled the astronomer with his instruments, and a sufficient guard, on a small island, that is joined to *Motuara* at low water, called the *Hippa*, where there was an old fortified town that the natives had forsaken. Their houses served our people to live in; and by sinking them about a foot inside, we made them very comfortable. Having done this, we struck our tents on the *Motuara*, and having removed the ship farther into the cove, on the west shore, moored her for the winter. We then erected our tents near the river or watering-place, and sent ashore all the spars and lumber off the decks, that they might be calked; and gave her a winter coat to preserve the hull and rigging. On the 11th of May, we felt two severe shocks of an earthquake, but received no kind of damage. On the 17th we were surprised by the people firing guns on the *Hippa*, and having sent the boat, as soon as she opened the sound, had the pleasure of seeing the *Resolution* off the mouth of it. We immediately sent out the boats to her assistance to tow her in, it being calm. In the evening she anchored about a mile without us; and next morning weighed and warped within us. Both ships felt an uncommon joy at our meeting, after an absence of fourteen weeks.

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CHAPTER VIII.—TRANSACTIONS IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND, WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE INHABITANTS.

KNOWING that scurvy-grass, celery, and other vegetables were to be found in this sound, I went myself the morning after my arrival, at daybreak, to look for some, and returned on board at breakfast with a boat-load. Being now satisfied that enough was to be got for the crews of both ships, I gave orders that they should be boiled, with wheat and portable broth, every morning for breakfast; and with pease and broth for dinner; knowing from experience, that these vegetables, thus dressed, are extremely beneficial in removing all manner of scorbutic complaints.

I have already mentioned a desire I had of visiting *Van Diemen's Land*, in order to inform myself if it made a part of *New Holland*; and I certainly should have done this, had the winds proved favourable. But as Captain *Furneaux* had now, in a great measure, cleared up that point, I could have no business there, and therefore came to a resolution to continue our researches to the east between the latitudes of  $41^{\circ}$  and  $46^{\circ}$ . I acquainted Captain *Furneaux* therewith, and ordered him to get his ship in readiness to put to sea as soon as

possible. In the morning of the 20th, I sent ashore to the watering-place, near the Adventure's tent, the only ewe and ram remaining of those which I brought from the Cape of Good Hope, with an intent to leave in this country. Soon after, I visited the several gardens Captain Furneaux had caused to be made and planted with various articles; all of which were in a flourishing state, and, if attended to by the natives, may prove of great utility to them. The next day I set some men to work to make a garden on Long Island, which I planted with garden seeds, roots, &c.

On the 23d in the morning the ewe and ram I had with so much care and trouble brought to this place were both found dead; occasioned, as was supposed, by eating some poisonous plant. Thus my hopes of stocking this country with a breed of sheep were blasted in a moment. About noon we were visited, for the first time since I arrived, by some of the natives, who dined with us; and it was not a little they devoured. In the evening they were dismissed with presents.

Early in the morning of the 24th, I sent Mr. Gilbert the master to sound about the rock we had discovered in the entrance of the sound. Myself, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forster, went in a boat to the west bay on a shooting-party. In our way, we met a large canoe, in which were fourteen or fifteen people. One of the first questions they asked was for Tupia, the person I brought from Otaheite on my former voyage; and they seemed to express some concern when we told them he was dead. These people made the same inquiry of Captain Furneaux when he first arrived; and on my return to the ship in the evening, I was told that a canoe had been alongside, the people in which seemed to be strangers, and who also inquired for Tupia. Late in the evening Mr. Gilbert returned, having sounded all round the rock, which he found to be very small and steep.

Nothing worthy of notice happened till the 29th, when several of the natives made us a visit, and brought with them a quantity of fish, which they exchanged for nails, &c. One of these people I took over to Motuara, and showed him some potatoes planted there by Mr. Fannin, master of the Adventure. There seemed to be no doubt of their succeeding; and the man was so well pleased with them, that he, of his own accord, began to hoe the earth up about the plants. We next took him to the other gardens, and showed him the turnips, carrots, and parsneps; roots which, together with the potatoes, will be of more real use to them than all the other articles we had planted. It was easy to give them an idea of these roots by comparing them with such as they knew. Two or three families of these people now took up their abode near us, employing themselves daily in fishing, and supplying us with the fruits of their labour, the good effects of which we soon felt. For we were by no means such expert fishers as they are; nor were any of our methods of fishing equal to theirs.

On the 2d of June, the ships being nearly ready to put to sea, I sent on shore, on the east side of the sound, two goats, male and female. The former was something more than a year old, but the latter was much older. She had two fine kids, some time before we arrived in Dusky Bay, which were killed by cold, as hath been already mentioned. Captain Furneaux also put on shore, in Cannibal Cove, a boar and two breeding sows; so that we have reason to hope this country will, in time, be stocked with these animals, if they are not destroyed by the natives before they become wild; for afterwards they will be in no danger. But as the natives knew nothing of their being left behind, it may be some time before they are discovered.

In our excursion to the east, we met with the largest seal I had ever seen. It was swimming on the surface of the water, and suffered us to come near enough to fire at it, but without effect; for, after a chase of near an hour, we were obliged to leave it. By the size of this animal, it probably was a sea-lioness. It certainly bore much resemblance to the drawing in Lord Anson's voyage; our seeing a sea-lion when we entered this sound, in my former voyage, increaseth the probability; and I am of opinion they have their abode on some of the rocks which lie in the strait, or off Admiralty Bay.

On the 3rd, I sent a boat with the carpenter over to the east side of the sound, to cut down some spars, which we were in want of. As she was returning, she was chased by a large double canoe full of people; but with what intent, is not known. Early the next morning, some of our friends brought us a large supply of fish. One of them agreed to go



away with us ; but, afterwards, that is when it came to the point, he changed his mind ; as did some others who had promised to go with the Adventure. It was even said, that some of them offered their children to sale. I however found that this was a mistake. The report first took its rise on board the Adventure, where they were utter strangers to their language and customs. It was very common for these people to bring their children with them, and present them to us, in expectation that we would make them presents ; this happened to me the preceding morning. A man brought his son, a boy about nine or ten years of age, and presented him to me. As the report of selling their children was then current, I thought at first that he wanted me to buy the boy. But at last I found that he wanted me to give him a white shirt, which I accordingly did. The boy was so fond of his new dress, that he went all over the ship presenting himself before every one that came in his way. This freedom used by him offended Old Will, the ram-goat, who gave him a butt with his horns, and knocked him backward on the deck. Will would have repeated his blow, had not some of the people come to the boy's assistance. The misfortune, however, seemed to him irreparable. The shirt was dirtied, and he was afraid to appear in the cabin before his father, until brought in by Mr. Forster ; when he told a very lamentable story against Goury, the great dog (for so they call all the quadrupeds we had aboard), nor could he be reconciled till his shirt was washed and dried. This story, though extremely trifling in itself, will show how liable we are to mistake these people's meaning, and to ascribe to them customs which they never knew even in thought.

About nine o'clock, a large double canoe, in which were twenty or thirty people, appeared in sight. Our friends on board seemed much alarmed, telling us that these were their enemies : two of them, the one with a spear, and the other with a stone hatchet in his hand, mounted the arm-chests on the poop, and there, in a kind of bravado, bid those enemies defiance ; while the others, who were on board, took to their canoe and went ashore, probably to secure the women and children. All I could do, could not prevail on the two that remained to call these strangers alongside ; on the contrary, they were displeased at my doing it, and wanted me to fire upon them. The people in the canoe seemed to pay very little regard to those on board, but kept advancing slowly towards the ship ; and, after performing the usual ceremonies, put alongside : after this the chief was easily prevailed upon to come on board, followed by many others, and peace was immediately established on all sides ; indeed, it did not appear to me that these people had any intention to make war upon their brethren : at least, if they had, they were sensible enough to know that this was neither the time nor place for them to commit hostilities.

One of the first questions these strangers asked was for Tupia ; and when I told them he was dead, one or two expressed their sorrow by a kind of lamentation, which to me appeared more formal than real. A trade soon commenced between our people and them. It was not possible to hinder the former from selling the clothes from off their backs for the merest trifles, things that were neither useful nor curious. This caused me to dismiss the strangers sooner than I would have done. When they departed, they went over to Motuara, where, by the help of our glasses, we discovered four or five canoes, and several people on the shore : this induced me to go over in my boat, accompanied by Mr. Forster and one of the officers. We were well received by the chief and the whole tribe, which consisted of between ninety and a hundred persons, men, women, and children, having with them six canoes, and all their utensils ; which made it probable that they were come to reside in this sound : but this is only conjecture ; for it is very common for them, when they even go but a little way, to carry their whole property with them ; every place being alike, if it affords them the necessary subsistence ; so that it can hardly be said that they are ever from home. Thus we may easily account for the emigration of those few families we found in Dusky Bay.

Living thus dispersed in small parties, knowing no head but the chief of the family or tribe, whose authority may be very little, they feel many inconveniences, to which well-regulated societies, united under one head or any other form of government, are not subject. These form laws and regulations for their general good ; they are not alarmed at the appearance of every stranger ; and if attacked or invaded by a public enemy, have strongholds to retire to, where they can, with advantage, defend themselves, their property and their

country. This seems to be the state of most of the inhabitants of Eahei-nomauwe ; whereas those of Tavai-poenammoo, by living a wandering life in small parties, are destitute of most of these advantages, which subjects them to perpetual alarms. We generally found them upon their guard, travelling and working, as it were, with their arms in their hands. Even the women are not exempted from bearing arms, as appeared by the first interview I had with the family in Dusky Bay, where each of the two women was armed with a spear not less than eighteen feet in length.

I was led into these reflections, by not being able to recollect the face of any one person I had seen here three years ago ; nor did it once appear that any one of them had the least knowledge of me, or of any person with me that was here at that time : it is, therefore, highly probable that the greatest part of the people which inhabited this sound in the beginning of the year 1770, have been since driven out of it, or have, of their own accord, removed somewhere else : certain it is that not one-third of the inhabitants were here now, that were then. Their stronghold on the point of Motuara hath been long deserted ; and we found many forsaken habitations in all parts of the sound : we are not, however, wholly to infer from this that this place hath been once very populous ; for each family may, for their own convenience, when they move from place to place, have more huts than one or two.

It may be asked, if these people had never seen the Endeavour, nor any of her crew, how could they become acquainted with the name of Tupia, or have in their possession (which many of them had) such articles as they could only have got from that ship ? To this it may be answered, that the name of Tupia was so popular among them when the Endeavour was here, that it would be no wonder if, at this time, it was known over great part of New Zealand, and as familiar to those who never saw him as to those who did. Had ships of any other nation whatever arrived here, they would have equally inquired of them for Tupia. By the same way of reasoning, many of the articles left here by the Endeavour, may be now in possession of those who never saw her. I got from one of the people, now present, an ear-ornament, made of glass, very well formed and polished ; the glass they must have got from the Endeavour.

After passing about an hour on Motuara with these people, and having distributed among them some presents, and showed to the chief the gardens we had made, I returned on board, and spent the remainder of our royal master's birthday in festivity ; having the company of Captain Furneaux and all his officers. Double allowance enabled the seamen to share in the general joy.

Both ships being now ready for sea, I gave Captain Furneaux an account in writing of the route I intended to take ; which was to proceed to the east, between the latitudes of  $41^{\circ}$  and  $46^{\circ}$  south, until I arrived in the longitude of  $140^{\circ}$  or  $135^{\circ}$  west ; then, provided no land was discovered, to proceed to Otaheite ; from thence back to this place by the shortest route ; and after taking in wood and water, to proceed to the south, and explore all the unknown parts of the sea between the meridian of New Zealand and Cape Horn ; therefore, in case of separation before we reached Otaheite, I appointed that island for the place of rendezvous, where he was to wait till the 20th of August : if not joined by me before that time, he was then to make the best of his way back to Queen Charlotte's Sound, where he was to wait until the 20th of November ; after which (if not joined by me), he was to put to sea, and carry into execution their Lordships' instructions.

Some may think it an extraordinary step in me to proceed on discoveries as far south as 46 degrees of latitude, in the very depth of winter. But though it must be owned that winter is by no means favourable for discoveries, it nevertheless appeared to me necessary that something should be done in it, in order to lessen the work I was upon, lest I should not be able to finish the discovery of the southern part of the South Pacific Ocean the ensuing summer. Besides, if I should discover any land in my route to the east, I should be ready to begin, with the summer, to explore it. Setting aside all these considerations, I had little to fear ; having two good ships well provided, and healthy crews. Where then could I spend my time better ? If I did nothing more, I was at least in hopes of being able to point out to posterity that these seas may be navigated, and that it is practicable to go on discoveries, even in the very depth of winter.



During our stay in the sound, I had observed that this second visit made to this country had not mended the morals of the natives of either sex. I had always looked upon the females of New Zealand to be more chaste than the generality of Indian women. Whatever favours a few of them might have granted to the people in the Endeavour, it was generally done in a private manner, and the men did not seem to interest themselves much in it; but now I was told they were the chief promoters of a shameful traffic, and that, for a spike-nail, or any other thing they value, they would oblige the women to prostitute themselves, whether they would or not; and even without any regard to that privacy which decency required.

During our stay here, Mr. Wales lost no opportunity to observe equal altitudes of the sun, for obtaining the rates of the watches. The result of his labours proved that Mr. Kendal's was gaining 9'', 5 per day, and Mr. Arnold's losing 94'', 158 per day, on mean time.

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CHAPTER IX.—ROUTE FROM NEW ZEALAND TO OTAHEITE, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SOME LOW ISLANDS, SUPPOSED TO BE THE SAME THAT WERE SEEN BY M. DE BOUGAINVILLE.

ON the 7th of June, at four in the morning, the wind being more favourable, we unmoored, and at seven weighed and put to sea, with the Adventure in company. We had no sooner got out of the sound, than we found the wind at south; so that we had to ply through the Straits. About noon the tide of ebb setting out in our favour, made our boards advantageous; so that, at five o'clock in the evening, Cape Palliser, on the Island of Eaheinomauwe, bore S.S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. and Cape Koamaroo, or the S.E. point of the sound, N. by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W.; presently after it fell calm, and the tide of flood now making against us, carried us, at a great rate, back to the north. A little before high-water, the calm was succeeded by a breeze from the north, which soon increased to a brisk gale. This, together with the ebb, carried us, by eight o'clock the next morning, quite through the Strait. Cape Palliser, at this time, bore E.N.E., and at noon N. by W., distant seven leagues.

This day at noon, when we attended the winding up of the watches, the fusee of Mr. Arnold's would not turn round; so that, after several unsuccessful trials, we were obliged to let it go down.

After getting clear of the Straits, I directed my course S.E. by E., having a gentle gale, but variable, between the north and west. The late S.E. winds having caused a swell from the same quarter, which did not go down for some days, we had little hopes of meeting with land in that direction. We, however, continued to steer to the S.E., and on the 11th, crossed the meridian of 180°, and got into the west longitude, according to my way of reckoning. On the 16th, at seven in the morning, the wind having veered round to S.E., we tacked and stretched to N.E., being, at this time, in the latitude of 47° 7', longitude 173° west. In this situation we had a great swell from N.E. The wind continued at S.E., and, S.S.E. blew fresh at intervals; and was attended with sometimes fair, and at other times rainy weather, till the 20th; on which day, being in the latitude of 44° 30', longitude 165° 45' west, the wind shifted to the west, blew a gentle gale, and was attended with fair weather. With this we steered E. by N., E. by S., and E. till the 23rd at noon, when, being in the latitude of 44° 38' south, longitude 161° 27' west, we had a few hours' calm. The calm was succeeded by a wind at east, with which we stood to the north. The wind increased and blew in squalls, attended with rain, which at last brought us under our courses; and at two o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, we were obliged to lie to under the foresail; having a very hard gale from E.N.E., and a great sea from the same direction.

At seven o'clock in the morning of the 25th, the gale being more moderate, we made sail under the courses, and in the afternoon set the top-sails close-reefed. At midnight the wind having veered more to the north, we tacked and stretched to the S.E., being at this time in the latitude of 42° 53' south, longitude 163° 20' west. We continued to stretch to the S.E. with a fresh gale and fair weather, till four o'clock in the afternoon the next day, when we stood again to the N.E. till midnight between the 27th and 28th. Then we had a few hours'

calm; which was succeeded by faint breezes from the west. At this time we were in the latitude of  $42^{\circ} 32'$ , longitude  $161^{\circ} 15'$  west. The wind remained not long at west, before it veered back to the east by the north, and kept between the S.E. and N.E., but never blew strong.

On July 2d, being in the latitude of  $43^{\circ} 3'$ , longitude  $156^{\circ} 17'$  west, we had again a calm, which brought the wind back to the west; but it was of no longer continuance than before, for the next day it returned to the E. and S.E., blew fresh at times, and by squalls, with rain. On the 7th, being in the latitude of  $41^{\circ} 22'$ , longitude  $150^{\circ} 12'$  west, we had two hours' calm; in which time Mr. Wales went on board the *Adventure* to compare the watches; and they were found to agree, allowing for the difference of their rates of going; a probable, if not a certain proof, that they had gone well since we had been in this sea.

The calm was succeeded by a wind from the south, between which point and the N.W. it continued for the six succeeding days, but never blew strong; it was, however, attended with a great hollow swell from S.W. and W., a sure indication that no large land was near in those directions. We now steered east, inclining to the south, and on the 10th, in the latitude of  $43^{\circ} 39'$ , longitude  $144^{\circ} 43'$  west, the variation was found, by several azimuths, to be no more than  $3^{\circ}$  east; but the next morning it was found to be  $4^{\circ} 5' 30''$ , and in the afternoon,  $5^{\circ} 56'$  east. The same day, at noon, we were in the latitude of  $43^{\circ} 44'$ , longitude  $141^{\circ} 56'$  west.

At nine o'clock in the morning of the 12th, the longitude was observed as follows, viz. :—

Self	.	.	1st set	.	.	.	139° 47' 15"
Ditto	.	.	2d set	.	.	.	140 7 30
Mr. Wales	.	.	1st set	.	.	.	141 22 15
Ditto	.	.	2d set	.	.	.	140 10 0
Mr. Clerke	.	.	.	.	.	.	140 56 45
Mr. Gilbert	.	.	.	.	.	.	140 2 0
Mean	.	.	.	.	.	.	140 24 17½ west.

This differed from my reckoning only  $2\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$ . The next morning, in the latitude of  $43^{\circ} 3'$ , longitude  $139^{\circ} 20'$  west, we had several lunar observations, which were consonant to those made the day before, allowing for the ship's run in the time. In the afternoon we had, for a few hours, variable light airs next to a calm; after which we got a wind from the N.E., blowing fresh and in squalls, attended with dark gloomy weather, and some rain.

We stretched to the S.E. till five o'clock in the afternoon on the 14th; at which time, being in the latitude of  $43^{\circ} 15'$ , longitude  $137^{\circ} 39'$  west, we tacked and stood to the north under our courses, having a very hard gale with heavy squalls, attended with rain, till near noon the next day, when it ended in a calm. At this time we were in the latitude of  $42^{\circ} 39'$ , longitude  $137^{\circ} 58'$  west. In the evening, the calm was succeeded by a breeze from S.W., which soon after increased to a fresh gale; and fixing at S.S.W., with it we steered N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. In the latitude of  $41^{\circ} 25'$ , longitude  $135^{\circ} 58'$  west, we saw floating in the sea a billet of wood, which seemed to be covered with barnacles, so that there was no judging how long it might have been there, or from whence or how far it had come.

We continued to steer N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. before a very strong gale, which blew in squalls, attended with showers of rain and hail, and a very high sea from the same quarter, till noon, on the 17th. Being then in the latitude of  $39^{\circ} 44'$ , longitude  $133^{\circ} 32'$  west, which was a degree and a half farther east than I had intended to run; nearly in the middle between my track to the north in 1769, and the return to the south in the same year (as will appear by the chart), and seeing no signs of land, I steered north-easterly, with a view of exploring that part of the sea lying between the two tracts just mentioned, down as low as the latitude of  $27^{\circ}$ , a space that had not been visited by any preceding navigator that I knew of. On the 19th, being in the latitude of  $36^{\circ} 34'$ , longitude  $133^{\circ} 7'$  west, we steered N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  west, having still the advantage of a hard gale at south, which the next day veered to S.E. and E., blew hard and by squalls, attended with rain and thick hazy weather; this continued till the evening of the 21st, when the gale abated, the weather cleared up, and the wind backed to the S. and S.E.



We were now in the latitude of  $32^{\circ} 30'$ , longitude  $133^{\circ} 40'$  west: from this situation we steered N.N.W. till noon the next day, when we steered a point more to the west; being at this time in the latitude of  $31^{\circ} 6'$ , longitude  $134^{\circ} 12'$  west. The weather was now so warm, that it was necessary to put on lighter clothes: the mercury in the thermometer at noon rose to 63; it had never been lower than 46, and seldom higher than 54, at the same time of the day, since we left New Zealand.

This day was remarkable by our not seeing a single bird; not one had passed since we left the land without seeing some of the following birds, viz. albatrosses, sheer-waters, pintadoes, blue peterels, and Port Egmont hens; but these frequent every part of the Southern Ocean in the higher latitudes; not a bird nor any other thing was seen, that could induce us to think that we had ever been in the neighbourhood of any land.

The wind kept veering round from the south by the west to N.N.W., with which we stretched north till noon the next day, when, being in the latitude of  $29^{\circ} 22'$ , we tacked and stretched to the westward. The wind soon increased to a very hard gale, attended with rain, and blew in such heavy squalls as to split the most of our sails. This weather continued till the morning of the 25th, when the wind became more moderate, and veered to N.W. and W.N.W., with which we steered and stretched to N.E., being, at that time, in the latitude of  $29^{\circ} 51'$ , longitude  $136^{\circ} 28'$  west. In the afternoon, the sky cleared up, and the weather became fair and settled. We now met the first tropic-bird we had seen in this sea. On the 26th, in the afternoon, being in the latitude of  $28^{\circ} 44'$ , we had several observations of the sun and moon, which gave the longitude  $135^{\circ} 30'$  west. My reckoning at the same time was  $135^{\circ} 27'$ , and I had no occasion to correct it since I left the land. We continued to stretch to the north, with light breezes from the westward, till noon the next day, when we were stopped by a calm; our latitude at this time being  $27^{\circ} 53'$ , longitude  $135^{\circ} 17'$  west. In the evening, the calm was succeeded by a breeze from the N. and N.W., with which we plied to the north.

On the 29th, I sent on board the Adventure to inquire into the state of her crew, having heard that they were sickly, and this I now found was but too true; her cook was dead, and about twenty of her best men were down in the scurvy and flux. At this time, we had only three men on the sick list, and only one of them attacked with the scurvy; several more, however, began to show symptoms of it, and were accordingly put upon the wort, marmalade of carrots, rob of lemons and oranges. I know not how to account for the scurvy raging more in the one ship than the other, unless it was owing to the crew of the Adventure being more scorbutic when they arrived in New Zealand than we were, and to their eating few or no vegetables while they lay in Queen Charlotte's Sound, partly for want of knowing the right sorts, and partly because it was a new diet, which alone was sufficient for seamen to reject it. To introduce any new article of food among seamen, let it be ever so much for their good, requires both the example and authority of a commander; without both of which, it will be dropped before the people are sensible of the benefits resulting from it: were it necessary, I could name fifty instances in support of this remark. Many of my people, officers as well as seamen, at first disliked celery, scurvy-grass, &c., being boiled in the peas and wheat; and some refused to eat it: but as this had no effect on my conduct, this obstinate kind of prejudice, by little and little, wore off; they began to like it as well as the others, and now, I believe, there was hardly a man in the ship that did not attribute our being so free from the scurvy, to the beer and vegetables we made use of at New Zealand; after this, I seldom found it necessary to order any of my people to gather vegetables, whenever we came where any were to be got, and if scarce, happy was he who could lay hold on them first. I appointed one of my seamen to be cook of the Adventure, and wrote to Captain Furneaux, desiring him to make use of every method in his power to stop the spreading of the disease amongst his people, and proposing such as I thought might tend towards it; but I afterwards found all this unnecessary, as every method had been used they could think of.

The wind continued in the N.W. quarter, and blew fresh, at times, attended with rain; with which we stood to the N.E. On the 1st of August, at noon, we were in the latitude of  $25^{\circ} 1'$ , longitude,  $134^{\circ} 6'$  west, and had a great hollow swell from N.W. The situation we were now in was nearly the same that Captain Cartaret assigns for Pitcairn's Island,

discovered by him in 1767. We therefore looked well out for it ; but saw nothing. According to the longitude in which he has placed it, we must have passed about fifteen leagues to the west of it. But as this was uncertain, I did not think it prudent, considering the situation of the Adventure's people, to lose any time in looking for it. A sight of it would, however, have been of use in verifying or correcting, not only the longitude of this isle, but of the others that Captain Cartaret discovered in this neighbourhood ; his longitude not being confirmed, I think, by astronomical observations, and therefore liable to errors, which he could have no method to correct.

As we had now got to the northward of Captain Cartaret's tracks, all hopes of discovering a continent vanished. Islands were all we were to expect to find, until we returned again to the south. I had now, that is on this and my former voyage, crossed this ocean in the latitude of  $40^{\circ}$  and upwards, without meeting anything that did, in the least, induce me to think I should find what I was in search after. On the contrary, everything conspired to make me believe there is no southern continent, between the meridian of America and New Zealand ; at least, this passage did not produce any indubitable signs of any, as will appear by the following remarks. After leaving the coasts of New Zealand, we daily saw, floating in the sea, rock-weed, for the space of  $18^{\circ}$  of longitude. In my passage to New Zealand in 1769, we also saw of this weed, for the space of  $12^{\circ}$  or  $14^{\circ}$  of longitude, before we made the land. The weed is, undoubtedly, the produce of New Zealand ; because, the nearer the coast, the greater quantity you see. At the greatest distance from the coast, we saw it only in small pieces, generally more rotten, and covered with barnacles ; an indubitable sign that it had been long at sea. Were it not for this, one might be led to conjecture that some other large land lay in the neighbourhood ; for it cannot be a small extent of coast to produce such a quantity of weed as to cover so large a space of sea. It hath been already mentioned, that we were no sooner clear of the Straits, than we met with a large hollow swell from the S.E. which continued till we arrived in the longitude of  $177^{\circ}$  west, and latitude  $46^{\circ}$ . There we had large billows from the north and N.E. for five days successively, and until we got  $5^{\circ}$  of longitude more to the east, although the wind, great part of the time, blew from different directions. This was a strong indication that there was no land between us and my track to the west in 1769. After this, we had, as is usual in all great oceans, large billows from every direction in which the wind blew a fresh gale, but more especially from the S.W. These billows never ceased with the cause that first put them in motion ; a sure indication, that we were not near any large land, and that there is no continent to the south, unless in a very high latitude. But this was too important a point to be left to opinions and conjectures. Facts were to determine it ; and these could only be obtained by visiting the southern parts ; which was to be the work of the ensuing summer, agreeably to the plan I had laid down.

As the winds continued to blow from the N.W. and west, we had no other choice but to stand to the north, inclining more or less every day to the east. In the latitude of  $21^{\circ}$ , we saw flying-fish, gannets, and egg-birds. On the 6th, I hoisted a boat out and sent for Captain Furneaux to dinner ; from whom I learnt that his people were much better, the flux having left them ; and the scurvy was at a stand. Some cider which he happened to have, and which he gave to the scorbutic people, contributed not a little to this happy change. The weather to-day was cloudy, and the wind very unsettled. This seemed to announce the approach of the so much-wished-for trade-wind ; which at eight o'clock in the evening, after two hours' calm and some heavy showers of rain, we actually got at S.E. We were, at this time, in the latitude of  $19^{\circ} 36'$  south, longitude  $131^{\circ} 32'$  west. The not meeting with the S.E. trade-wind sooner, is no new thing in this sea. As we had now got it, I directed my course to the W.N.W. as well to keep in the strength of it, as to get to the north of the islands discovered in my former voyage ; that, if any other islands lay in the way, I might have a chance to discover them. During the day-time we made all the sail we could ; but in the night, either run an easy sail, or lay-to. We daily saw flying-fish, albacores, dolphins, &c. ; but neither by striking, nor with hook and line, could we catch any of them. This required some art which none of my people were masters of.

On the 11th at daybreak, land was seen to the south. This, upon a nearer approach, we



found to be an island of about two leagues in extent, in the direction of N.W. and S.E. and clothed with wood, above which the cocoa-nut trees showed their lofty heads. I judged it to be one of those isles discovered by M. Bougainville. It lies in the latitude of  $17^{\circ} 24'$ , longitude  $141^{\circ} 39'$  west; and I called it, after the name of the ship, Resolution Island. The sickly state of the Adventure's crew made it necessary for me to make the best of my way to Otaheite, where I was sure of finding refreshments. Consequently, I did not wait to examine this island, which appeared too small to supply our wants, but continued our course to the west; and at six o'clock in the evening, land was seen from the mast-head, bearing west by south. Probably this was another of Bougainville's discoveries. \* I named it Doubtful Island; and it lies in the latitude of  $17^{\circ} 20'$ , longitude  $141^{\circ} 38'$  W. I was sorry I could not spare time to haul to the north of M. Bougainville's track; but the getting to a place where we could procure refreshments was more an object at this time than discovery.

During the night we steered W. by N. in order to pass the north of the island above mentioned. At daybreak the next morning, we discovered land right ahead, distant about two miles; so that daylight advised us of our danger but just in time. This proved another of these low or half-drowned islands, or rather a large coral shoal of about twenty-leagues in circuit. A very small part of it was land, which consisted of little islets ranged along the north side, and connected by sandbanks and breakers. These islets were clothed with wood, among which the cocoa-nut trees only were distinguishable. We ranged the south side of this isle or shoal at the distance of one or two miles from the coral bank, against which the sea broke in a dreadful surf. In the middle is a large lake or inland sea, in which was a canoe under sail.

This island, which I named after Captain Furneaux, lies in the latitude  $17^{\circ} 5'$ , longitude  $143^{\circ} 16'$  west. The situation is nearly the same that is assigned for one of those discovered by Bougainville. I must here observe, that amongst these low and half-drowned isles (which are numerous in this part of the ocean) M. Bougainville's discoveries cannot be known to that degree of accuracy which is necessary to distinguish them from others. We were obliged to have recourse to his chart for the latitudes and longitudes of the isles he discovered, as neither the one nor the other is mentioned in his narrative. Without waiting to examine this island, we continued to steer to the west, all sails set, till six o'clock in the evening, when we shortened sail to three topsails, and at nine brought to. The next morning at four A.M. we made sail, and at daybreak saw another of these low islands, situated in the latitude of  $17^{\circ} 4'$ , longitude  $144^{\circ} 30'$  west, which obtained the name of Adventure Island. M. de Bougainville very properly calls this cluster of low overflowed isles the Dangerous Archipelago. The smoothness of the sea sufficiently convinced us that we were surrounded by them, and how necessary it was to proceed with the utmost caution, especially in the night.

At five o'clock P.M. we again saw land, bearing S.W. by S. which we afterwards found to be Chain Island, discovered in my former voyage. But as I was not sure of it at this time, and being desirous of avoiding the delay which lying by in the night occasioned, I hoisted out the cutter and manned her with an officer and seven men, with orders to keep as far ahead of the ships, with a light at her mast-head, as a signal could be distinguished, which she was to make in case she met with any danger. In this manner we continued to run all night; and at six o'clock the next morning, I called her on board and hoisted her in. For it did not appear she would be wanted again for this purpose, as we had now a large swell from the south, a sure sign that we were clear of the low islands; therefore I steered for Otaheite without being apprehensive of meeting with any danger.

CHAPTER X.—THE ARRIVAL OF THE SHIPS AT OTAHEITE, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE CRITICAL SITUATION THEY WERE IN, AND OF SEVERAL INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED WHILE THEY LAY IN OAITI-PIHA BAY.

On the 15th, at five o'clock in the morning, we saw Osnaburg Island, or Maitea, discovered by Captain Wallis, bearing S. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. Soon after I brought to, and waited for the *Adventure* to come up with us, to acquaint Captain Furneaux, that it was my intention to put into Oaiti-piha Bay, near the S.E. end of Otaheite, in order to get what refreshments we could from that part of the island, before we went down to Matavai. This done, we made sail, and at six in the evening saw the island bearing west. We continued to stand on till midnight, when we brought to, till four o'clock in the morning, and then made sail in for the land with a fine breeze at east.

At daybreak we found ourselves not more than half a league from the reef. The breeze now began to fail us, and at last fell to a calm. This made it necessary to hoist out our boats to tow the ships off; but all their efforts were not sufficient to keep them from being carried near the reef. A number of the inhabitants came off in canoes from different parts, bringing with them a little fish, a few cocoa-nuts, and other fruits, which they exchanged for nails, beads, &c. The most of them knew me again; and many inquired for Mr. Banks and others who were with me before; but not one asked for Tupia. As the calm continued, our situation became still more dangerous. We were, however, not without hopes of getting round the western point of the reef and into the bay, till about two o'clock in the afternoon, when we came before an opening or break in the reef, through which I hoped to get with the ships. But on sending to examine it, I found there was not a sufficient depth of water; though it caused such an indraught of the tide of flood through it, as was very near proving fatal to the *Resolution*; for as soon as the ships got into this stream, they were carried with great impetuosity towards the reef. The moment I perceived this, I ordered one of the warping machines, which we had in readiness, to be carried out with about four hundred fathoms of rope; but it had not the least effect. The horrors of shipwreck now stared us in the face. We were not more than two cables' length from the breakers; and yet we could find no bottom to anchor, the only probable means we had left to save the ships. We however dropped an anchor; but, before it took hold, and brought us up, the ship was in less than three fathoms water, and struck at every fall of the sea, which broke close under our stern in a dreadful surf, and threatened us every moment with shipwreck. The *Adventure*, very luckily, brought up close upon our bow without striking.

We presently carried out two kedge anchors, with hawsers to each. These found ground a little without the bower, but in what depth we never knew. By heaving upon them, and cutting away the bower anchor, we got the ship afloat, where we lay some time in the greatest anxiety, expecting every minute that either the kedges would come home, or the hawsers be cut in two by the rocks. At length the tide ceased to act in the same direction. I ordered all the boats to try to tow off the *Resolution*; and when I saw this was practicable, we hove up the two kedges. At that moment, a light air came off from the land, which so much assisted the boats, that we soon got clear of all danger. Then I ordered all the boats to assist the *Adventure*; but before they reached her, she was under sail with the land-breeze, and soon after joined us, leaving behind her three anchors, her coasting cable, and two hawsers, which were never recovered. Thus we were once more safe at sea, after narrowly escaping being wrecked on the very island we, but a few days before, so ardently wished to be at. The calm, after bringing us into this dangerous situation, very fortunately continued; for had the sea-breeze, as is usual, set in, the *Resolution* must inevitably have been lost, and probably the *Adventure* too.

During the time we were in this critical situation, a number of the natives were on board and about the ships; they seemed to be insensible of our danger, showing not the least



surprise, joy, or fear, when we were striking, and left us little before sunset, quite unconcerned.

We spent the night, which proved squally and rainy, making short boards; and the next morning, being the 17th, we anchored in Oaiti-piha Bay in twelve fathoms water, about two cables' length from the shore; both ships being by this time crowded with a great number of the natives, who brought with them cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, apples, yams, and other roots, which they exchanged for nails and beads. To several who called themselves chiefs, I made presents of shirts, axes, and several other articles; and in return, they promised to bring me hogs and fowls; a promise they never did, nor ever intended to perform.

In the afternoon I landed, in company with Captain Furneaux, in order to view the watering-place, and to sound the disposition of the natives. I also sent a boat to get some



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water for present use, having scarcely any left on board. We found this article as convenient as could be expected, and the natives to behave with great civility. Early in the morning I sent the two launches, and the Resolution's cutter, under the command of Mr. Gilbert, to endeavour to recover the anchors we had left behind us. They returned about noon with the Resolution's bower anchor; but could not recover any of the Adventure's. The natives came off again with fruit, as the day before, but in no great quantity. I also had a party on shore, trading under the protection of a guard; nothing, however, was brought to market but fruit and roots, though many hogs were seen (I was told) about the houses of the natives. The cry was that they belonged to Waheatoua the *Earee de hi*, or king; and him we had not yet seen, nor, I believe, any other chief of note; many, however, who called themselves *Earees*, came on board, partly with a view of getting presents, and partly to pilfer whatever came in their way.

One of this sort of *Earees* I had, most of the day, in the cabin, and made presents to him and all his friends, which were not a few. At length he was caught taking things which did not belong to him, and handing them out of the quarter-gallery. Many complaints of the like nature were made to me against those on deck; which occasioned my turning them all out of the ship. My cabin guest made good haste to be gone. I was so much exasperated at his behaviour, that after he had got some distance from the ship, I fired two muskets over his head, which made him quit the canoe, and take to the water. I then sent a boat to take up the canoe; but as she came near the shore, the people from thence began to pelt her with stones. Being in some pain for her safety, as she was unarmed, I went myself in

another boat to protect her, and ordered a great gun, loaded with ball, to be fired along the coast, which made them all retire from the shore, and I was suffered to bring away two canoes without the least show of opposition. In one of the canoes was a little boy, who was much frightened; but I soon dissipated his fears, by giving him beads, and putting him on shore. A few hours after, we were all good friends again; and the canoes were returned to the first person who came for them.

It was not till the evening of this day that any one inquired after Tupia, and then but two or three. As soon as they learnt the cause of his death, they were quite satisfied: indeed, it did not appear to me, that it would have caused a moment's uneasiness in the breast of any one, had his death been occasioned by any other means than by sickness. As little inquiry was made after Aotourou, the man who went away with M. de Bougainville; but they were continually asking for Mr. Banks, and several others who were with me in my former voyage. These people informed us, that Toutaha, the regent of the greater peninsula of Otaheite, had been killed in a battle which was fought between the two kingdoms about five months before; and that *Otoo* was the reigning prince. Tubourai Tamaide, and several more of our principal friends about Matavai, fell in this battle, as also a great number of common people; but at present, a peace subsisted between the two kingdoms.

On the 19th we had gentle breezes easterly, with some smart showers of rain. Early in the morning, the boats were again sent to recover the Adventure's anchors, but returned with the same ill success as the day before; so that we ceased to look for them any longer, thinking ourselves very happy in having come off so well, considering the situation we had been in. In an excursion which Captain Furneaux and I made along the coast, we met with a chief who entertained us with excellent fish, fruit, &c. In return for his hospitality, I made him a present of an axe and other things; and he afterwards accompanied us back to the ships, where he made but a short stay.

Nothing worthy of note happened on the 20th, till the dusk of the evening, when one of the natives made off with a musket belonging to the guard on shore. I was present when this happened, and sent some of our people after him, which would have been to little purpose, had not some of the natives, of their own accord, pursued the thief: they knocked him down, took from him the musket, and brought it to us. Fear, on this occasion, certainly operated more with them than principle: they, however, deserve to be applauded for this act of justice; for, if they had not given their immediate assistance, it would hardly have been in my power to have recovered the musket by any gentle means whatever; and by making use of any other, I was sure to lose more than ten times its value.

The 21st, the wind was at north a fresh breeze. This morning a chief made me a visit, and presented me with a quantity of fruit, among which were a number of cocoa-nuts we had drawn the water from, and afterwards thrown overboard. These he had picked up, and tied in bundles so artfully, that we did not at first perceive the cheat. When he was told of it, without betraying the least emotion, and as if he knew nothing of the matter, he opened two or three of them himself, signified to us that he was satisfied that it was so, and then went on shore and sent off a quantity of plantains and bananas. Having got on board a supply of water, fruit, and roots, I determined to sail in the morning to Matavai, as I found it was not likely that I should get an interview with Waheatoua; without which it was very improbable we should get any hogs. Two of the natives who knew my intention, slept on board, with a view of going with us to Matavai; but in the morning the wind blew fresh at N.W., and as we could not sail, I sent the trading party on shore as usual.

In the evening I was informed that Waheatoua was come into the neighbourhood and wanted to see me. In consequence of this information, I determined to wait one day longer in order to have an interview with this prince. Accordingly, early the next morning, I set out in company with Captain Furneaux, Mr. Forster, and several of the natives. We met the chief about a mile from the landing-place, towards which he was advancing to meet us; but as soon as he saw us he stopped, with his numerous train in the open air. I found him seated upon a stool, with a circle of people round him, and knew him at first sight, and he me; having seen each other several times in 1769. At that time he was but a boy, and



went by the name of Tearee; but upon the death of his father Waheatoua, he took upon him that name.

After the first salutation was over, having seated me on the same stool with himself, and the other gentlemen on the ground by us, he began to inquire after several by name who were with me on my former voyage. He next inquired how long I would stay; and when I told him no longer than next day, he seemed sorry, asked me to stay some months, and at last came down to five days; promising that, in that time, I should have hogs in plenty. But as I had been here already a week without so much as getting one, I could not put any faith in this promise. And yet, I believe, if I had staid, we should have fared much better than at Matavai. The present I made him consisted of a shirt, a sheet, a broad axe, spike-nails, knives, looking-glasses, medals, beads, &c. In return, he ordered a pretty good hog to be carried to our boat. We staid with him all the morning, during which time he never suffered me to go from his side, where he was seated. I was also seated on the same stool, which was carried from place to place by one of his attendants, whom we called stool-bearer. At length we took leave, in order to return on board to dinner; after which we visited him again, and made him more presents; and he in return gave Captain Furneaux and me each of us a hog. Some others were got by exchanges at the trading-places: so that we got, in the whole to-day, as much fresh pork as gave the crews of both ships a meal; and this in consequence of our having this interview with the chief.

The 24th, early in the morning, we put to sea with a light land-breeze. Soon after we were out, we got the wind at west, which blew in squalls, attended with heavy showers of rain. Many canoes accompanied us out to sea with cocoa-nuts and other fruits, and did not leave us till they had disposed of their cargoes. The fruits we got here greatly contributed towards the recovery of the Adventure's sick people. Many of them who had been so ill as not to be able to move without assistance, were, in this short time, so far recovered, that they could walk about of themselves. When we put in here, the Resolution had but one scorbutic man on board, and a marine, who had been long sick, and who died, the second day after our arrival, of a complication of disorders without the least mixture of the scurvy. I left Lieutenant Pickersgill with the cutter behind in the bay, to purchase hogs; as several had promised to bring some down to-day, and I was not willing to lose them.

On the 25th, about noon, Mr. Pickersgill returned with eight pigs, which he got at Oaiti-piha. He spent the night at Ohedea, and was well entertained by Ereti, the chief of that district. It was remarkable that this chief never once asked after Aotourou; nor did he take the least notice, when Mr. Pickersgill mentioned his name. And yet M. de Bougainville tells us, this is the very chief who presented Aotourou to him; which makes it the more extraordinary that he should neither inquire after him now, nor when he was with us at Matavai; especially as they believed that we and M. Bougainville came from the same country; that is, from *Pretane*, for so they called our country. They had not the least knowledge of any other European nation; nor probably will they, unless some of those men should return who had lately gone from the isle; of which mention shall be made by-and-by. We told several of them, that M. de Bougainville came from *France*, a name they could by no means pronounce, nor could they pronounce that of *Paris* much better; so that it is not likely that they will remember either the one or the other long. Whereas *Pretane* is in every child's mouth, and will hardly ever be forgotten. It was not till the evening of this day that we arrived in Matavai bay.

CHAPTER XI.—AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL VISITS TO AND FROM OTOO ; OF GOATS BEING LEFT ON THE ISLAND ; AND MANY OTHER PARTICULARS WHICH HAPPENED WHILE THE SHIPS LAY IN MATAVAI BAY.

BEFORE we got to an anchor, our decks were crowded with the natives ; many of whom I knew, and almost all of them knew me. A great crowd were gotten together upon the shore ; amongst whom was Otoo their king. I was just going to pay him a visit, when I was told he was *mataow'd* and gone to Oparree. I could not conceive the reason of his going off in a fright, as every one seemed pleased to see me. A chief whose name was Maritata, was at this time on board, and advised me to put off my visit till the next morning, when he would accompany me ; which I accordingly did.

After having given directions to pitch tents for the reception of the sick, coopers, sail-makers, and the guard, I set out on the 26th for Oparree ; accompanied by Captain Furneaux, Mr. Forster, and others, Maritata and his wife. As soon as we landed, we were conducted to Otoo, whom we found seated on the ground, under the shade of a tree, with an immense crowd round him. After the first compliments were over, I presented him with such articles as I guessed were most valuable in his eyes ; well knowing that it was my interest to gain the friendship of this man. I also made presents to several of his attendants ; and, in return, they offered me cloth, which I refused to accept ; telling them that what I had given was for *tiyo* (friendship). The king inquired for Tupia, and all the gentlemen that were with me in my former voyage, by name ; although I do not remember that he was personally acquainted with any of us. He promised that I should have some hogs the next day ; but I had much ado to obtain a promise from him to visit on board. He said he was *mataou no to poupoue*, that is, afraid of the guns. Indeed, all his actions showed him to be a timorous prince. He was about thirty years of age, six feet high, and a fine, personable, well made man as one can see. All his subjects appeared uncovered before him, his father not excepted. What is meant by uncovering, is the making bare the head and shoulders, or wearing no sort of clothing above the breast.

When I returned from Oparree, I found the tents, and the astronomer's observatories, set up on the same spot where we observed the transit of Venus in 1769. In the afternoon I had the sick landed ; twenty from the *Adventure* all ill of the scurvy ; and one from the *Resolution*. I also landed some marines for a guard, and left the command to Lieutenant Edgcumbe of the marines.

On the 27th, early in the morning, Otoo, attended by a numerous train, paid me a visit. He first sent into the ship a large quantity of cloth, fruits, a hog, and two large fish ; and, after some persuasion, came aboard himself, with his sister, a younger brother, and several more of his attendants. To all of them I made presents ; and, after breakfast, took the king, his sister, and as many more as I had room for, into my boat, and carried them home to Oparree. I had no sooner landed than I was met by a venerable old lady, the mother of the late Toutaha. She seized me by both hands, and burst into a flood of tears, saying, *Toutaha Tiyo no Toutee matty Toutaha*—(Toutaha, your friend, or the friend of Cook, is dead). I was so much affected with her behaviour, that it would have been impossible for me to have refrained mingling my tears with hers, had not Otoo come and taken me from her. I, with some difficulty, prevailed on him to let me see her again, when I gave her an axe and some other things. Captain Furneaux, who was with me, presented the king with two fine goats, male and female, which, if taken care of, or rather if no care at all is taken of them, will no doubt multiply. After a short stay we took leave and returned on board.

Very early in the morning on the 28th, I sent Mr. Pickersgill, with the cutter, as far as Ottahourou, to endeavour to procure hogs. A little after sunrise, I had another visit from Otoo, who brought me more cloth, a pig, and some fruit. His sister, who was with him, and some of his attendants, came on board ; but he and others went to the *Adventure* with the like present to Captain Furneaux. It was not long before he returned with Captain Furneaux on board the *Resolution*, when I made him a handsome



return for the present he had brought me, and dressed his sister out in the best manner I could. She, the king's brother, and one or two more, were covered before him to-day. When Otoo came into the cabin, Ereti and some of his friends were sitting there. The moment they saw the king enter, they stripped themselves in great haste, being covered before. Seeing I took notice of it, they said *Earee, Earee*; giving me to understand that it was on account of Otoo being present. This was all the respect they paid him; for they never rose from their seats, nor made him any other obeisance. When the king thought



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proper to depart, I carried him again to Oparree in my boat; where I entertained him, and his people, with the bag-pipes (of which music they are very fond), and dancing by the seamen. He, in return, ordered some of his people to dance also, which consisted chiefly of contortions. There were, however, some who could imitate the seamen tolerably well, both in country dances and hornpipes. While we were here, I had a present of cloth from the late Toutaha's mother. This good old lady could not look upon me without shedding tears; however, she was far more composed than before. When we took leave, the king promised to visit me again the next day; but said that I must first come to him. In the evening Mr. Pickersgill came back empty; but with a promise of having some hogs, if he would return in a few days.

Next morning, after breakfast, I took a trip to Oparree, to visit Otoo, as he had requested, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and some of the officers. We made him up a present of such things as he had not seen before. One article was a broadsword; at the very sight of which he was so intimidated, that I had much ado to persuade him to accept of it, and to have it buckled upon him; where it remained but a short time, before he desired leave to take it off and send it out of his sight.

Soon after we were conducted to the theatre; where we were entertained with a dramatic *heava*, or *play*, in which were both dancing and comedy. The performers were five men, and one woman, who was no less a person than the king's sister. The music consisted of three drums only; it lasted about an hour and a half, or two hours; and, upon the whole, was well conducted. It was not possible for us to find out the meaning of the play. Some part seemed adapted to the present time, as my name was frequently mentioned. Other parts were certainly wholly unconnected with us. It apparently differed in nothing, that is in the manner of acting it, from those we saw at Ulietea in my former voyage. The dancing-dress of the lady was more elegant than any I saw there, by being decorated with

long tassels, made of feathers, hanging from the waist downward. As soon as all was over, the king himself desired me to depart; and sent into the boat different kinds of fruit and fish, ready dressed. With this we returned on board; and the next morning he sent me more fruit, and several small parcels of fish.

Nothing farther remarkable happened till ten o'clock in the evening, when we were alarmed with the cry of murder, and a great noise on shore near the bottom of the bay, at some distance from our encampment. I suspected that it was occasioned by some of our own people; and immediately armed a boat, and sent on shore, to know the occasion of this disturbance, and to bring off such of our people as should be found there. I also sent to the Adventure, and to the post on shore, to know who were missing; for none were absent from the Resolution, but those who were upon duty. The boat soon returned with three marines and a seaman. Some others, belonging to the Adventure, were also taken, and being all put under confinement, the next morning I ordered them to be punished according to their deserts. I did not find that any mischief was done, and our people would confess nothing. I believe this disturbance was occasioned by their making too free with the women. Be this as it will, the natives were so much alarmed that they fled from their habitations in the dead of the night, and the alarm spread many miles along the coast. For when I went to visit Otoo, in the morning, by appointment, I found him removed, or rather fled, many miles from the place of his abode. Even there I was obliged to wait some hours, before I could see him at all; and when I did, he complained of the last night's riot.

As this was intended to be my last visit, I had taken with me a present suitable to the occasion. Among other things were three Cape sheep, which he had seen before and asked for; for these people never lose a thing by not asking for it. He was much pleased with them; though he could be but little benefited, as they were all wethers; a thing he was made acquainted with. The presents he got at this interview entirely removed his fears, and opened his heart so much, that he sent for three hogs; one for me, one for Captain Furneaux, and one for Mr. Forster. This last was small, of which we complained, calling it *etc, etc*. Presently after a man came into the circle, and spoke to the king with some warmth, and in a very peremptory manner; saying something or other about hogs. We, at first, thought he was angry with the king for giving us so many, especially as he took the little pig away with him. The contrary, however, appeared to be the true cause of his displeasure; for, presently after he was gone, a hog, larger than either of the other two, was brought us in lieu of the little one. When we took leave, I acquainted him that I should sail from the island the next day; at which he seemed much moved, and embraced me several times. We embarked to return on board, and he, with his numerous train, directed their march back to Oparree.

The sick being all pretty well recovered, our water-casks repaired, and water completed, as well as the necessary repairs of the ships, I determined to put to sea without farther delay. Accordingly, on the 1st of September, I ordered everything to be got off from the shore, and the ships to be unmoored. On this work we were employed the most of the day. In the afternoon Mr. Pickersgill returned from Attahourou; to which place I had sent him, two days before, for the hogs he had been promised. My old friend Pottatou, the chief of that district, his wife, or mistress (I know not which), and some more of his friends, came along with Mr. Pickersgill, in order to visit me. They brought me a present of two hogs, and some fish; and Mr. Pickersgill got two more hogs, by exchange, from Oamo; for he went in the boat as far as Paparra, where he saw old Oberea. She seemed much altered for the worse, poor, and of little consequence. The first words she said to Mr. Pickersgill were, *Earee mataou ina boa*—Earee is frightened; you can have no hogs. By this it appeared that she had little or no property, and was herself subject to the Earee; which I believe was not the case when I was here before. The wind, which had blown westerly all day, having shifted at once to the east, we put to sea; and I was obliged to dismiss my friends sooner than they wished to go; but well satisfied with the reception they had met with.

Some hours before we got under sail, a young man, whose name was Poreo, came and desired I would take him with me. I consented, thinking he might be of service to us on



some occasion. Many more offered themselves, but I refused to take them. This youth asked me for an axe and a spike-nail for his father, who was then on board. He had them accordingly, and they parted just as we were getting under sail, more like two strangers than father and son. This raised a doubt in me whether it was so; which was farther confirmed by a canoe, conducted by two men, coming alongside, as we were standing out of the bay, and demanding the young man in the name of Otoo. I now saw that the whole was a trick to get something from me; well knowing that Otoo was not in the neighbourhood, and could know nothing of the matter. Poreo seemed, however, at first undetermined whether he should go or stay; but he soon inclined to the former. I told them to return me the axe and nails, and then he should go (and so he really should), but they said they were ashore, and so departed. Though the youth seemed pretty well satisfied, he could not refrain from weeping, when he viewed the land astern.

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CHAPTER XII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE RECEPTION WE MET WITH AT HUAHEINE, WITH THE INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED WHILE THE SHIPS LAY THERE, AND OF OMAI, ONE OF THE NATIVES, COMING AWAY IN THE ADVENTURE.

As soon as we were clear of the bay, and our boats in, I directed my course for the Island of Huaheine, where I intended to touch. We made it the next day, and spent the night, making short boards under the north end of the island. At day-light in the morning of the 3rd, we made sail for the harbour of Owharre; in which the *Resolution* anchored, about nine o'clock, in twenty-four fathoms' water. As the wind blew out of the harbour, I chose



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to turn in by the southern channel, it being the widest. The *Resolution* turned in very well, but the *Adventure*, missing stays, got ashore on the north side of the channel. I had the *Resolution's* launch in the water ready, in case of an accident of this kind, and sent her immediately to the *Adventure*. By this timely assistance, she was got off again, with-

out receiving any damage. Several of the natives, by this time, had come off to us, bringing with them some of the productions of the island; and, as soon as the ships were both in safety, I landed with Captain Furneaux, and was received by the natives with the utmost cordiality. I distributed some presents among them; and presently after, they brought down hogs, fowls, dogs, and fruits, which they willingly exchanged for hatchets, nails, beads, &c. The like trade was soon opened on board the ships; so that we had a fair prospect of being plentifully supplied with fresh pork and fowls; and, to people in our situation, this was no unwelcome thing. I learnt that my old friend Oree, chief of the isle, was still living, and that he was hastening to this part to see me.

Early next morning, Lieutenant Pickersgill sailed with the cutter, on a trading party, toward the south end of the isle. I also sent another trading party on shore near the ships, with which I went myself, to see that it was properly conducted at the first setting out, a very necessary point to be attended to. Everything being settled to my mind, I went, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forster, to pay my first visit to Oree, who, I was told, was waiting for me. We were conducted to the place by one of the natives; but were not permitted to go out of our boat, till we had gone through some part of the following ceremony, usually performed at this isle, on such like occasions. The boat, in which we were desired to remain, being landed before the chief's house, that stood close to the shore, five young plantain-trees, which are their emblems of peace, were brought on board separately, and with some ceremony. Three young pigs, with their ears ornamented with cocoa-nut fibres, accompanied the first three; and a dog, the fourth. Each had its particular name and purpose, rather too mysterious for us to understand. Lastly, the chief sent to me the inscription engraved on a small piece of pewter, which I left with him in July, 1769. It was in the same bag I had made for it, together with a piece of counterfeit English coin, and a few beads, put in at the same time; which shows how well he had taken care of the whole. When they had made an end of putting into the boat the things just mentioned, our guide, who still remained with us, desired us to decorate three young plantain trees with looking-glasses, nails, medals, beads, &c. &c. This being accordingly done, we landed with these in our hands, and were conducted towards the chief, through the multitude; they making a lane, as it were, for us to pass through. We were made to sit down a few paces short of the chief, and our plantains were then taken from us, and, one by one, laid before him, as the others had been laid before us. One was for *Eatoua* (or God), the second for the *Earee* (or king), and the third for *Tiyo* (or friendship). This being done, I wanted to go to the king, but was told that he would come to me, which he accordingly did, fell upon my neck and embraced me. This was by no means ceremonious; the tears, which trickled plentifully down his venerable old cheeks, sufficiently bespoke the language of his heart. The whole ceremony being over, all his friends were introduced to us, to whom we made presents. Mine to the chief consisted of the most valuable articles I had; for I had regarded this man as a father. In return he gave me a hog and a quantity of cloth, promising that all our wants should be supplied; and it will soon appear how well he kept his word. At length we took leave, and returned on board; and some time after Mr. Pickersgill returned also with fourteen hogs. Many more were got by exchanges on shore, and alongside the ships, besides fowls and fruit in abundance.

This good old chief made me a visit early in the morning on the 5th, together with some of his friends, bringing me a hog and some fruit, for which I made him a suitable return. He carried his kindness so far, as not to fail to send me every day, for my table, the very best of ready-dressed fruit, and roots, and in great plenty. Lieutenant Pickersgill being again sent with the two boats, in search of hogs, returned in the evening with twenty-eight; and about four times that number were purchased on shore, and alongside the ships.

Next morning the trading party, consisting of only two or three people, were sent on shore as usual; and after breakfast, I went to the place myself, when I learnt that one of the inhabitants had been very troublesome and insolent. This man, being pointed out to me, completely equipped in the war habit with a club in each hand, as he seemed bent on mischief, I took these from him, broke them before his eyes, and, with some difficulty forced him to retire from the place. As they told me that he was a chief, this made me the



more suspicious of him, and occasioned me to send for a guard, which till now I had thought unnecessary. About this time, Mr. Sparrman, having imprudently gone out alone, botanising, was set upon by two men, who stripped him of everything he had about him, except his trousers, struck him several times with his own hanger, but happily did him no harm. As soon as they had accomplished their end, they made off; after which another of the natives brought a piece of cloth to cover him, and conducted him to the trading place, where were a great number of the inhabitants. The very instant Mr. Sparrman appeared in the condition I have just mentioned, they fled to a man with the utmost precipitation. My first conjectures were, that they had stolen something; but we were soon undeceived, when we saw Mr. Sparrman, and the affair was related to us. As soon as I could recal a few of the natives, and had made them sensible that I should take no step to injure those who were innocent, I went to Oree to complain of this outrage, taking with us the man who came back with Mr. Sparrman, to confirm the complaint. As soon as the chief heard the whole affair related, he wept aloud, as did many others. After the first transports of his grief were over, he began to expostulate with his people, telling them, (as far as we could understand) how well I had treated them, both in this and my former voyage, and how base it was in them to commit such actions. He then took a very minute account of the things Mr. Sparrman had been robbed of, promised to do all in his power to recover them, and rising up, desired me to follow him to my boat. When the people saw this, being, as I supposed, apprehensive of his safety, they used every argument to dissuade him from what they, no doubt, thought a rash step. He hastened into the boat, notwithstanding all they could do or say. As soon as they saw their beloved chief wholly in my power, they set up a great outcry. The grief they showed was inexpressible; every face was bedewed with tears; they prayed, entreated, nay, attempted to pull him out of the boat. I even joined my entreaties to theirs, for I could not bear to see them in such distress. All that could be said or done, availed nothing; he insisted on my coming into the boat, which was no sooner done than he ordered it to be put off. His sister, with a spirit equal to that of her royal brother, was the only person who did not oppose his going. As his intention in coming into our boat was to go with us in search of the robbers, we proceeded accordingly as far as it was convenient by water, then landed, entered the country, and travelled some miles inland, the chief leading the way, inquiring of every one he saw. At length he stepped into a house by the road side, ordered some cocoa-nuts for us, and after we were a little refreshed, wanted to proceed still farther; but this I opposed, thinking that we might be carried to the very farthest end of the island, after things, the most of which, before they came into our hands again, might not be worth the bringing home. The chief used many arguments to persuade me to proceed, telling me that I might send my boat round to meet us, or that he would get a canoe to bring us home, if I thought it too far to travel. But I was resolved to return, and he was obliged to comply and return with me, when he saw I would follow him no farther. I only desired he would send somebody for the things; for I found that the thieves had got so much start of us that we might follow them to the remotest parts of the isle, without so much as seeing them; besides, as I intended to sail the next morning, this occasioned a great loss to us, by putting a stop to all manner of trade; for the natives were so much alarmed, that none came near us, but those that were about the chief; it, therefore, became the more necessary for me to return, to restore things to their former state. When we got back to our boat, we there found Oree's sister, and several more persons, who had travelled by land to the place. We immediately stepped into the boat in order to return on board, without so much as asking the chief to accompany us. He, however, insisted on going also; and followed us into the boat in spite of the opposition and entreaties of those about him; his sister followed his example, and the tears and prayers of her daughter, who was about sixteen or eighteen years of age, had no weight with her on this occasion. The chief sat at table with us, and made a hearty dinner; his sister, according to custom, ate nothing. After dinner, I sufficiently rewarded them for the confidence they had put in me, and soon after carried them both on shore, where some hundreds of people waited to receive them, many of whom embraced their chief with tears of joy. All was now joy and peace: the people crowded in from every part, with hogs, fowls, and



fruit, so that we presently filled two boats; Oree himself presented me with a large hog and a quantity of fruit. The hanger (the only thing of value Mr. Sparrman had lost) with part of his coat, were brought us; and we were told, we should have the others the next day. Some of the officers, who were out on a shooting party, had some things stolen from them, which were returned in like manner.

Thus ended the troublesome transactions of this day, which I have been the more particular in relating, because it shows what great confidence this brave old chief put in us; it also, in some degree, shows that friendship is sacred with them. Oree and I were professed friends in all the forms customary among them; and he seemed to think that this could not be broken by the act of any other persons. Indeed this seemed to be the great argument he made use of to his people, when they opposed his going into my boat. His words were to this effect:—"Oree (meaning me, for so I was always called) and I are friends; I have done nothing to forfeit his friendship; why, then, should I not go with him?" We, however, may never find another chief who will act in the same manner under similar circumstances. It may be asked, What had he to fear? to which I answer, Nothing; for it was not my intention to hurt a hair of his head, or to detain him a moment longer than he desired. But how was he or the people to know this? They were not ignorant, that, if he was once in my power, the whole force of the island could not take him from me, and that, let my demands for his ransom have been ever so high, they must have complied with them. Thus far their fears, both for his and their own safety, were founded in reason.

On the 7th, early in the morning, while the ships were unmooring, I went to pay my farewell visit to Oree, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forster. We took with us, for a present, such things as were not only valuable but useful. I also left with him the inscription-plate he had before in keeping, and another small copper-plate, on which were engraved these words, "Anchored here, his Britannic Majesty's ships Resolution and Adventure, September, 1773," together with some medals, all put up in a bag; of which the chief promised to take care, and to produce, to the first ship or ships that should arrive at the island. He then gave me a hog; and, after trading for six or eight more, and loading the boat with fruit, we took leave, when the good old chief embraced me with tears in his eyes. At this interview, nothing was said about the remainder of Mr. Sparrman's clothes. I judged they were not brought in; and, for that reason, did not mention them, lest I should give the chief pain about things I did not give him time to recover; for this was early in the morning.

When we returned to the ships, we found them crowded round with canoes full of hogs, fowls, and fruit, as at our first arrival. I had not been long on board, before Oree himself came, to inform me, as we understood, that the robbers were taken, and to desire us to go on shore, either to punish, or to see them punished; but this could not be done, as the Resolution was just under sail, and the Adventure already out of the harbour. The chief staid on board till we were a full half league out at sea, then took a most affectionate leave of me, and went away in a canoe, conducted by one man and himself, all the others having gone long before. I was sorry that it was not convenient for me to go on shore with him, to see in what manner these people would have been punished; for I am satisfied, this was what brought him on board.

During our short stay at the small but fertile isle of Huaheine, we procured to both ships not less than three hundred hogs, besides fowls and fruits; and, had we staid longer, might have got many more; for none of these articles of refreshment were seemingly diminished, but appeared everywhere in as great abundance as ever.

Before we quitted this island, Captain Furneaux agreed to receive on board his ship a young man named Omai, a native of Ulietea, where he had had some property, of which he had been dispossessed by the people of Bolabola. I at first rather wondered that Captain Furneaux would encumber himself with this man, who, in my opinion, was not a proper sample of the inhabitants of these happy islands, not having any advantage of birth, or acquired rank, nor being eminent in shape, figure, or complexion. For their people of the first rank are much fairer, and usually better behaved, and more intelligent, than the middling class of people, among whom Omai is to be ranked. I have, however, since my arrival in



England, been convinced of my error; for, excepting his complexion, (which is undoubtedly of a deeper hue than that of the *carrees* or gentry, who, as in other countries, live a more luxurious life, and are less exposed to the heat of the sun,) I much doubt whether any other of the natives would have given more general satisfaction by his behaviour among us. Omai has most certainly a very good understanding, quick parts, and honest principles; he has a natural good behaviour, which rendered him acceptable to the best company, and a proper degree of pride, which taught him to avoid the society of persons of inferior rank. He has passions of the same kind as other young men, but has judgment enough not to indulge them in an improper excess. I do not imagine that he has any dislike to liquor; and if he had fallen into company where the person who drank the most met with the most approbation, I have no doubt but that he would have endeavoured to gain the applause of those with whom he associated; but, fortunately for him, he perceived that drinking was very little in use but among inferior people, and as he was very watchful into the manners and conduct of the persons of rank who honoured him with their protection, he was sober and modest; and I never heard that, during the whole time of his stay in England, which was two years, he ever once was disguised with wine, or ever showed an inclination to go beyond the strictest rules of moderation.

Soon after his arrival in London, the Earl of Sandwich, the first lord of the admiralty, introduced him to his Majesty at Kew, when he met with a most gracious reception, and imbibed the strongest impression of duty and gratitude to that great and amiable prince, which I am persuaded he will preserve to the latest moment of his life. During his stay among us he was caressed by many of the principal nobility, and did nothing to forfeit the esteem of any one of them; but his principal patrons were the Earl of Sandwich, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander: the former probably thought it a duty of his office to protect and countenance an inhabitant of that hospitable country, where the wants and distresses of those in his department had been alleviated and supplied in the most ample manner; the others, as a testimony of their gratitude for the generous reception they had met with during their residence in his country. It is to be observed, that though Omai lived in the midst of amusements during his residence in England, his return to his native country was always in his thoughts, and though he was not impatient to go, he expressed a satisfaction as the time of his return approached. He embarked with me in the *Resolution*, when she was fitted out for another voyage, loaded with presents from his several friends, and full of gratitude for the kind reception and treatment he had experienced among us.

CHAPTER XIII.—ARRIVAL AT, AND DEPARTURE OF THE SHIPS FROM, ULITEA; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED THERE, AND OF OEDIDEE, ONE OF THE NATIVES, COMING AWAY IN THE *RESOLUTION*.

THE chief was no sooner gone, than we made sail for Ulitea (where I intended to stop a few days). Arriving off the harbour of Ohamaneno at the close of the day, we spent the night making short boards. It was dark, but we were sufficiently guided by the fishers' lights on the reefs and shores of the isles. The next morning, after making a few trips, we gained the entrance of the harbour; and, as the wind blew directly out, I sent a boat to lie in soundings, that we might know when to anchor. As soon as the signal was made by her, we borrowed close to the south point of the channel; and, with our sails set, shooting within the boat, we anchored in seventeen fathoms water. We then carried out anchors and hawsers to warp in by; and, as soon as the *Resolution* was out of the way, the *Adventure* came up in like manner, and warped in by the *Resolution*. The warping in, and mooring the ships, took up the whole day.

We were no sooner at anchor at the entrance of the harbour, than the natives crowded round us in their canoes with hogs and fruit. The latter they exchanged for nails and beads; the former we refused as yet, having already as many on board as we could manage. Several we were, however, obliged to take, as many of the principal people brought off little pigs, pepper, or *caova*-root, and young plantain-trees, and handed them into the ship, or put them

into the boats alongside, whether we would or no; for if we refused to take them on board, they would throw them into the boats. In this manner did these good people welcome us to their country.

I had forgot to mention, that Tupia was much inquired after at Huaheine; but at this place every one asked about him, and the occasion of his death; and, like true philosophers, were perfectly satisfied with the answers we gave them. Indeed, as we had nothing but the truth to tell, the story was the same, by whomsoever told.

Next morning we paid a formal visit to Oreo, the chief of this part of the isle, carrying with us the necessary presents. We went through no sort of ceremony at landing, but were, at once, conducted to him. He was seated in his own house, which stood near the water-side, where he and his friends received us with great cordiality. He expressed much satisfaction at seeing me again, and desired that we might exchange names, which I accordingly agreed to. I believe this is the strongest mark of friendship they can show to a stranger. He inquired after Tupia and all the gentlemen, by name, who were with me when I first visited the island. After we had made the chief and his friends the necessary presents, we went on board with a hog and some fruit, received from him in return; and in the afternoon he gave me another hog, still larger, without asking for the least acknowledgment. Exchanges for fruit &c. were mostly carried on alongside the ships. I attempted to trade for these articles on shore; but did not succeed, as the most of them were brought in canoes from distant parts, and carried directly to the ships.

After breakfast, on the 10th, Captain Furneaux and I paid the chief a visit; and we were entertained by him with such a comedy, or dramatic *heava*, as is generally acted in these isles. The music consisted of three drums; the actors were seven men, and one woman, the chief's daughter. The only entertaining part in the drama was a theft committed by a man and his accomplice, in such a masterly manner, as sufficiently displayed the genius of the people in this vice. The theft is discovered before the thief has time to carry off his prize; then a scuffle ensues with those set to guard it, who, though four to two, are beat off the stage, and the thief and his accomplices bear away their plunder in triumph. I was very attentive to the whole of this part, being in full expectation that it would have ended very differently. For I had before been informed that *Teto* (that is, the Thief) was to be acted, and had understood that the theft was to be punished with death, or a good *tiparrahying* (or beating), a punishment, we are told, they inflict on such as are guilty of this crime. Be this as it may, strangers are certainly excluded from the protection of this law; them they rob, with impunity, on every occasion that offers. After the play was over, we returned on board to dinner; and in the cool of the evening took a walk on shore, where we learnt from one of the natives, that nine small islands, two of which were uninhabited, lay to the westward, at no great distance from hence.

On the 11th, early in the morning, I had a visit from Oreo and his son, a youth about twelve years of age. The latter brought me a hog and some fruit; for which I made him a present of an axe, and dressed him in a shirt and other things, which made him not a little proud of himself. Having staid some hours, they went on shore; as I also did soon after, but to another part. The chief hearing I was on shore, came to the place where he found the boat, into which he put a hog and a quantity of fruit, without saying a word to anybody; and, with some of his friends, came on board and dined with us. After dinner I had a visit from Oo-oorou, the principal chief of the isle. He was introduced to us by Oreo, and brought with him, as a present, a large hog, for which I made him a handsome return. Oreo employed himself in buying hogs for me (for we now began to take of them), and he made such bargains as I had reason to be satisfied with. At length they all took leave, after making me promise to visit them next morning; which I accordingly did, in company with several of the officers and gentlemen. Oreo ordered an *heava* to be acted for our entertainment, in which two very pretty young women were the actresses. This *heava* was somewhat different from the one I saw before, and not so entertaining. Oreo, after it was over, accompanied us on board, together with two of his friends.

The following day was spent in much the same manner; and early in the morning of the 14th, I sent Mr. Pickersgill, with the Resolution's launch and Adventure's cutter, to Otaha,



to procure an additional supply of bananas and plantains for a sea-store; for we could get little more of these articles at Ulietea than were sufficient for present consumption. Oreo, and some of his friends, paid me a pretty early visit this morning. I acquainted the chief that I would dine with him, and desired he would order two pigs to be dressed after their manner, which he accordingly did; and about one o'clock I and the officers and gentlemen of both ships went to partake of them. When we came to the chief's house, we found the cloth laid; that is, green leaves were strewed thick on the floor. Round them we seated ourselves: presently one of the pigs came over my head souse upon the leaves, and immediately after the other; both so hot as hardly to be touched. The table was garnished round with hot bread-fruit and plantains, and a quantity of cocoa-nuts brought for drink. Each man being ready, with his knife in his hand, we turned to without ceremony; and it must be owned, in favour of their cookery, that victuals were never cleaner, nor better dressed. For though the pigs were served up whole, and the one weighed between fifty and sixty pounds, and the other about half as much, yet all the parts were equally well done, and ate much sweeter than if dressed in any of our methods. The chief and his son, and some other of his male friends, ate with us, and pieces were handed to others who sat behind: for we had a vast crowd about us; so that it might be truly said we dined in public. The chief never failed to drink his glass of Madeira whenever it came to his turn, not only now, but at all other times when he dined with us, without ever being once affected by it. As soon as we had dined, the boat's crew took the remainder; and by them, and those about them, the whole was consumed. When we rose up, many of the common people rushed in, to pick up the crumbs which had fallen, and for which they searched the leaves very narrowly. This leads me to believe that, though there is plenty of pork at these isles, but little falls to their share. Some of our gentlemen being present when these pigs were killed and dressed, observed the chief to divide the entrails, lard, &c. into ten or twelve equal parts, and serve it out to certain people. Several daily attended the ships, and assisted the butchers, for the sake of the entrails of the hogs we killed. Probably little else falls to the share of the common people. It, however, must be owned, that they are exceedingly careful of every kind of provision, and waste nothing that can be eaten by man; flesh and fish especially.

In the afternoon we were entertained with a play. Plays, indeed, had been acted almost every day since we had been here, either to entertain us, or for their own amusement, or perhaps both.

Next morning produced some circumstances which fully prove the timorous disposition of these people. We were surprised to find that none of them came off to the ships as usual. Two men belonging to the *Adventure* having staid on shore all night, contrary to orders, my first conjectures were, that the natives had stripped them, and were now afraid to come near us, lest we should take some step to revenge the insult; but in order to be better satisfied, Captain Furneaux and I went ashore to Oreo's house, which we found quite empty; he and all his family gone, and the whole neighbourhood, in a manner, quite deserted. The two men belonging to the *Adventure* made their appearance, and informed us that they had been very civilly treated by the natives, but could give no account of the cause of their precipitate flight. All that we could learn, from the very few who durst come near us, was, that several were killed, others wounded by our guns: pointing out to us where the balls went in and out of the body, &c. This relation gave me a good deal of uneasiness for the safety of our people gone to Otaha, fearing that some disturbance had happened at that island: however, in order to be better informed, I determined, if possible, to see the chief himself. Accordingly we embarked in our boat, having one of the natives with us, and rowed along-shore to the northward, the way we were told he was gone. We soon came in sight of the canoe in which he was; but before we could come up with her, he had got on shore. We landed presently after, and found he was gone still farther. An immense crowd, however, waited our landing, who entreated me to follow him. One man offered to carry me on his back; but the whole story appearing rather more mysterious than ever, and being all unarmed, I did not choose to separate myself from the boat, but embarked again, and rowed after him. We soon came before the place where our guide told us he

was, and put in the boat accordingly. It grounded at some distance from the shore, where we were met by a venerable old lady, wife to the chief. She threw herself into my arms and wept bitterly, insomuch that it was not possible to get one plain word from her. With this old lady in my hand I went ashore, contrary to the advice of my young man from Otaheite, who seemed more afraid than any of us, probably believing every word the people had told us. I found the chief seated under the shade of a house, before which was a large area, and surrounded by a vast number of people. As soon as I came to him, he threw his arms about me, and burst into tears; in which he was accompanied by all the women and some of the men, so that the lamentation became general. Astonishment alone kept me from joining with them. It was some time before I could get a word from any one; at last all my inquiries gave me no other information than that they were alarmed on account of our boats being absent; thinking that the people in them had deserted from us, and that I should take some violent means to recover them; for when we assured them that the boats would return back, they seemed cheerful and satisfied, and, to a man, denied that any one was hurt, either of their own or our people; and so it afterwards proved. Nor did it appear that there was the least foundation for these alarms; nor could we ever find out by what means this general consternation first took its rise. After a stay of about an hour, I returned on board; three of the natives coming along with us, who proclaimed the peace as we rowed along-shore to all they saw.

Thus matters were again restored to their former footing; and the next morning they came off to the ships as usual. After breakfast, Captain Furneaux and I paid the chief a visit. We found him at his own house perfectly easy; insomuch that he, and some of his friends, came on board, and dined with us. I was now told that my Otaheitean young man, Poreo, had taken a resolution to leave me. I have just mentioned *before*, his being with us when I followed Oreo, and his advising me not to go on shore. He was so much afraid at that time, that he remained in the boat till he heard all matters were reconciled; then he came out, and presently after met with a young woman for whom he had contracted a friendship. Having my powder-horn in keeping, he came and gave it to one of my people who was by me, and then went away with her, and I saw him no more.

In the afternoon our boats returned from Otaha, pretty well laden with plantains; an article we were most in want of. They made the circuit of the island, conducted by one of the eares, whose name was Boba, and were hospitably entertained by the people, who provided them with victuals and lodging. The first night they were entertained with a play; the second night their repose was disturbed by the natives stealing their military chest: this put them on making reprisals, by which means they recovered the most of what they had lost.

Having now got on board a large supply of refreshments, I determined to put to sea the next morning, and made the same known to the chief, who promised to see me again before we departed. At four o'clock we began to unmoor; and, as soon as it was light, Oreo, his son, and some of his friends, came on board. Many canoes also came off with fruit and hogs; the latter they even begged of us to take from them, calling out *Tiyo boa atoi*—I am your friend, take my hog, and give me an axe; but our decks were already so full of them that we could hardly move, having on board both ships between three and four hundred. By the increase of our stock, together with what we had salted and consumed, I judge that we got at this island four hundred or upwards: many, indeed, were only roasters; others again weighed one hundred pounds, or upwards; but the general run was from forty to sixty. It is not easy to say how many we might have got, could we have found room for all that were offered us.

The chief and his friends did not leave me till we were under sail; and, before he went away, pressed me much to know if I would not return, and when? Questions which were daily put to me by many of these islanders. My Otaheitean youth's leaving me proved of no consequence, as many young men of this island voluntarily offered to come away with us. I thought proper to take on board one, who was about seventeen or eighteen years of age, named Oedidee, a native of Bolabola, and a near relation of the great Opoony, chief of that island. Soon after we were out of the harbour, and had made sail, we observed a canoe



following us, conducted by two men. Whereupon I brought to, and they presently came alongside, having brought me a present of roasted fruit and roots from Oreo. I made them a proper return before I dismissed them, and then set sail to the west, with the *Adventure* in company.

CHAPTER XIV.—AN ACCOUNT OF A SPANISH SHIP VISITING OTAHEITE; THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ISLANDS; WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE DISEASES AND CUSTOMS OF THE INHABITANTS, AND SOME MISTAKES CONCERNING THE WOMEN CORRECTED.

I SHALL NOW give some farther account of these islands; for, although I have been pretty minute in relating the daily transactions, some things, which are rather interesting, have been omitted.

Soon after our arrival at Otaheite, we were informed that a ship, about the size of the *Resolution*, had been in at Owhaiurua harbour near the S.E. end of the island, where she remained about three weeks; and had been gone about three months before we arrived. We were told that four of the natives were gone away in her, whose names were Debedehea, Paodou, Tanadooe, and Opahiah. At this time we conjectured this was a French ship; but on our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, we learnt she was a Spaniard, which had been sent out from America. The Otaheiteans complained of a disease communicated to them by the people in this ship, which they said affected the head, throat, and stomach, and at length killed them. They seemed to dread it much, and were continually inquiring if we had it. This ship they distinguished by the name of *Pahai no Pep-pe* (ship of Peppe), and called the disease *Apa no Pep-pe*, just as they call the venereal disease *Apa no Pretane* (English disease), though they, to a man, say it was brought to the isle by M. de Bougainville; but I have already observed, that they thought M. Bougainville came from *Pretane*, as well as every other ship which has touched at the isle.

Were it not for this assertion of the natives, and none of Captain Wallis's people being affected with the venereal disease, either while they were at Otaheite, or after they left it, I should have concluded that, long before these islanders were visited by Europeans, this, or some disease which is near akin to it, had existed amongst them; for I have heard them speak of people dying of a disorder which we interpreted to be the pox, before that period; but be this as it will, it is now far less common amongst them than it was in the year 1769, when I first visited these isles. They say they can cure it, and so it fully appears; for, notwithstanding most of my people made pretty free with the women, very few of them were afterwards affected with the disorder; and those who were, had it in so slight a manner that it was easily removed; but amongst the natives, whenever it turns to a pox, they tell us it is incurable. Some of our people pretend to have seen some of them who had this last disorder in a high degree; but the surgeon, who made it his business to inquire, could never satisfy himself in this point. These people are, and were before the Europeans visited them, very subject to scrofulous diseases; so that a seaman might easily mistake one disorder for another.

The Island of Otaheite, which, in the years 1767 and 1768, as it were swarmed with hogs and fowls, was now so ill supplied with these animals, that hardly anything could induce the owners to part with them. The few they had at this time among them, seemed to be at the disposal of the kings; for while we lay at Oaitipihā Bay, in the kingdom of Tiarrabou, or lesser Peninsula, every hog or fowl we saw, we were told, belonged to Waheatoa; and all we saw in the kingdom of Opoureonu, or the greater Peninsula, belonged to Otoo. During the seventeen days we were at this island, we got but twenty-four hogs; the half of which came from the two kings themselves; and, I believe, the other half was sold us by their permission or order: we were, however, abundantly supplied with all the fruits the island produces, except bread-fruit, which was not in season either at this or the other isles. Cocoa-nuts and plantains were what we got the most of; the latter, together with a few yams and other roots, were to us a succedaneum for bread. At Otaheite we got great plenty of apples, and a fruit like a nectarine, called by them *Aheeya*. This fruit was common to all the isles; but apples we got only at Otaheite, and found them of infinite

use to the scorbutic people. Of all the seeds that have been brought to these islands by Europeans, none have succeeded but pumpkins, and these they do not like ; which is not to be wondered at.

The scarcity of hogs at Otaheite may be owing to two causes ; first, the number which have been consumed and carried off by the shipping which have touched here of late years ; and, secondly, to the frequent wars between the two kingdoms. We know of two since the year 1767 : at present a peace subsists between them, though they do not seem to entertain much friendship for each other. I never could learn the cause of the late war, nor who got the better in the conflict. In the battle, which put an end to the dispute, many were killed on both sides. On the part of Opoureonu, fell Toutaha, and several other chiefs, who were mentioned to me by name. Toutaha lies interred in the family *Marai* at Oparree ; and his mother, and several other women who were of his household, are now taken care of by Otoo the reigning prince ; a man who, at first, did not appear to us to much advantage. I know but little of Waheatooa of Tiarrabou. This prince, who is not above twenty years of age, appeared with all the gravity of a man of fifty. His subjects do not uncover before him, or pay him any outward obeisance, as is done to Otoo ; nevertheless, they seem to show him full as much respect, and he appeared in rather more state. He was attended by a few middle-aged or elderly men, who seemed to be his counsellors. This is what appeared to me to be the then state of Otaheite. The other islands, that is, Huaheine, Ulietea, and Otaha, were in a more flourishing state than they were when I was there before. Since that time, they had enjoyed the blessing of peace ; the people seemed to be as happy as any under heaven ; and well they may, for they possess not only the necessaries, but many of the luxuries of life in the greatest profusion ; and my young man told me that hogs, fowls, and fruits are in equal plenty at Bola-bola, a thing which Tupia would never allow. To clear up this seeming contradiction, I must observe, that the one was prejudiced against, and the other in favour of, this isle.

The produce of the islands, the manners and customs of the natives, &c. having been treated at large in the narrative of my former voyage, it will be unnecessary to take notice of these subjects in this, unless where I can add new matter, or clear up any mistakes which may have been committed.

As I had some reason to believe, that amongst their religious customs, human sacrifices were sometimes considered as necessary, I went one day to a *Marai* in Matavai, in company with Captain Furneaux ; having with us, as I had upon all other occasions, one of my men who spoke their language tolerably well, and several of the natives, one of whom appeared to be an intelligent, sensible man. In the *Marai* was a *Tupapow*, on which lay a corpse and some viands ; so that everything promised success to my inquiries. I began with asking questions relating to the several objects before me, if the plantains &c. were for the *Eatua* ? If they sacrificed to the *Eatua*, hogs, dogs, fowls, &c., to all of which he answered in the affirmative. I then asked, if they sacrificed men to the *Eatua* ? he answered, *Taata eno* ; that is, Bad men they did, first *Tiparraky*, or beating them till they were dead. I then asked him, If good men were put to death in this manner ? his answer was, No, only *Taata eno*. I asked him, If any *Earees* were ? he said, they had hogs to give to the *Eatua* ; and again repeated *Taata eno*. I next asked him, If *Toutouts*, that is, servants or slaves, who had no hogs, dogs, or fowls, but yet were good men, if they were sacrificed to the *Eatua* ? His answer was, No, only bad men. I asked him several more questions, and all his answers seemed to tend to this one point, that men for certain crimes were condemned to be sacrificed to the gods, provided they had not wherewithal to redeem themselves. This, I think, implies that, on some occasions, human sacrifices are considered as necessary ; particularly when they take such men as have, by the laws of the country, forfeited their lives, and have nothing to redeem them ; and such will generally be found among the lower class of people.

The man of whom I made these inquiries, as well as some others, took some pains to explain the whole of this custom to us ; but we were not masters enough of their language to understand them. I have since learnt from Omai, that they offer human sacrifices to the Supreme Being. According to his account, what men shall be so sacrificed depends on



the caprice of the high-priest, who, when they are assembled on any solemn occasion, retires alone into the house of God, and stays there some time. When he comes out he informs them, that he has seen and conversed with their great God (the high priest alone having that privilege), and that he has asked for a human sacrifice, and tells them that he has desired such a person, naming a man present, whom most probably the priest has an antipathy against. He is immediately killed, and so falls a victim to the priest's resentment; who, no doubt, (if necessary,) has address enough to persuade the people that he was a bad man\*. If I except their funeral ceremonies, all the knowledge that has been obtained of their religion, has been from information; and as their language is but imperfectly understood, even by those who pretend to the greatest knowledge of it, very little on this head is yet known with certainty.

The liquor which they make from the plant called *Aca aca*, is expressed from the root, and not from the leaves, as mentioned in the narrative of my former voyage. The manner of preparing this liquor is as simple as it is disgusting to a European. It is thus: several people take some of the root and chew it till it is soft and pulpy; then they spit it out into a platter, or other vessel, every one into the same; when a sufficient quantity is chewed, more or less water is put to it, according as it is to be strong or weak; the juice thus diluted is strained through some fibrous stuff like fine shavings; after which it is fit for drinking; and this is always done immediately. It has a pepperish taste, drinks flat, and rather insipid. But though it is intoxicating, I saw only one instance where it had that effect; as they generally drink it with great moderation, and but little at a time. Sometimes they chew this root in their mouths, as Europeans do tobacco, and swallow their spittle; and sometimes I have seen them eat it wholly. At Ulietea they cultivate great quantities of this plant. At Otaheite but very little. I believe there are but few islands in this sea that do not produce more or less of it; and the natives apply it to the same use, as appears by Le Maire's account of Horn Island, wherein he speaks of the natives making a liquor from a plant in the same manner as above mentioned.

Great injustice has been done to the women of Otaheite, and the Society Isles, by those who have represented them, without exception, as ready to grant the last favour to any man who will come up to their price. But this is by no means the case: the favours of married women, and also the unmarried of the better sort, are as difficult to be obtained here as in any other country whatever. Neither can the charge be understood indiscriminately of the

\* Mr. Williams, in his "Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands," informs us that "the system of human sacrifices did not prevail at the Navigator's Islands, but at the Hervey Group, and still more at the Tahitian and Society Islands, where it was carried to an extent truly appalling. There was one ceremony called *Raumatarehi raa*, 'the feast of restoration,' at which no less than seven human victims were always required. This festival was celebrated after an invading army had driven the inhabitants to the mountains, and had desecrated the morai by cutting down the branches of the sacred trees, and cooking their food with them, and with the wooden altars and decorations of the sacred place. As soon as the retirement of the invaders allowed the refugees to leave their hiding-place, their first object was to celebrate this 'feast of restoration,' which was supposed to restore the morai to its previous sanctity, and to reinstate the god in his former glory. A few years ago [Mr. Williams wrote in 1837], I sent to England a very sacred relic called *maro ura*, or the Red Sash. This was a piece of net-work, about seven inches wide and six feet long, upon which the red feathers of the parroquet were neatly fastened. It was used at the inauguration of their greatest kings, just as the crown is with us; and the most honourable appellation which a chief could receive was *Avii maro ura*, 'King of the Red Sash!' A new piece, about eighteen fathoms in length, was attached at the inauguration of every sovereign; to accomplish which several human victims were required. The first was for the *mau raa iiti*, or the stretching it upon pegs in order to attach to it the new piece. Another

was necessary for the *fatu raa*, or attaching the new portion; and a third for the *piu raa*, or twirling the sacred relic off the pegs. This not only invested the sash itself with a high measure of solemn importance, but also rendered the chiefs who wore it most noble in public estimation. On the eve of war also, human victims were invariably offered."

When the priest declared a sacrifice necessary, messengers were despatched by the king to the various chiefs, to collect the requisite number of victims. These emissaries would inquire, on entering his house, whether the chief had a *broken calabash*, or a rotten *cocoa-nut* at hand, (terms very well understood,) on which the devoted objects, often long before fixed upon, were pointed out, and instantly knocked down with a small round stone concealed in the hollow of the hand by the messengers, when others rushed in and crushed the skull to pieces by beating it in with stones, after which the body was carried to the morai. If the victim took refuge in a house, he was speared to death from the outside.

As soon as one of a family had been selected, all the other male members of it were looked upon as devoted to the same horrid purpose. It would avail them nothing if they removed to another island, for the reason of their removal would soon be known there, and whenever a sacrifice was required, it would be sought amongst them.

A very affecting account of the last human sacrifice offered up in Tahiti, is given in Mr. Williams's interesting and valuable work.—Ed.

unmarried of the lower class, for many of these admit of no such familiarities. That there are prostitutes here, as well as in other countries, is very true; perhaps more in proportion, and such were those who came on board the ships to our people, and frequented the post we had on shore. By seeing these mix indiscriminately with those of a different turn, even of the first rank, one is, at first, inclined to think that they are all disposed the same way, and that the only difference is in the price. But the truth is, the woman who becomes a prostitute does not seem, in their opinion, to have committed a crime of so deep a dye as to exclude her from the esteem and society of the community in general. On the whole, a stranger who visits England might with equal justice draw the characters of the women there, from those which he might meet with on board the ships in one of the naval ports, or in the purlieus of Covent Garden and Drury Lane. I must, however, allow that they are all completely versed in the art of coquetry, and that very few of them fix any bounds to their conversation. It is, therefore, no wonder that they have obtained the character of libertines.

To what hath been said of the geography of these isles, in the narrative of my former voyage, I shall now only add that we found the latitude of Oaitipihā Bay, in Otaheite, to be  $17^{\circ} 46' 28''$  south, and the longitude  $0^{\circ} 21' 25\frac{1}{2}''$  east from Point Venus; or  $149^{\circ} 13' 24''$  west from Greenwich. The difference both of latitude and longitude, between Point Venus and Oaitipihā, is greater than I supposed it to be, when I made the circuit of the island in 1769, by two miles and  $4\frac{3}{4}$  miles respectively. It is, therefore, highly probable that the whole island is of a greater extent than I at that time estimated it to be. The astronomers set up their observatory, and made their observations on Point Venus, the latitude of which they found to be  $17^{\circ} 29' 13''$  south. This differs but two seconds from that which Mr. Green and I found; and its longitude, viz.,  $149^{\circ} 34' 49\frac{1}{2}''$  west, for anything that is yet known to the contrary, is as exact.

Mr. Kendal's watch was found to be gaining on mean time  $8'' 163$  per day, which is only  $0'' 142$  less than at Queen Charlotte's Sound, consequently its error in longitude was trifling.

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## BOOK II.

FROM OUR DEPARTURE FROM THE SOCIETY ISLES, TO OUR RETURN TO AND LEAVING THEM THE SECOND TIME.

CHAPTER I.—PASSAGE FROM ULIETEA TO THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF HERVEY'S ISLAND, AND THE INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED AT MIDDLEBURG.

AFTER leaving Ulietea, as before mentioned, I steered to the west, inclining to the south, to get clear of the tracks of former navigators, and to get into the latitude of the islands of Middleburg and Amsterdam; for I intended to run as far west as these islands, and to touch there if I found it convenient, before I hauled up for New Zealand. I generally lay to every night, lest we might pass any land in the dark. Part of the 21st and 22nd, the wind blew from N.W., attended with thunder, lightning, and rain; having a large swell from S.S.E. and S., which kept up for several days—an indication that no land was near us in that direction. On the 23rd, at ten o'clock in the morning, land was seen from the topmast-head, and at noon from the deck, extending from S. by W. to S.W. by S. We hauled up for it with the wind at S.E., and found it to consist of two or three small islets, connected together by breakers like most of the low isles in the sea, lying in a triangular form, and about six leagues in circuit. They were clothed with wood, among which were many cocoa-nut trees. We saw no people, or signs of inhabitants, and had reason to think there were none. The situation of this isle, which is in the latitude of  $19^{\circ} 18'$  south, longitude  $158^{\circ} 54'$  west, is not very different from that assigned by Mr. Dalrymple to La Dezena. But as this is a point not easily determined, I named it Hervey's Island, in honour of the Honourable Captain Hervey of the Navy, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and now Earl of Bristol.



As the landing on this isle, if practicable, would have caused a delay which I could ill spare at this time, we resumed our course to the west; and on the 25th we again began to use our sea-biscuit, the fruit, which had served as a succedaneum, being all consumed; but our stock of fresh pork still continued, each man having as much every day as was needful. In our route to the west, we now and then saw men-of-war and tropic birds, and a small sea-bird, which is seldom seen but near the shores of the isles; we therefore conjectured that we had passed some land at no great distance. As we advanced to the west, the variation of the compass gradually increased, so that on the 29th, being in the latitude of  $21^{\circ} 26'$  south, longitude  $170^{\circ} 40'$  west, it was  $10^{\circ} 45'$  east.

At two o'clock, P.M., on the 1st of October, we made the island of Middleburg, bearing W.S.W., at six o'clock it extended from S.W. by W. to N.W., distant four leagues, at which time another land was seen in the direction of N.N.W. The wind being at S.S.E., I hauled to the S., in order to get round the south end of the island before the morning; but at eight o'clock a small island was seen lying off it; and not knowing but they might be connected by a reef, the extent of which we must be ignorant of, I resolved to spend the night where we were. At daybreak the next morning we bore up for the S.W. side of Middleburg, passing between it and the little isle above mentioned, where we found a clear channel two miles broad.

After ranging the S.W. side of the greater isle to about two-thirds of its length, at the distance of half a mile from the shore, without seeing the least prospect of either anchorage or landing-place, we bore away for Amsterdam, which we had in sight. We had scarcely turned our sails before we observed the shores of Middleburg to assume another aspect, seeming to offer both anchorage and landing. Upon this we hauled the wind, and plied in under the island. In the meantime, two canoes, each conducted by two or three men, came boldly alongside; and some of them entered the ship without hesitation. This mark of confidence gave me a good opinion of these islanders, and determined me to visit them if possible. After making a few trips, we found good anchorage, and came to in twenty-five fathoms' water, and gravel bottom, at three cables' length from the shore. The highest land on the island bore S.E. by E., the north point N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., and the west S. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., and the island of Amsterdam extending from N. by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. to N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. We had scarcely got to an anchor before we were surrounded by a great number of canoes full of people, who had brought with them cloth, and other curiosities, which they exchanged for nails, &c. Several came on board; among whom was one, who, by the authority he seemed to have over the others, I found was a chief, and accordingly made him a present of a hatchet, spike-nails, and several other articles, with which he was highly pleased. Thus I obtained the friendship of this chief, whose name was Tioony.

Soon after, a party of us embarked in two boats, in company with Tioony, who conducted us to a little creek formed by the rocks, right abreast of the ships, where landing was extremely easy, and the boats secure against the surf. Here we found an immense crowd of people, who welcomed us on shore with loud acclamations. Not one of them had so much as a stick, or any other weapon in their hands; an indubitable sign of their pacific intentions. They thronged so thick round the boats with cloth, matting, &c. to exchange for nails, that it was some time before we could get room to land. They seemed to be more desirous to give than receive; for many who could not get near the boats, threw into them, over the others' heads, whole bales of cloth, and then retired, without either asking or waiting to get anything in return. At length the chief caused them to open to the right and left, and make room for us to land. He then conducted us up to his house, which was situated about three hundred yards from the sea, at the head of a fine lawn, and under the shade of some shaddock-trees. The situation was most delightful. In front was the sea and the ships at anchor; behind, and on each side, were plantations, in which were some of the richest productions of nature. The floor was laid with mats, on which we were seated, and the people seated themselves in a circle round us on the outside. Having the bagpipes with us, I ordered them to be played; and, in return, the chief directed three young women to sing a song, which they did with a very good grace; and having made each of them a present, this immediately set all the women in the circle a-singing. Their songs were

musical and harmonious, and nowise harsh or disagreeable. After sitting here some time, we were, at our own request, conducted into one of the adjoining plantations, where the chief had another house, into which we were introduced. Bananas and cocoa-nuts were set before us to eat, and a bowl of liquor prepared in our presence of the juice of *cava* for us to drink. Pieces of the root were first offered to us to chew; but as we excused ourselves from assisting in the operation, this was performed by others. When sufficiently chewed, it was put into a large wooden bowl, then mixed with water, in the manner already related; and as soon as it was properly strained for drinking, they made cups by folding of green leaves, which held near half a pint, and presented to each of us one of these filled with the liquor. But I was the only one who tasted it; the manner of brewing it having quenched the thirst of every one else. The bowl was, however, soon emptied of its contents, of which both men and women partook. I observed that they never filled the same cup twice; nor did two persons drink out of the same; each had a fresh cup and fresh liquor. This house was situated at one corner of the plantation, and had an area before it, on which we were seated. The whole was planted round with fruit and other trees, whose spreading branches afforded an agreeable shade, and whose fragrance diffused a pleasing odour through the air.

Before we had well viewed the plantation it was noon, and we returned on board to dinner, with the chief in our company. He sat at table, but ate nothing, which, as we had fresh pork roasted, was a little extraordinary. After dinner we landed again, and were received by the crowd as before. Mr. Forster, with his botanical party, and some of the officers and gentlemen, walked into the country. Captain Furneaux and myself were conducted to the chief's house, where fruit and some greens, which had been stewed, were set before us to eat. As we had but just dined, it cannot be supposed we ate much; but Oedidee, and Omai, the man on board the *Adventure*, did honour to the feast. After this we signified our desire of seeing the country. Tioony very readily assented, and conducted us through several plantations, which were laid out with great judgment, and inclosed with very neat fences made of reeds. They were all in very good order, and well planted with various fruit-trees, roots, &c. The chief took some pains to let us know the most of them belonged to himself. Near some of the houses and in the lanes that divided the plantations were running about some hogs, and very large fowls, which were the only domestic animals we saw; and these they did not seem willing to part with. Nor did any one, during the whole day, offer in exchange any fruit, or roots, worth mentioning; which determined me to leave this island, and to visit that of Amsterdam.

The evening brought every one on board, highly delighted with the country and the very obliging behaviour of the inhabitants, who seemed to vie with each other in doing what they thought would give us pleasure. The ships were crowded with people the whole day, trafficking with those on board, in which the greatest good order was observed; and I was sorry that the season of the year would not admit of my making a longer stay with them. Early the next morning, while the ships were getting under sail, I went ashore with Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forster to take leave of the chief. He met us at the landing-place, and would have conducted us to his house had we not excused ourselves; we therefore were seated on the grass, where we spent about half an hour in the midst of a vast crowd of people. After making the chief a present, consisting of various articles and an assortment of garden seeds, I gave him to understand that we were going away, at which he seemed not at all moved. He, and two or three more, came into our boat, in order to accompany us on board; but seeing the *Resolution* under sail, he called to a canoe to put alongside, into which he and his friends went, and returned on shore. While he remained in our boat, he continued to exchange fish-hooks for nails, and engrossed the trade in a manner wholly to himself; but when on shore, I never saw him make the least exchange.



CHAPTER II.—THE ARRIVAL OF THE SHIPS AT AMSTERDAM; A DESCRIPTION OF A PLACE OF WORSHIP; AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE INCIDENTS WHICH HAPPENED WHILE THEY REMAINED AT THAT ISLAND.

As soon as I was on board, we made sail down to Amsterdam. The people of this isle were so little afraid of us, that some met us in three canoes about midway between the two isles. They used their utmost efforts to get on board, but without effect, as we did not shorten sail for them, and the rope which we gave them broke. They then attempted to board the *Adventure*, and met with the same disappointment. We ran along the S.W. coast of Amsterdam at half a mile from shore, on which the sea broke in a great surf. We had an opportunity, by the help of our glasses, to view the face of the island, every part of which seemed to be laid out in plantations. We observed the natives running along the shore, displaying small white flags, which we took for ensigns of peace, and answered them by hoisting a St. George's ensign. Three men belonging to Middleburg, who, by some means or other, had been left on board the *Adventure*, now left her, and swam to the shore, not knowing that we intended to stop at this isle, and having no inclination, as may be supposed, to go away with us.

As soon as we opened the west side of the isle, we were met by several canoes, each conducted by three or four men. They came boldly alongside, presented us with some *cava* root, and then came on board without farther ceremony, inviting us, by all the friendly signs they could make, to go to their island, and pointing to the place where we should anchor,—at least so we understood them. After a few boards, we anchored in Van Diemen's Road, in eighteen fathoms water, little more than a cable's length from the breakers which line the coast. We carried out the coasting anchor and cable to seaward, to keep the ship from tailing on the rocks, in case of a shift of wind or a calm. This last anchor lay in forty-seven fathoms water, so steep was the bank on which we anchored. By this time we were crowded with people; some came off in canoes, and others swam; but, like those of the other isle, brought nothing with them but cloth, matting, &c., for which the seamen only bartered away their clothes. As it was probable they would soon feel the effects of this kind of traffic, with a view to put a stop to it, and to obtain the necessary refreshments, I gave orders that no sort of curiosities should be purchased by any person whatever.

The good effect of this order was found in the morning; for when the natives saw we would purchase nothing but eatables, they brought off bananas and cocoa-nuts in abundance, some fowls and pigs, all of which they exchanged for small nails and pieces of cloth; even old rags of any sort was enough for a pig or a fowl.

Matters being thus established, and proper persons appointed to trade under the direction of the officers to prevent disputes, after breakfast, I landed, accompanied by Captain Furneaux, Mr. Forster, and several of the officers; having alone with us a chief, or person of some note, whose name was Attago, who had attached himself to me from the first moment of his coming on board, which was before we anchored. I know not how he came to discover that I was the commander; but, certain it is, he was not long on deck before he singled me out from all the other gentlemen, making me a present of some cloth, and other things he had about him; and, as a greater testimony of friendship, we now exchanged names, a custom which is practised at Otaheite and the Society Isles. We were lucky, or rather we may thank the natives, for having anchored before a narrow creek in the rocks which line the shore. To this creek we were conducted by my friend Attago; and there we landed dry on the beach, and within the breakers, in the face of a vast crowd of people, who received us in the same friendly manner that those of Middleburg had done.

As soon as we were landed, all the gentlemen set out into the country, accompanied by some of the natives; but the most of them remained with Captain Furneaux and me, who amused ourselves some time in distributing presents amongst them, especially to such as Attago pointed out, which were not many, but who I afterwards found were of superior rank to himself. At this time, however, he seemed to be the principal person, and to be

obeyed as such. After we had spent some time on the beach, as we complained of the heat, Attago immediately conducted and seated us under the shade of a tree, ordering the people to form a circle round us. This they did, and never once attempted to push themselves upon us, like the Otaheiteans.

After sitting here some time, and distributing some presents to those about us, we signified our desire to see the country. The chief immediately took the hint, and conducted us along a lane that led to an open green, on the one side of which was a house of worship, built on a mount that had been raised by the hand of man, about sixteen or eighteen feet above the common level. It had an oblong figure, and was inclosed by a wall or parapet of stone, about three feet in height. From this wall the mount rose with a gentle slope, and was covered with a green turf. On the top of it stood the house, which had the same figure as the mount, about twenty feet in length, and fourteen or sixteen broad. As soon as we came before the place, every one seated himself on the green, about fifty or sixty yards from the front of the house. Presently came three elderly men, who seated themselves between us and it, and began a speech, which I understood to be a prayer, it being wholly directed to the house. This lasted about ten minutes; and then the priests, for such I took them to be, came and sat down along with us, when we made them presents of such things as were about us. Having then made signs to them that we wanted to view the premises, my friend Attago immediately got up, and going with us, without showing the least backwardness, gave us full liberty to examine every part of it.

In the front were two stone steps leading to the top of the wall; from this the ascent to the house was easy, round which was a fine gravel walk. The house was built, in all respects, like to their common dwelling-houses; that is, with posts and rafters, and covered with palm thatch. The eaves came down within about three feet of the ground, which space was filled up with strong matting made of palm leaves as a wall. The floor of the house was laid with fine gravel, except in the middle, where there was an oblong square of blue pebbles, raised about six inches higher than the floor. At one corner of the house stood an image rudely carved in wood, and on one side lay another; each about two feet in length. I, who had no intention to offend either them or their gods, did not so much as touch them, but asked Attago, as well as I could, if they were *Eatuas* or gods. Whethers he understood me or no I cannot say; but he immediately turned them over and over, in as rough a manner as he would have done any other log of wood, which convinced me that they were not there as representatives of the Divinity. I was curious to know if the dead were interred there, and asked Attago several questions relative thereto; but I was not sure that he understood me; at least I did not understand the answers he made well enough to satisfy my inquiries. For the reader must know that, at our first coming among these people, we hardly could understand a word they said: even my Otaheitean youth, and the man on board the *Adventure*, were equally at a loss: but more of this by and bye. Before we quitted the house, we thought it necessary to make an offering at the altar. Accordingly we laid down upon the blue pebbles, some medals, nails, and several other things; which we had no sooner done than my friend Attago took them up, and put them in his pocket. The stones with which the walls were made that inclosed this mount, were some of them nine or ten feet by four, and about six inches thick. It is difficult to conceive how they can cut such stones out of the coral rocks.

This mount stood in a kind of grove open only on the side which fronted the high-road and the green on which the people were seated. At this green or open place, was a junction of five roads, two or three of which appeared to be very public ones. The groves were composed of several sorts of trees. Among others was the *etoa* tree, as it is called at Otaheite, of which are made clubs, &c., and a kind of low palm, which is very common in the northern parts of New Holland.

After we had done examining this place of worship, which in their language is called *A-fa-touca*, we desired to return; but instead of conducting us to the water-side, as we expected, they struck into the road leading into the country. This road, which was about sixteen feet broad, and as level as a bowling-green, seemed to be a very public one; there being many other roads from different parts, leading into it, all inclosed on each side, with



neat fences made of reeds, and shaded from the scorching sun by fruit trees. I thought I was transported into the most fertile plains in Europe. There was not an inch of waste ground ; the roads occupied no more space than was absolutely necessary ; the fences did not take up above four inches each ; and even this was not wholly lost, for in many were planted some useful trees or plants. It was everywhere the same ; change of place altered not the scene. Nature, assisted by a little art, nowhere appears in more splendour than at this isle. In these delightful walks, we met numbers of people ; some travelling down to the ships with their burdens of fruit ; others returning back empty. They all gave us the road by turning either to the right or left, and sitting down, or standing, with their backs to the fences, till we had passed.



AFIATOUCA.

At several of the cross roads, or at the meeting of two or more roads, were generally *Afiatoucas*, such as already described ; with this difference, the mounts were palisadoed round, instead of a stone wall. At length, after walking several miles, we came to one larger than common ; near to which was a large house belonging to an old chief in our company. At this house we were desired to stop, which we accordingly did, and were treated with fruit, &c.

We were no sooner seated in the house, than the eldest of the priests began a speech or prayer, which was first directed to the *Afiatouca*, and then to me, and alternately. When he addressed me, he paused at every sentence, till I gave a nod of approbation. I, however, did not understand one single word he said. At times, the old gentleman seemed to be at a loss what to say ; or perhaps his memory failed him ; for, every now and then, he was prompted by one of the other priests who sat by him. Both during this prayer and the former one the people were silent, but not attentive. At this last place we made but a short stay. Our guides conducted us down to our boat, and we returned with Attago to our ship to dinner. We had no sooner got on board, than an old gentleman came alongside, who, I understood from Attago, was some king or great man. He was, accordingly, ushered on board ; when I presented him with such things as he most valued (being the only method to make him my friend), and seated him at table to dinner. We now saw that he

was a man of consequence; for Attago would not sit down and eat before him, but got to the other end of the table; and, as the old chief was almost blind, he sat there, and ate with his back towards him. After the old man had eaten a bit of fish and drunk two glasses of wine, he returned ashore. As soon as Attago had seen him out of the ship, he came and took his place at table, finished his dinner, and drank two glasses of wine. When dinner was over, we all went ashore, where we found the old chief, who presented me with a hog; and he and some others took a walk with us into the country.

Before we set out, I happened to go down with Attago to the landing-place, and there found Mr. Wales in a laughable, though distressed, situation. The boats which brought us on shore, not being able to get near the landing-place for want of a sufficient depth of water; he pulled off his shoes and stockings to walk through, and as soon as he got on dry land, he put them down betwixt his legs to put on again, but they were instantly snatched away by a person behind him, who immediately mixed with the crowd. It was impossible for him to follow the man bare-footed over the sharp coral rocks, which compose the shore, without having his feet cut to pieces. The boat was put back to the ship, his companions had each made his way through the crowd, and he left in this condition alone. Attago soon found out the thief, recovered his shoes and stockings, and set him at liberty. Our route into the country was by the first-mentioned *Afiatouca*, before which we again seated ourselves, but had no prayers, although the old priest was with us. Our stay here was but short. The old chief, probably thinking that we might want water on board, conducted us to a plantation hard by, and showed us a pool of fresh water, though we had not made the least inquiry after any. I believe this to be the same that Tasman calls the *washing-place* for the king and his nobles. From hence we were conducted down to the shore of Maria bay, or N.E. side of the isle; where, in a boat-house, was shown to us a fine large double canoe not yet launched. The old chief did not fail to make us sensible it belonged to himself. Night now approaching, we took leave of him and returned on board, being conducted by Attago down to the water-side.

Mr. Forster and his party spent the day in the country botanizing; and several of the officers were out shooting. All of them were very civilly treated by the natives. We had also a brisk trade for bananas, cocoa-nuts, yams, pigs, and fowls; all of which were procured for nails, and pieces of cloth. A boat from each ship was employed trading ashore, and bringing off their cargoes as soon as they were laden, which was generally in a short time. By this method we got cheaper, and with less trouble, a good quantity of fruit, as well as other refreshments, from people who had no canoes to carry them off to the ships.

Pretty early in the morning on the 5th, my friend brought me a hog and some fruit; for which I gave him a hatchet, a sheet and some red cloth. The pinnace was sent ashore to trade as usual; but soon returned. The officer informed me that the natives were for taking everything out of the boat, and in other respects were very troublesome. The day before, they stole the grappling at the time the boat was riding by it, and carried it off undiscovered. I now judged it necessary to have a guard on shore, to protect the boats and people whose business required their being there; and accordingly sent the marines, under the command of Lieutenant Edgumbe. Soon after, I went myself, with my friend Attago, Captain Furneaux, and several of the gentlemen. At landing, we found the old chief, who presented me with a pig. After this, Captain Furneaux and I took a walk into the country with Mr. Hodges, to make drawings of such places and things as were most interesting. When this was done, we returned on board to dinner, with my friend and two other chiefs; one of whom sent a hog on board the *Adventure* for Captain Furneaux, some hours before, without stipulating for any return; the only instance of this kind.—My friend took care to put me in mind of the pig the old king gave me in the morning; for which I now gave a checked shirt and a piece of red cloth. I had tied them up for him to carry ashore; but with this he was not satisfied. He wanted to have them put on him; which was no sooner done, than he went on deck, and showed himself to all his countrymen. He had done the same thing in the morning with the sheet I gave him. In the evening we all went on shore again, where we found the old king, who took to himself everything my friend and the others had got.

The different trading parties were so successful to-day as to procure for both ships a



tolerably good supply of refreshments. In consequence of which, I, the next morning, gave every one leave to purchase what curiosities and other things they pleased. After this, it was astonishing to see with what eagerness every one caught at everything he saw. It even went so far as to become the ridicule of the natives, who offered pieces of sticks and stones to exchange. One waggish boy took a piece of human excrement on the end of a stick, and held it out to every one he met with. This day a man got into the master's cabin, through the outside scuttle, and took out some books and other things. He was discovered just as he was getting out into his canoe, and pursued by one of our boats, which obliged him to quit the canoe and take to the water. The people in the boat made several attempts to lay hold on him; but he as often dived under the boat, and at last, having unshipped the rudder, which rendered her ungovernable, by this means he got clear off. Some other very daring thefts were committed at the landing-place. One fellow took a seaman's jacket out of the boat, and carried it off, in spite of all that our people in her could do. Till he was both pursued and fired at by them, he would not part with it; nor would he have done it then, had not his landing been intercepted by some of us, who were on shore. The rest of the natives, who were very numerous, took very little notice of the whole transaction; nor were they the least alarmed when the man was fired at.

My friend Attago having visited me again next morning, as usual brought with him a hog, and assisted me in purchasing several more. Afterwards we went ashore; visited the old king, with whom we staid till noon; then returned on board to dinner, with Attago, who never once left me. Intending to sail the next morning, I made up a present for the old king, and carried it on shore in the evening. As soon as I landed, I was told by the officers who were on shore, that a far greater man than any we had yet seen was come to pay us a visit. Mr. Pickersgill informed me that he had seen him in the country, and found that he was a man of some consequence, by the extraordinary respect paid him by the people. Some, when they approached him, fell on their faces, and put their heads between their feet; and no one durst pass him without permission. Mr. Pickersgill, and another of the gentlemen, took hold of his arms, and conducted him down to the landing-place, where I found him seated with so much sullen and stupid gravity, that notwithstanding what had been told me, I really took him for an idiot, whom the people, from some superstitious notions, were ready to worship. I saluted and spoke to him; but he neither answered, nor took the least notice of me; nor did he alter a single feature in his countenance. This confirmed me in my opinion, and I was just going to leave him, when one of the natives, an intelligent youth, undertook to undeceive me; which he did in such a manner as left me no room to doubt that he was the king, or principal man on the island. Accordingly I made him the present I intended for the old chief, which consisted of a shirt, an ax, a piece of red cloth, a looking-glass, some nails, medals, and beads. He received these things, or rather suffered them to be put upon him, and laid down by him, without losing a bit of his gravity, speaking one word, or turning his head either to the right or left; sitting the whole time like a statue; in which situation I left him, to return on board; and he soon after retired. I had not been long on board before word was brought me that a quantity of provisions had come from this chief. A boat was sent to bring it from the shore; and it consisted of about twenty baskets of roasted bananas, sour bread and yams, and a roasted pig of about twenty pounds weight. Mr. Edgeumbe and his party were just reimbarking, when these were brought to the water-side, and the bearers said it was a present from the *Areeke*, that is the king of the island, to the *Areeke* of the ship. After this I was no longer to doubt the dignity of this sullen chief.

Early in the morning of the 7th, while the ships were unmooring, I went ashore with Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forster, in order to make some return to the king for his last night's present. We no sooner landed than we found Attago, of whom we inquired for the king, whose name was Kohagheetoo-Fallangou. He accordingly undertook to conduct us to him; but whether he mistook the man we wanted, or was ignorant where he was, I know not. Certain it is that he took us a wrong road, in which he had not gone far before he stopped; and after some little conversation between him and another man, we returned back, and presently after the king appeared with very few attendants. As soon as Attago



saw him coming, he sat down under a tree, and desired us to do the same. The king seated himself on a rising ground, about twelve or fifteen yards from us: here we sat facing one another for some minutes. I waited for Attago to show us the way; but seeing he did not rise, Captain Furneaux and I got up, went and saluted the king, and sat down by him. We then presented him with a white shirt (which we put on his back), a few yards of red cloth, a brass kettle, a saw, two large spikes, three looking-glasses, a dozen of medals, and some strings of beads. All this time he sat with the same sullen stupid gravity as the day before: he even did not seem to see or know what we were about; his arms appeared immoveable at his sides; he did not so much as raise them when we put on the shirt. I told him, both by words and signs, that we were going to leave his island; he scarcely made the least answer to this, or any other thing we either said or did. We, therefore, got up and took leave; but I yet remained near him, to observe his actions. Soon after, he entered into conversation with Attago and an old woman, whom we took to be his mother. I did not understand any part of the conversation; it however made him laugh, in spite of his assumed gravity. I say assumed, because it exceeded everything of the kind I ever saw; and therefore think it could not be his real disposition (unless he was an idiot indeed), as these islanders, like all the others we had lately visited, have a great deal of levity; and he was in the prime of life. At last, he rose up, and retired with his mother and two or three more.

Attago conducted us to another circle, where were seated the aged chief and several respectable old persons of both sexes: among whom was the priest, who was generally in company with this chief. We observed that this reverend father could walk very well in a morning; but, in an evening, was obliged to be led home by two people. By this we concluded, that the juice of the pepper-root had the same effect upon him, that wine and other strong liquors have on Europeans who drink a large portion of them. It is very certain, that these old people seldom sat down without preparing a bowl of this liquor; which is done in the same manner as at Ulitea. We, however, must do them the justice to believe, that it was meant to treat us: nevertheless, the greatest part, if not the whole, generally fell to their share. I was not well prepared to take leave of this chief, having exhausted almost all our store on the other. However, after rummaging our pockets, and treasury bag, which was always carried with me wherever I went, we made up a tolerable present, both for him and his friends. This old chief had an air of dignity about him that commanded respect, which the other had not. He was grave, but not sullen: would crack a joke, talk on indifferent subjects, and endeavour to understand us and be understood himself. During this visit, the old priest repeated a short prayer or speech, the purport of which we did not understand. Indeed he would frequently, at other times, break out in prayer; but I never saw any attention paid to him by any one present. After a stay of near two hours, we took leave, and returned on board, with Attago and two or three more friends, who staid and breakfasted with us; after which they were dismissed, loaded with presents.

Attago was very importunate with me to return again to this isle, and to bring with me cloth, axes, nails, &c. &c., telling me that I should have hogs, fowls, fruit, and roots, in abundance. He particularly desired me, more than once, to bring him such a suit of clothes as I had on, which was my uniform. This good-natured islander was very serviceable to me, on many occasions, during our short stay. He constantly came on board every morning soon after it was light, and never quitted us till the evening. He was always ready, either on board or on shore, to do me all the service in his power: his fidelity was rewarded at a small expense; and I found my account in having such a friend.

In heaving in the coasting cable, it parted in the middle of its length, being chafed by the rocks. By this accident we lost the other half, together with the anchor, which lay in forty fathoms water, without any buoy to it. The best bower cable suffered also by the rocks; by which a judgment may be formed of this anchorage. At ten o'clock we got under sail; but as our decks were much encumbered with fruit, &c. we kept plying under the land till they were cleared. The supplies we got at this isle were about one hundred and fifty pigs, twice that number of fowls, as many bananas and cocoa-nuts as we could find room for, with a few yams; and had our stay been longer, we, no doubt, might have got a great deal more. This, in some degree, shows the fertility of the island, of which, together with the neighbouring one of Middleburg, I shall now give a more particular account.



CHAPTER III.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLANDS AND THEIR PRODUCE, WITH THEIR CULTIVATION, HOUSES, CANOES, NAVIGATION, MANUFACTURES, WEAPONS, CUSTOMS, GOVERNMENT, RELIGION, AND LANGUAGE OF THE INHABITANTS.

THESE islands were first discovered by Captain Tasman, in January 1642-3; and, by him, called Amsterdam and Middleburg. But the former is called by the natives Ton-ga-ta-bu, and the latter Ea-oo-we. They are situated between the latitude of  $21^{\circ} 29'$  and  $21^{\circ} 3'$  south, and between the longitude of  $174^{\circ} 40'$  and  $175^{\circ} 15'$  west, deduced from observations made on the spot.

Middleburg, or Eaoowe, which is the southernmost, is about ten leagues in circuit, and of a height sufficient to be seen twelve leagues. The skirts of this isle are mostly taken up in the plantations; the S.W. and N.W. sides especially. The interior parts are but little cultivated, though very fit for cultivation. However, the want of it added greatly to the beauty of the isle; for here are, agreeably dispersed, groves of cocoa-nut and other trees, lawns covered with thick grass, here and there plantations, and paths leading to every part of the island, in such beautiful disorder as greatly enlivens the prospect.

The anchorage, which I named English Road, (being the first who anchored there,) is on the N.W. side, in latitude  $21^{\circ} 20' 30''$  south. The bearing we took when at anchor, already mentioned, together with the chart, will be more than sufficient to find this anchorage. The bank is a coarse sand; it extends two miles from the land, and on it there is from twenty to forty fathoms water. The small creek before it affords convenient landing for boats at all times of the tide; which here, as well as at the other islands, rises about four or five feet, and is high water on the full and change days about seven o'clock. The island of Tongatabu is shaped something like an isosceles triangle, the longest sides whereof are seven leagues each, and the shortest four. It lies nearly in the direction of E.S.E. and W.N.W. is nearly all of an equal height, rather low, not exceeding sixty or eighty feet above the level of the sea. This island, and also that of Eaoowe, is guarded from the sea by a reef of coral rocks extending out from the shore one hundred fathoms more or less. On this reef the force of the sea is spent before it reaches the land or shore. Indeed, this is, in some measure, the situation of all the tropical isles in this sea that I have seen; and thus nature has effectually secured them from the encroachments of the sea, though many of them are mere points when compared to this vast ocean. Van Diemen's Road, where we anchored, is under the north-west part of the island, between the most northern and western points. There lies a reef of rocks without it, bearing N.W. by W., over which the sea breaks continually. The bank does not extend more than three cables' length from the shore; without that, is an unfathomable depth. The loss of an anchor, and the damage our cables sustained, are sufficient proofs that the bottom is none of the best.

On the east side of the north point of the island (as Mr. Gilbert, whom I sent to survey the parts, informed me) is a very snug harbour, of one mile or more in extent, wherein is seven, eight, and ten fathoms water, with a clean sandy bottom. The channel, by which he went in and out, lies close to the point, and has only three fathoms water; but he believes that farther to the N.E. is a channel with a much greater depth, which he had not time to examine. Indeed, it would have taken up far more time than I could spare to have surveyed these parts minutely; as there lie a number of small islets and reefs of rocks along the N.E. side of the island, which seemed to extend to the N.E. farther than the eye could reach. The island of Amsterdam or Tongatabu is wholly laid out in plantations, in which are planted some of the richest productions of nature; such as bread-fruit, cocoa-nut-trees, plantains, bananas, shaddocks, yams, and some other roots, sugar-cane, and a fruit like a nectarine, called by them *Fighega*, and at Otaheite *Ahuya*: in short, here are most of the articles which the Society Islands produce, besides some which they have not. Mr. Forster tells me, that he not only found the same plants here that are at Otaheite, and the neighbouring isles, but several others which are not to be met with there. And I probably have

added to their stock of vegetables, by leaving with them an assortment of garden seeds, pulse, &c. Bread-fruit here, as well as at all the other isles, was not in season; nor was this the time for roots and shaddocks. We got the latter only at Middleburg.

The produce and cultivation of this isle is the same as at Amsterdam; with this difference, that a part only of the former is cultivated, whereas the whole of the latter is. The lanes, or roads necessary for travelling, are laid out in so judicious a manner as to open a free and easy communication from one part of the island to the other. Here are no towns or villages, most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no other order than what convenience requires; they are neatly constructed; but do not exceed those in the other isles. The materials of which they are built are the same; and some little variation in the disposition of the framing is all the difference in their construction. The floor is a little raised, and covered with thick strong mats; the same sort of matting serves to inclose them on the windward side, the other being open. They have little areas before the most of them, which are generally planted round with trees, or shrubs of ornament, whose fragrant perfume the very air in which they breathe. Their household furniture consists of a few wooden platters, cocoa-nut shells, and some neat wooden pillows shaped like four-footed stools or forms. Their common clothing, with the addition of a mat, serves them for bedding. We got from them two or three earthen vessels, which were all we saw among them. One was in the shape of a bomb-shell, with two holes in it opposite to each other; the others were like pipkins, containing about five or six pints, and had been in use on the fire. I am of opinion they are the manufacture of some other isle; for, if they were of their own, we ought to have seen more of them. Nor am I to suppose they came from Tasman's ships; the time is too long for brittle vessels like these to be preserved.

We saw no other domestic animals amongst them but hogs and fowls. The former are of the same sort as at the other isles in this sea; but the latter are far superior, being as large as any we have in Europe, and their flesh equally good, if not better. We saw no dogs, and believe they have none, as they were exceedingly desirous of those we had on board. My friend Attago was complimented with a dog and a bitch, the one from New Zealand, the other from Ulitea. The name of a dog with them is *kooree* or *gooree*, the same as at New Zealand, which shows that they are not wholly strangers to them. We saw no rats in these isles, nor any other wild quadrupeds, except small lizards. The land birds are pigeons, turtle-doves, parrots, parroquets, owls, bald coots with a blue plumage, a variety of small birds, and large bats in abundance. The produce of the sea we know but little of; it is reasonable to suppose that the same sorts of fish are found here as at the other isles. Their fishing instruments are the same; that is, hooks made of mother-of-pearl, gigs with two, three, or more prongs, and nets made of a very fine thread, with the meshes wrought exactly like ours. But nothing can be a more demonstrative evidence of their ingenuity than the construction and make of their canoes, which, in point of neatness and workmanship, exceed everything of this kind we saw in this sea. They are built of several pieces sewed together with bandage, in so neat a manner, that on the outside it is difficult to see the joints. All the fastenings are on the inside, and pass through kants or ridges, which are wrought on the edges and ends of the several boards which compose the vessel, for that purpose. They are of two kinds, viz., double and single. The single ones are from twenty to thirty feet long, and about twenty or twenty-two inches broad in the middle; the stern terminates in a point, and the head something like the point of a wedge. At each end is a kind of deck, for about one-third part of the whole length, and open in the middle. In some the middle of the deck is decorated with a row of white shells, stuck on little pegs wrought out of the same piece which composes it. These single canoes have all out-riggers, and are sometimes navigated with sails, but more generally with paddles, the blades of which are short, and broadest in the middle. The two vessels which compose the double canoe are each about sixty or seventy feet long, and four or five broad in the middle; and each end terminates nearly in a point; so that the body or hull differs a little in construction from the single canoe; but is put together exactly in the same manner; these having a rising in the middle round the open part, in the form of a long trough, which is made of boards, closely fitted together, and well secured to the body of the vessel. Two such vessels



are fastened to and parallel to each other, about six or seven feet asunder, by strong cross beams, secured by bandages to the upper part of the risings above-mentioned. Over these beams and others, which are supported by stanchions fixed on the bodies of the canoes, is laid a boarded platform. All the parts which compose the double canoe, are made as strong and light as the nature of the work will admit, and may be immersed in water to the very platform, without being in danger of filling. Nor is it possible, under any circumstance whatever, for them to sink, so long as they hold together. Thus they are not only made vessels of burden, but fit for distant navigation. They are rigged with one mast, which steps upon the platform, and can easily be raised or taken down; and are sailed with a latteen-sail, or triangular one, extended by a long yard, which is a little bent or crooked. The sail is made of mats; the rope they make use of is laid exactly like ours, and some of it is four or five inch. On the platform is built a little shed or hut, which screens the crew from the sun and weather, and serves for other purposes. They also carry a moveable fire-hearth, which is a square, but shallow, trough of wood, filled with stones. The way into the hold of the canoe is from off the platform, down a sort of uncovered hatchway, in which they stand to bail out the water. I think these vessels are navigated either end foremost, and that, in changing tacks, they have only occasion to shift or jib round the sail; but of this I was not certain, as I had not then seen any under sail, or with the mast and sail an end, but what were a considerable distance from us.

Their working-tools are made of stone, bone, shells, &c., as at the other islands. When we view the work which is performed with these tools, we are struck with admiration at the ingenuity and patience of the workman. Their knowledge of the utility of iron was no more than sufficient to teach them to prefer nails to beads, and such trifles; some, but very few, would exchange a pig for a large nail, or a hatchet. Old jackets, shirts, cloth, and even rags, were in more esteem than the best edge-tool we could give them; consequently they got but few axes from us but what were given as presents. But if we include the nails which were given by the officers and crews of both ships for curiosities, &c. with those given for refreshments, they cannot have got less than five hundred weight, great and small. The only piece of iron we saw among them was a small broad-awl, which had been made of a nail.

Both men and women are of a common size with Europeans; and their colour is that of a lightish copper, and more uniformly so than amongst the inhabitants of Otaheite and the Society Isles. Some of our gentlemen were of opinion these were a much handsomer race; others maintained a contrary opinion, of which number I was one. Be this as it may, they have a good shape, and regular features, and are active, brisk, and lively. The women, in particular, are the merriest creatures I ever met with, and will keep chattering by one's side, without the least invitation, or considering whether they are understood, provided one does but seem pleased with them. In general they appeared to be modest; although there was no want of those of a different stamp; and as we had yet some venereal complaints on board, I took all possible care to prevent the disorder being communicated to them. Upon most occasions they showed a strong propensity to pilfering; in which they were full as expert as the Otaheiteans.

Their hair in general is black, but more especially that of the women. Different colours were found among the men, sometimes on the same head, caused by something they put upon it, which stains it white, red, and blue. Both sexes wear it short; I saw but two exceptions to this custom, and the most of them combed it upwards. Many of the boys had it cut very close, except a single lock on the top of the head, and a small quantity on each side. The men cut or shave their beards quite close, which operation is performed with two shells. They have fine eyes, and in general good teeth, even to an advanced age. The custom of *tattooing* or puncturing the skin prevails. The men are *tattooed* from the middle of the thigh to above the hips. The women have it only on their arms and fingers; and there but very slightly.

The dress of both sexes consists of a piece of cloth, or matting, wrapped round the waist and hanging down below the knees. From the waist, upwards, they are generally naked; and it seemed to be a custom to anoint these parts every morning. My friend Attago never

failed to do it ; but whether out of respect to his friend, or from custom, I will not pretend to say ; though I rather think from the latter, as he was not singular in the practice.

Their ornaments are, amulets, necklaces, and bracelets of bones, shells, and beads of mother-of-pearl, tortoise-shell, &c., which are worn by both sexes. The women also wear on their fingers neat rings made of tortoise-shell, and pieces in their ears about the size of a small quill ; but ear-ornaments are not commonly worn, though all have their ears pierced. They have also a curious apron made of the outside fibres of the cocoa-nut shell, and composed of a number of small pieces sewed together in such a manner as to form stars, half-moons, little squares, &c. It is studded with beads of shells, and covered with red feathers, so as to have a pleasing effect. They make the same kind of cloth, and of the same materials, as at Otaheite ; though they have not such a variety, nor do they make any so fine ; but as they have a method of glazing it, it is more durable, and will resist rain for some time, which Otaheite cloth will not. Their colours are black, brown, purple, yellow, and red ; all made from vegetables. They make various sorts of matting ; some of a very fine texture, which is generally used for clothing ; and the thick and stronger sort serves to sleep on, and to make sails for their canoes, &c. Among other useful utensils, they have various sorts of baskets ; some made of the same materials as their mats ; and others of the twisted fibres of cocoa-nuts. These are not only durable, but beautiful ; being generally composed of different colours, and studded with beads made of shells or bones. They have many little nick-nacks amongst them ; which shows that they neither want taste to design nor skill to execute whatever they take in hand.

How these people amuse themselves in their leisure hours I cannot say, as we are but little acquainted with their diversions. The women frequently entertained us with songs, in a manner which was agreeable enough. They accompany the music by snapping their fingers, so as to keep time to it. Not only their voices but their music was very harmonious ; and they have a considerable compass in their notes. I saw but two musical instruments amongst them. One was a large flute made of a piece of bamboo, which they fill with their noses as at Otaheite ; but these have four holes or stops, whereas those of Otaheite have only two. The other was composed of ten or eleven small reeds of unequal lengths, bound together side by side, as the Doric pipe of the ancients is said to have been ; and the open ends of the reeds into which they blow with their mouths are of equal height, or in a line. They have also a drum, which, without any impropriety, may be compared to a hollow log of wood. The one I saw was five feet six inches long, and thirty inches in girth, and had a slit in it, from the one end to the other, about three inches wide, by means of which it had been hollowed out. They beat on the side of this log with two drumsticks, and produce a hollow sound, not quite so musical as that of an empty cask.

The common method of saluting one another is by touching or meeting noses, as is done in New Zealand ; and their sign of peace to strangers is the displaying a white flag or flags ; at least such were displayed to us, when we first drew near the shore. But the people who came first on board brought with them some of the pepper-plant, and sent it before them into the ship ; a stronger sign of friendship than which one could not wish for. From their unsuspicious manner of coming on board, and of receiving us at first on shore, I am of opinion that they are seldom disturbed by either foreign or domestic troubles. They are, however, not unprovided with very formidable weapons ; such as clubs and spears, made of hard wood, also bows and arrows. The clubs are from three to five feet in length, and of various shapes ; their bows and arrows are but indifferent : the former being very slight, and the latter only made of a slender reed pointed with hard wood. Some of their spears have many barbs, and must be very dangerous weapons where they take effect. On the inside of the bow is a groove in which is put the arrow ; from which it should seem that they use but one.

They have a singular custom of putting everything you give them to their heads, by way of thanks, as we conjectured. This manner of paying a compliment is taught them from their very infancy ; for when we gave things to little children, the mother lifted up the child's hand to its head. They also used this custom in their exchanges with us : whatever we gave them for their goods was always applied to the head, just as if it had been given



them for nothing. Sometimes they would look at our goods, and, if not approved, return them back; but whenever they applied them to the head, the bargain was infallibly struck. When I had made a present to the chief of anything curious, I frequently saw it handed from one to another: and every one, into whose hands it came, put it to the head. Very often the women would take hold of my hand, kiss it, and lift it to their heads. From all this it should seem, that this custom, which they call *fagafatie*, has various significations according as it is applied; all however complimentary. It must be observed, that the sullen chief or king did not pay me any of these compliments for the presents I made him.

A still more singular custom prevails in these isles: we observed that the greater part of the people, both men and women, had lost one or both their little fingers.\* We endeavoured, but in vain, to find out the reason of this mutilation; for no one would take any pains to inform us. It was neither peculiar to rank, age, or sex; nor is it done at any certain age, as I saw those of all ages on whom the amputation had been just made; and, except some young children, we found few who had both hands perfect. As it was more common among the aged than the young, some of us were of opinion that it was occasioned by the death of their parents, or some other near relation. But Mr. Wales one day met with a man, whose hands were both perfect, of such an advanced age, that it was hardly possible his parents could be living. They also burn or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek-bone. The reason of this was equally unknown to us. In some, the wounds were quite fresh; in others, they could only be known by the scars, or colour of the skin. I saw neither sick nor lame amongst them: all appeared healthy, strong, and vigorous; a proof of the goodness of the climate in which they live.

I have frequently mentioned a king, which implies the government being in a single person, without knowing for certain whether it is so or not. Such a one was, however, pointed out to us; and we had no reason to doubt it. From this, and other circumstances, I am of opinion that the government is much like that of Otaheite; that is, in a king or great chief, who is here called Areeke, with other chiefs under him, who are lords of certain districts, and perhaps sole proprietors, to whom the people seem to pay great obedience. I also observed a third rank, who had not a little authority over the common people: my friend Attago was one of these. I am of opinion that all the land on *Tongatabu* is private property, and that there are here, as at Otaheite, a set of people, who are servants or slaves, and have no property in land. It is unreasonable to suppose everything in common in a country so highly cultivated as this. Interest being the greatest spring which animates the hand of industry, few would toil in cultivating and planting the land, if they did not expect to reap the fruit of their labour: were it otherwise, the industrious man would be in a worse state than the idle sluggard. I frequently saw parties of six, eight, or ten people, bring down to the landing-place fruit and other things to dispose of, where one person, a man or woman, superintended the sale of the whole; no exchanges were made but with his or her consent; and, whatever we gave in exchange, was always given them, which, I think, plainly showed them to be the owners of the goods, and the others no more than servants. Though benevolent nature has been very bountiful to these isles, it cannot be said that the inhabitants are wholly exempt from the curse of our forefathers: part of their bread must be earned with the sweat of their brows. The high state of cultivation their lands are in must have cost them immense labour. This is now amply rewarded by the great produce, of which every one seems to partake. No one wants the common necessities of life; joy and contentment are painted in every face. Indeed, it can hardly be otherwise: an easy freedom prevails among all ranks of people: they feel no wants which they do not enjoy the means of gratifying; and they live in a clime where the painful extremes of heat and cold are equally unknown. If nature has been wanting in anything, it is in the article of fresh water, which, as it is shut up in the bowels of the earth, they are obliged to dig for. A running stream was not seen, and but one well, at Amsterdam. At Middleburg, we saw no water but what the natives had in vessels; but as it was sweet and cool, I had no doubt of its being taken up upon the island, and, probably, not far from the spot where I saw it.

\* This custom is not peculiar to the inhabitants of the Friendly Isles. See *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains*, tome. ii. p. 253, &c.

So little do we know of their religion, that I hardly dare mention it. The buildings called *Afiatoucas*, before mentioned, are undoubtedly set apart for this purpose. Some of our gentlemen were of opinion, that they were merely burying-places. I can only say, from my own knowledge, that they are places to which particular persons directed set speeches, which I understood to be prayers, as hath been already related. Joining my opinion with that of others, I was inclined to think that they are set apart to be both temples and burying-places, as at Otaheite, or even in Europe. But I have no idea of the images being idols; not only from what I saw myself, but from Mr. Wales's informing me that they set one of them up, for him and others to shoot at. One circumstance showed that these *Afiatoucas* were frequently resorted to, for one purpose or other; the areas, or open places, before them, being covered with a green sod, the grass on which was very short. This did not appear to have been cut, or reduced by the hand of man, but to have been prevented in its growth by being often trod, or sat upon.

It cannot be supposed that we could know much, either of their civil or religious policy, in so short a time as four or five days, especially as we understood but little of their language: even the two islanders we had on board could not at first understand them; and yet as we became the more acquainted with them, we found their language was nearly the same spoken at Otaheite and the Society Isles; the difference not being greater than what we find between the most northern and western parts of England, as will more fully appear by the vocabulary.

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CHAPTER IV.—PASSAGE FROM AMSTERDAM TO QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF AN INTERVIEW WITH THE INHABITANTS, AND THE FINAL SEPARATION OF THE TWO SHIPS.

ABOUT the time we were in a condition to make sail, a canoe, conducted by four men, came alongside, with one of those drums already mentioned, on which one man kept continually beating; thinking, no doubt, the music would charm us. I gave them a piece of cloth, and a nail, for the drum, and took the opportunity to send to my friend Attago some wheat, peas, and beans, which I had forgot to give him when he had the other seeds. As soon as this canoe was gone, we made sail to the southward, having a gentle gale at S.E. by E., it being my intention to proceed directly to Queen Charlotte's Sound in New Zealand, there to take in wood and water, and then to go on further discoveries to the south and east.

In the afternoon on the 8th, we made the island of Pilstart, bearing S.W. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., distant seven or eight leagues. This island, which was also discovered by Tasman, is situated in the latitude of  $22^{\circ} 26'$  south, longitude  $175^{\circ} 59'$  west, and lies in the direction of S.  $52^{\circ}$  west, distant thirty-two leagues from the south end of Middleburg. It is more conspicuous in height than circuit; having in it two considerable hills, seemingly disjoined from each other by a low valley. After a few hours' calm, the wind came to S.W., with which we stretched to the S.E., but on the 10th, it veered round by the south to the S.E. and E.S.E., and then we resumed our course to the S.S.W.

At five o'clock in the morning of the 21st we made the land of New Zealand, extending from N.W. by N. to W.S.W. At noon, Table Cape bore west, distant eight or ten leagues. I was very desirous of having some intercourse with the natives of this country as far to the north as possible; that is, about Poverty or Tolaga Bays, where I apprehended they were more civilized than at Queen Charlotte's Sound; in order to give them some hogs, fowls, seeds, roots, &c., which I had provided for the purpose. The wind veering to the N.W. and north, enabled us to fetch in with the land a little to the north of Portland, and we stood as near the shore as we could with safety. We observed several people upon it, but none attempted to come off to us. Seeing this, we bore away under Portland, where we lay to some time, as well to give time for the natives to come off as to wait for the *Adventure*. There were several people on Portland, but none seemed inclined to come to us; indeed the wind at this time blew rather too fresh for them to make the attempt. Therefore, as soon as the *Adventure* was up with us, we made sail for Cape Kidnappers, which we passed at five o'clock in the morning, and continued our course alongshore, till nine, when, being about



three leagues short of Black Head, we saw some canoes put off from the shore. Upon this I brought to, in order to give them time to come on board; but ordered the Adventure, by signal, to stand on, as I was willing to lose as little time as possible.

Those in the first canoe which came alongside were fishers, and exchanged some fish for pieces of cloth and nails. In the next were two men, whom, by their dress and behaviour, I took to be chiefs. These two were easily prevailed on to come on board, when they were presented with nails, and other articles. They were so fond of nails, as to seize on all they could find, and with such eagerness, as plainly showed they were the most valuable things we could give them. To the principal of these two men I gave the pigs, fowls, seeds, and roots. I believe, at first, he did not think I meant to give them to him; for he took but little notice of them, till he was satisfied they were for himself. Nor was he then in such a rapture as when I gave him a spike-nail half the length of his arm. However, at his going away, I took notice that he very well remembered how many pigs and fowls had been given him, as he took care to have them all collected together, and kept a watchful eye over them, lest any should be taken away. He made me a promise not to kill any; and if he keeps his word, and proper care is taken of them, there were enough to stock the whole island in due time, being two boars, two sows, four hens, and two cocks. The seeds were such as are most useful, viz., wheat, French and kidney beans, peas, cabbage, turnips, onions, carrots, parsnips, and yams, &c. With these articles they were dismissed. It was evident these people had not forgot the Endeavour being on their coast; for the first words they spoke to us were, *Mataou no te pow pow* (We are afraid of the guns). As they could be no strangers to the affair which happened off Cape Kidnapper in my former voyage, experience had taught them to have some regard to these instruments of death.

As soon as they were gone we stretched off to the southward, the wind having now veered to the W.S.W. In the afternoon it increased to a fresh gale, and blew in squalls; in one of which we lost our fore-top-gallant mast, having carried the sail a little too long. The fear of losing the land induced me to carry as much sail as possible. At seven in the morning we tacked, and stretched in-shore; Cape Turnagain, at this time, bore about N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N., distant six or seven leagues. The Adventure, being a good way to leeward, we suppose did not observe the signal, but stood on, consequently was separated from us. During the night (which was spent in plying) the wind increased in such a manner as to bring us under our courses; it also veered to S.W. and S.S.W., and was attended with rain.

At nine in the morning on the 23d, the sky began to clear up, and the gale to abate, so that we could carry close-reefed top-sails. At eleven o'clock we were close in with Cape Turnagain, when we tacked and stood off; at noon the said Cape bore west a little northerly, distant six or seven miles. Latitude observed  $41^{\circ} 30'$  south. Soon after, the wind falling almost to a calm, and flattering ourselves that it would be succeeded by one more favourable, we got up another topgallant mast, rigged topgallant yards, and loosed all the reefs out of the top-sails. The event was not equal to our wishes. The wind, indeed, came something more favourable—that is, at W. by N., with which we stretched alongshore to the southward; but it soon increased in such a manner as to undo what we had but just done, and at last stripped us to our courses, and two close-reefed top-sails, under which sails we continued all night. About daylight the next morning, the gale abating, we were again tempted to loose out the reefs, and rig topgallant yards, which proved all lost labour; for, by nine o'clock we were reduced to the same sail as before. Soon after the Adventure joined us; and at noon Cape Palliser bore west, distant eight or nine leagues. This cape is the southern point of Eahei-nomauwe. We continued to stretch to the southward till midnight, when the wind abated and shifted to S.E. Three hours after it fell calm, during which we loosed the reefs out, with the vain hopes that the next wind which came would be favourable. We were mistaken; the wind only took this short repose, in order to gain strength, and fall the heavier upon us. For at five o'clock in the morning, being the 25th, a gale sprung up at N.W., with which we stretched to S.W. Cape Palliser, at this time, bore N.N.W., distant eight or nine leagues. The wind increased in such a manner, as obliged us to take in one reef after another; and at last it came on with such fury as made it necessary to

take in all our sails with the utmost expedition, and to lie-to under bare poles. The sea rose in proportion with the wind; so that we had a terrible gale and a mountainous sea to encounter. Thus, after beating up against a hard gale for two days, and arriving just in sight of our port, we had the mortification to be driven off from the land by a furious storm. Two favourable circumstances attended it, which gave us some consolation; it was fair overhead, and we were not apprehensive of a lee-shore.

The storm continued all the day without the least intermission. In the evening we bore down to look for the *Adventure*, she being out of sight to leeward, and after running the distance we supposed her to be off, brought-to again without seeing; it being so very hazy and thick in the horizon that we could not see a mile round us, occasioned by the spray of the sea being lifted up to a great height by the force of the wind. At midnight the gale abated; soon after fell little wind; and at last shifted to S.W., when we wore, set the courses and top-sails close-reefed, and stood in for the land. Soon after the wind freshened and fixed at south; but as the *Adventure* was some distance astern, we lay by for her till eight o'clock, when we both made all sail, and steered N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. for the strait. At noon observed in  $42^{\circ} 27'$  south, Cape Palliser, by judgment, bore north, distant seventeen leagues. This favourable wind was not of sufficient duration; in the afternoon it fell, by little and little, and at length to a calm; this at ten o'clock was succeeded by a fresh breeze from the north, with which we stretched to the westward.

At three o'clock next morning we were pretty well in with Cape Campbell on the west side of the strait, when we tacked, and stretched over for Cape Palliser, under courses and close-reefed topsails, having the wind at N.W. a very strong gale, and fair weather. At noon, we tacked and stretched to the S.W., with the last-mentioned cape bearing west, distant four or five leagues. In the afternoon the gale increased in such a manner, as brought us under our courses. We continued to stretch to the S.W. till midnight, when we wore, and set close-reefed topsails. On the 28th, at eight o'clock in the morning, we wore, and stood again to the S.W. till noon, when we were obliged to lie-to under the fore-sail. At this time the high land over Cape Campbell bore west, distant ten or twelve leagues. The *Adventure* four or five miles to leeward. In the afternoon the fury of the gale began to abate; when we set the main-sail, close-reefed main-top-sail, and stood to the northward with the wind at W.N.W. and W. by N., a strong gale attended with heavy squalls.

In the morning of the 29th, the wind abated and shifted to S.W. a gentle gale. Of this we took immediate advantage, set all our sails, and stood for Cape Palliser, which at noon bore W. by N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N., distant about six leagues. The wind continued between the S.W. and south till five in the evening, when it fell calm. At this time we were about three leagues from the Cape. At seven o'clock the calm was succeeded by a gentle breeze from N.N.E. as fair as we could wish; so that we began to reckon what time we should reach the Sound the next day; but at nine the wind shifted to its old quarter N.W., and blew a fresh gale, with which we stretched to the S.W. under single-reefed top-sails and courses, with the *Adventure* in company. She was seen until midnight, at which time she was two or three miles astern, and presently after she disappeared; nor was she to be seen at daylight. We supposed she had tacked and stood to the N.E., by which manœuvre we lost sight of her.

We continued to stretch to the westward with the wind at N.N.W., which increased in such a manner as to bring us under our two courses, after splitting a new main-top-sail. At noon, Cape Campbell bore W. by N., distant seven or eight leagues. At three in the afternoon, the gale began to abate, and to veer more to the north, so that we fetched in with the land under the Snowy Mountains, about four or five leagues to windward of the Lookers-on, where there was the appearance of a large bay. I now regretted the loss of the *Adventure*; for had she been with me, I should have given up all thoughts of going to Queen Charlotte's Sound to wood and water, and have sought for a place to get these articles farther south, as the wind was now favourable for ranging along the coast. But our separation made it necessary for me to repair to the Sound, that being the place of rendezvous.

As we approached the land we saw smoke in several places along the shore; a sure sign



that the coast was inhabited. Our soundings were from forty-seven to twenty-five fathoms; that is, at the distance of three miles from the shore, forty-seven fathoms; and twenty-five fathoms at the distance of one mile, where we tacked, and stood to the eastward, under the two courses and close-reefed top-sails; but the latter we could not carry long before we were obliged to hand them. We continued to stand to the eastward all night, in hopes of meeting with the *Adventure* in the morning. Seeing nothing of her then, we wore and brought-to, under the fore-sail and mizen-stay-sail, the wind having increased to a perfect storm; but we had not been long in this situation before it abated, so as to permit us to carry the two courses, under which we stood to the west; and at noon the Snowy Mountains bore W.N.W., distant twelve or fourteen leagues. At six o'clock in the evening the wind quite ceased; but this proved only a momentary repose; for presently after, it began to blow with redoubled fury, and obliged us to lie-to under the mizen-stay-sail; in which situation we continued till midnight, when the storm lessened; and two hours after it fell calm.

On the 1st of November, at four o'clock in the morning, the calm was succeeded by a breeze from the south. This soon after increased to a fresh gale, attended with hazy rainy weather, which gave us hopes that the N.W. winds were done; for it must be observed, that they were attended with clear and fair weather. We were not wanting in taking immediate advantage of this favourable wind, by setting all our sails, and steering for Cape Campbell, which at noon bore north, distant three or four leagues. At two o'clock we passed the Cape, and entered the Strait with a brisk gale a-stern, and so likely to continue that we thought of nothing less than reaching our port the next morning. Once more we were to be deceived; at six o'clock, being off Cloudy Bay, our favourable wind was succeeded by one from the north, which soon after veered to N.W., and increased to a fresh gale. We spent the night plying; our tacks proved disadvantageous; and we lost more on the ebb than we gained on the flood. Next morning, we stretched over for the shore of Eahei-nomauwe. At sunrise the horizon being extraordinarily clear to leeward, we looked well out for the *Adventure*; but as we saw nothing of her, judged she had got into the Sound. As we approached the above-mentioned shore, we discovered on the east side of Cape Teerawhitte a new inlet I had never observed before. Being tired with beating against the N.W. winds, I resolved to put into this place, if I found it practicable, or to anchor in the bay which lies before it. The flood being in our favour, after making a stretch off, we fetched under the Cape, and stretched into the bay along by the western shore, having from thirty-five to twelve fathoms, the bottom everywhere good anchorage. At one o'clock we reached the entrance of the inlet, just as the tide of ebb was making out; the wind being likewise against us, we anchored in twelve fathoms water, the bottom a fine sand. The easternmost of the Black Rocks, which lie on the larboard side of the entrance of the inlet, bore N. by E., one mile distant; Cape Teerawhitte, or the west point of the bay, west, distant about two leagues; and the east point of the bay N. by E., four or five miles.

Soon after we had anchored, several of the natives came off in their canoes; two from one shore, and one from the other. It required but little address to get three or four of them on board. These people were extravagantly fond of nails above every other thing. To one man I gave two cocks and two hens, which he received with so much indifference, as gave me little hopes he would take proper care of them. We had not been at anchor here above two hours, before the wind veered to N.E., with which we weighed; but the anchor was hardly at the bows before it shifted to south. With this we could but just lead out of the bay, and then bore away for the Sound under all the sail we could set; having the advantage, or rather disadvantage, of an increasing gale, which already blew too hard. We hauled up into the Sound just at dark, after making two boards, in which most of our sails were split; and anchored in eighteen fathoms water, between the White Rocks and the N.W. shore.

The next morning the gale abated, and was succeeded by a few hours' calm; after that a breeze sprung up at N.W., with which we weighed and ran up into Ship Cove, where we did not find the *Adventure* as was expected.

CHAPTER V.—TRANSACTIONS IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE INHABITANTS BEING CANNIBALS, AND VARIOUS OTHER INCIDENTS.—DEPARTURE FROM THE SOUND, AND OUR ENDEAVOURS TO FIND THE ADVENTURE, WITH SOME DESCRIPTION OF THE COAST.

THE first thing we did, after mooring the ship, was to unbend all the sails, there not being one but what wanted repair. Indeed, both our sails and rigging had sustained much damage in beating off the Strait's mouth. We had no sooner anchored than we were visited by the natives, several of whom I remembered to have seen when I was here in the Endeavour, particularly an old man named Goubiah. In the afternoon I gave orders for all the empty water-casks to be landed, in order to be repaired, cleaned, and filled; tents to be set up for the sail-makers, coopers, and others, whose business made it necessary for them to be on shore. The next day we began to caulk the ship's sides and decks, to overhaul her rigging, repair the sails, cut wood for fuel, and set up the smith's forge to repair the iron-work; all of which were absolutely necessary. We also made some hauls with the seine, but caught no fish, which deficiency the natives in some measure made up, by bringing us a good quantity, and exchanging them for pieces of Otaheitean cloth, &c.

On the 5th, the most part of our bread being in casks, I ordered some to be opened, when, to our mortification, we found a good deal of it damaged. To repair this loss in the best manner we could, all the casks were opened, the bread was picked, and the copper oven set up, to bake such parcels of it as by that means could be recovered. Some time this morning, the natives stole out of one of the tents a bag of clothes belonging to one of the seamen. As soon as I was informed of it, I went to them in an adjoining cove, demanded the clothes again, and, after some time spent in friendly application, recovered them. Since we were among thieves, and had come off so well, I was not sorry for what had happened, as it taught our people to keep a better look-out for the future.

With these people I saw the youngest of the two sows Captain Furneaux had put on shore in Cannibal Cove, when we were last here: it was lame of one of its hind legs; otherwise in good case, and very tame. If we understood these people right, the boar and other sow were also taken away and separated, but not killed. We were likewise told that the two goats I had put on shore up the Sound had been killed by that old rascal Goubiah. Thus all our endeavours to stock this country with useful animals were likely to be frustrated by the very people we meant to serve. Our gardens had fared somewhat better. Everything in them, except the potatoes, they had left entirely to nature, who had acted her part so well, that we found most articles in a flourishing state; a proof that the winter must have been mild. The potatoes had most of them been dug up; some, however, still remained, and were growing, though I think it is probable they will never be got out of the ground.

Next morning I sent over to the cove, where the natives reside, to haul the seine, and took with me a boar and a young sow, two cocks and two hens, we had brought from the isles. These I gave to the natives, being persuaded they would take proper care of them, by their keeping Captain Furneaux's sow near five months; for I am to suppose it was caught soon after we sailed. We had no better success with the seine than before; nevertheless, we did not return on board quite empty, having purchased a large quantity from the natives. When we were upon this traffic, they showed a great inclination to pick my pockets, and to take away the fish with one hand which they had just given me with the other. This evil one of the chiefs undertook to remove, and with fury in his eyes made a show of keeping the people at a proper distance. I applauded his conduct, but at the same time kept so good a look-out, as to detect him in picking my pocket of a handkerchief, which I suffered him to put in his bosom before I seemed to know anything of the matter, and then told him what I had lost. He seemed quite ignorant and innocent, till I took it from him; and then he put it off with a laugh, acting his part with so much address, that



it was hardly possible for me to be angry with him ; so that we remained good friends, and he accompanied me on board to dinner. About that time we were visited by several strangers, in four or five canoes, who brought with them fish and other articles, which they exchanged for cloth, &c. These new-comers took up their quarters in a cove near us ; but very early the next morning moved off with six of our small water-casks, and with them all the people we found here on our arrival. This precipitate retreat of these last we supposed was owing to the theft the others had committed. They left behind them some of their dogs, and the boar I had given them the day before, which I now took back again, as I had not another. Our casks were the least loss we felt by these people leaving us ; while they remained, we were generally well supplied with fish, at a small expense.

We had fair weather, with the wind at north-east, on the 9th, which gave us some hopes of seeing the Adventure ; but these hopes vanished in the afternoon, when the wind shifted to the westward. The next morning our friends the natives returned again, and brought with them a quantity of fish, which they exchanged for two hatchets. Fair weather on the 12th enabled us to finish picking, airing, and baking our biscuit ; four thousand two hundred and ninety-two pounds of which we found totally unfit to eat ; and about three thousand pounds more could only be eaten by people in our situation.

On the 13th, clear and pleasant weather. Early in the morning the natives brought us a quantity of fish, which they exchanged as usual. But their greatest branch of trade was the green talc or stone, called by them, *Poenammoo*, a thing of no great value ; nevertheless, it was so much sought after by our people, that there was hardly a thing they would not give for a piece of it. The 15th being a pleasant morning, a party of us went over to the East Bay, and climbed one of the hills which overlooked the eastern part of the strait, in order to look for the Adventure. We had a fatiguing walk to little purpose ; for when we came to the summit, we found the eastern horizon so foggy, that we could not see above two miles. Mr. Forster, who was one of the party, profited by this excursion, in collecting some new plants. I now began to despair of seeing the Adventure any more, but was totally at a loss to conceive what was become of her. Till now, I thought she had put into some port in the strait, when the wind came to north-west the day we anchored in the cove, and waited to complete her water. This conjecture was reasonable enough at first, but it was now hardly probable she could be twelve days in our neighbourhood, without our either hearing or seeing something of her.

The hill we now mounted is the same that I was upon in 1770, when I had the second view of the strait : we then built a tower with the stones we found there, which we now saw had been levelled to the ground, no doubt by the natives, with a view of finding something hid in it. When we returned from the hill, we found a number of them collected round our boat. After some exchanges, and making them some presents, we embarked, in order to return on board, and in our way visited others of the inhabitants, by whom we were kindly received. Our friends, the natives, employed themselves on the 17th in fishing in our neighbourhood, and, as fast as they caught the fish, came and disposed of them to us, insomuch that we had more than we could make use of. From this day to the 22d nothing remarkable happened, and we were occupied in getting everything in readiness to put to sea, being resolved to wait no longer than the assigned time for the Adventure.

The winds were between the south and west, stormy with rain till the 22d, when the weather became settled, clear, and pleasant. Very early in the morning we were visited by a number of the natives, in four or five canoes, very few of whom we had seen before. They brought with them various articles (curiosities) which they exchanged for Otaheitean cloth, &c. At first the exchanges were very much in our favour, till an old man, who was no stranger to us, came and assisted his countrymen with his advice, which in a moment turned the trade above a thousand per cent. against us.

After these people were gone, I took four hogs (that is, three sows and one boar), two cocks and two hens, which I landed in the bottom of the West Bay, carrying them a little way into the woods, where we left them with as much food as would serve them ten or twelve days. This was done with a view of keeping them in the woods, lest they should come down to the shore in search of food and be discovered by the natives ; which, however,



seemed not probable, as this place had never been frequented by them, nor were any traces of them to be seen near it. We also left some cocks and hens in the woods in Ship Cove ; but these will have a chance of falling into the hands of the natives, whose wandering way of life will hinder them from breeding, even suppose they should be taken proper care of. Indeed they took rather too much care of those which I had already given them, by keeping them continually confined, for fear of losing them in the woods. The sow pig we had not seen since the day they had her from me ; but we were now told she was still living, as also the old boar and sow given them by Captain Furneaux ; so that there is reason to hope they may succeed. It will be unfortunate, indeed, if every method I have taken to provide this country with useful animals should be frustrated. We were likewise told that the two goats were still alive and running about, but I gave more credit to the first story than this. I should have replaced them, by leaving the only two I had left, but had the misfortune to lose the ram soon after our arrival here in a manner we could hardly account for. They were both put ashore at the tents, where they seemed to thrive very well : at last the ram was taken with fits bordering on madness. We were at a loss to tell whether it was occasioned by anything he had eaten, or by being stung with nettles, which were in plenty about the place, but supposed it to be the latter, and therefore did not take the care of him we ought to have done. One night while he was lying by the sentinel, he was seized with one of these fits, and ran headlong into the sea, but soon came out again and seemed quite easy. Presently after, he was seized with another fit, and ran along the beach, with the she-goat after him. Some time after she returned, but the other was never seen more. Diligent search was made for him in the woods to no purpose ; we, therefore, supposed he had run into the sea a second time and had been drowned. After this accident, it would have been in vain to leave the she-goat, as she was not with kid, having kidded but a few days before we arrived, and the kids dead. Thus the reader will see how every method I have taken to stock this country with sheep and goats has proved ineffectual.

When I returned on board in the evening, I found our good friends the natives had brought us a large supply of fish. Some of the officers visiting them at their habitations, saw among them some human thigh-bones, from which the flesh had been but lately picked. This and other circumstances led us to believe that the people whom we took for strangers this morning, were of the same tribe ; that they had been out on some war expedition ; and that those things they sold us were the spoils of their enemies. Indeed, we had some information of this sort the day before ; for a number of women and children came off to us in a canoe, from whom we learnt that a party of men were then out, for whose safety they were under some apprehension ; but this report found little credit with us, as we soon after saw some canoes come in from fishing, which we judged to be them. Having now got the ship in a condition for sea, and to encounter the southern latitudes, I ordered the tents to be struck and everything to be got on board.

The boatswain, with a party of men, being in the woods cutting broom, some of them found a private hut of the natives, in which was deposited most of the treasure they had received from us, as well as some other articles of their own. It is very probable some were set to watch this hut ; as, soon after it was discovered, they came and took all away. But missing some things, they told our people they had stolen them, and in the evening came and made their complaint to me, pitching upon one of the party as the person who had committed the theft. Having ordered this man to be punished before them, they went away seemingly satisfied, although they did not recover any of the things they had lost, nor could I by any means find out what had become of them ; though nothing was more certain than that something had been stolen by some of the party, if not by the very man the natives had pitched upon. It was ever a maxim with me to punish the least crimes any of my people committed against these uncivilized nations. Their robbing us with impunity is by no means a sufficient reason why we should treat them in the same manner, a conduct we see they themselves cannot justify. They found themselves injured, and sought for redress in a legal way. The best method, in my opinion, to preserve a good understanding with such people, is, first, by showing them the use of fire-arms, to convince them of the superiority



they give you over them, and then to be always upon your guard. When once they are sensible of these things, a regard for their own safety will deter them from disturbing you, or from being unanimous in forming any plan to attack you, and strict honesty and gentle treatment on your part will make it their interest not to do it.

Calm or light airs from the north all day on the 23d hindered us from putting to sea as intended. In the afternoon, some of the officers went on shore to amuse themselves among the natives, where they saw the head and bowels of a youth, who had lately been killed, lying on the beach, and the heart stuck on a forked stick which was fixed to the head of one of the largest canoes. One of the gentlemen bought the head and brought it on board, where a piece of the flesh was broiled and eaten by one of the natives, before all the officers and most of the men. I was on shore at this time, but soon after returning on board, was informed of the above circumstances, and found the quarter-deck crowded with the natives, and the mangled head, or rather part of it (for the under jaw and lip were wanting), lying on the tafferal. The skull had been broken on the left side just above the temples, and the remains of the face had all the appearance of a youth under twenty.

The sight of the head, and the relation of the above circumstances, struck me with horror, and filled my mind with indignation against these cannibals. Curiosity, however, got the better of my indignation, especially when I considered that it would avail but little, and being desirous of becoming an eye-witness of a fact which many doubted, I ordered a piece of the flesh to be broiled and brought to the quarter-deck, where one of these cannibals ate it with surprising avidity. This had such an effect on some of our people as to make them sick. Oedidee (who came on board with me) was so affected with the sight as to become perfectly motionless, and seemed as if metamorphosed into the statue of horror. It is utterly impossible for art to describe that passion with half the force that it appeared in his countenance. When roused from this state by some of us, he burst into tears; continued to weep and scold by turns; told them they were vile men; and that he neither was nor would be any longer their friend. He even would not suffer them to touch him; he used the same language to one of the gentlemen who cut off the flesh, and refused to accept or even touch the knife with which it was done. Such was Oedidee's indignation against the vile custom, and worthy of imitation by every rational being.

I was not able to find out the reason for their undertaking this expedition. All I could understand for certain was, that they went from hence into Admiralty Bay (the next inlet to the west) and there fought with their enemies, many of whom they killed. They counted to me fifty, a number which exceeded probability, as they were not more, if so many, themselves. I think I understood them clearly, that this youth was killed there, and not brought away prisoner and afterwards killed. Nor could I learn that they had brought away any more than this one; which increased the improbability of their having killed so many. We had also reason to think that they did not come off without loss; for a young woman was seen more than once to cut herself, as is the custom when they lose a friend or relation.

That the New Zealanders are cannibals can now no longer be doubted. The account given of this in my former voyage, being partly founded on circumstances, was, as I afterwards understood, discredited by many persons. Few consider what a savage man is in his natural state, and even after he is in some degree civilized. The New Zealanders are certainly in some state of civilization; their behaviour to us was manly and mild, showing on all occasions a readiness to oblige. They have some arts among them which they execute with great judgment and unwearied patience; they are far less addicted to thieving than the other islanders of the South Sea; and I believe those in the same tribe, or such as are at peace one with another, are strictly honest among themselves. This custom of eating their enemies slain in battle (for I firmly believe they eat the flesh of no others) has, undoubtedly, been handed down to them from the earliest times; and we know it is not an easy matter to wean a nation from their ancient customs, let them be ever so inhuman and savage; especially if that nation has no manner of connexion or commerce with strangers. For it is by this that the greatest part of the human race has been civilized; an advantage which the New Zealanders from their situation never had. An intercourse with foreigners would



reform their manners, and polish their savage minds. Or, were they more united under a settled form of government, they would have fewer enemies; consequently, this custom would be less in use, and might in time be in a manner forgotten. At present, they have but little idea of treating others as themselves would *wish* to be treated, but treat them as they *expect* to be treated. If I remember right, one of the arguments they made use of to Tupia, who frequently expostulated with them against this custom, was, that there could be no harm in killing and eating the man who would do the same by them, if it was in his power. For, said they, "Can there be any harm in eating our enemies, whom we have killed in battle? Would not those very enemies have done the same to us?" I have often seen them listen to Tupia with great attention; but I never found his arguments have any weight with them, or that, with all his rhetoric, he could persuade any one of them that this custom was wrong; and when Oedidee and several of our people showed their abhorrence of it, they only laughed at them.

Among many reasons which I have heard assigned for the prevalence of this horrid custom, the want of animal food has been one; but how far this is deducible either from facts or circumstances, I shall leave those to find out who advanced it. In every part of New Zealand where I have been, fish was in such plenty, that the natives generally caught as much as served both themselves and us. They have also plenty of dogs; nor is there any want of wild-fowl, which they know very well how to kill. So that neither this, nor the want of food of any kind, can in my opinion be the reason. But whatever it may be, I think it was but too evident that they have a great liking for this kind of food.

I must here observe that Oedidee soon learnt to converse with these people, as I am persuaded he would have done with the people of Amsterdam, had he been a little longer with them; for he did not understand the New Zealanders at first any more than, or not so much as, he understood the people of Amsterdam.

At four o'clock in the morning, on the 24th, we unmoored with an intent to put to sea; but the wind being at north and north-east without, and blowing strong puffs into the cove, made it necessary for us to lie fast. While we were unmooring, some of our old friends came on board to take their leave of us, and afterwards left the cove with all their effects; but those who had been out on the late expedition remained; and some of the gentlemen having visited them, found the heart still sticking on the canoe, and the intestines lying on the beach; but the liver and lungs were now wanting. Probably they had eaten them after the carcase was all gone.

On the 25th, early in the morning, we weighed, with a small breeze, out of the cove, which carried us no farther than between Motuara and Long Island, where we were obliged to anchor; but presently after a breeze springing up at north, we weighed again, turned out of the Sound, and stood over for Cape Teerawhitte. During our stay in the Sound we were plentifully supplied with fish, procured from the natives at a very easy rate; and besides the vegetables our own gardens afforded, we found everywhere plenty of scurvy-grass and celery, which I caused to be dressed every day for all the hands. By this means they had been mostly on a fresh diet for the three preceding months; and at this time we had neither a sick nor scorbutic man on board. It is necessary to mention, for the information of others, that we had now some pork on board, salted at Ulitea, and as good as any I ever ate. The manner in which we cured it was thus: In the cool of the evening, the hogs were killed, dressed, cut up, the bones cut out, and the flesh salted while it was yet hot. The next morning we gave it a second salting, packed it into a cask, and put to it a sufficient quantity of strong pickle. Great care is to be taken that the meat be well covered with pickle, otherwise it will soon spoil.

The morning before we sailed, I wrote a memorandum, setting forth the time we last arrived, the day we sailed, the route I intended to take, and such other information as I thought necessary for Captain Furneaux, in case he should put into the sound; and buried it in a bottle under the root of a tree in the garden, which is in the bottom of the cove, in such a manner as must be found by him or any European who might put into the cove. I, however, had little reason to hope it would fall into the hands of the person for whom it was intended, thinking it hardly possible that the Adventure could be in any port in New



Zealand, as we had not heard of her in all this time. Nevertheless, I was resolved not to leave the coast without looking for her, where I thought it most likely for her to be. It was with this view that I stood over for Cape Teerawhitte, and afterward ran alongshore, from point to point, to Cape Palliser, firing guns every half-hour; but all to no effect. At eight o'clock we brought-to for the night, Cape Palliser bearing south-east by east distant three leagues, in which situation we had fifty fathoms water.

I had now an opportunity of making the following remarks on the coast between Cape Teerawhitte and Cape Palliser. The bay which lies on the west side of the last cape does not appear to run so far inland to the northward as I at first thought, the deception being caused by the land in the bottom of it being low; it is, however, at least five leagues deep, and full as wide at the entrance. Though it seems to be exposed to southerly and south-west winds, it is probable there may be places in the bottom of it sheltered even from these. The bay or inlet on the east side of Cape Teerawhitte, before which we anchored, lies in north inclining to the west, and seemed to be sheltered from all winds. The middle cape or point of land that disjoins these two bays, rises to a considerable height, especially inland; for close to the sea is a skirt of low land, off which lie some pointed rocks, but so near to the shore as to be no ways dangerous. Indeed, the navigation of this side of the strait seems much safer than the other, because the tides here are not near so strong. Cape Teerawhitte and Cape Palliser lie in the direction of N. 69° W. and S. 69° E. from each other, distant ten leagues. The cape which disjoins the two bays above mentioned lies within, or north of this direction. All the land near the coast, between and about these capes, is exceedingly barren; probably owing to its being so much exposed to the cold southerly winds. From Cape Teerawhitte to the Two Brothers, which lie off Cape Koa-maroo, the course is nearly north-west by north, distant sixteen miles. North of Cape Teerawhitte, between it and Entry Island, is an island lying pretty near the shore. I judged this to be an island when I saw it in my former voyage, but not being certain, left it undetermined in my chart of the strait, which is the reason of my taking notice of it now, as also of the bays, &c. above mentioned.

At daylight in the morning of the 26th, we made sail round Cape Palliser, firing guns as usual as we ran along the shore. In this manner we proceeded till we were three or four leagues to the north-east of the cape, when the wind shifting to north-east, we bore away to Cape Campbell, on the other side of the strait. Soon after seeing a smoke ascend, at some distance inland away to the north-east, we hauled the wind, and continued to ply till six o'clock in the evening; which was several hours after the smoke disappeared, and left us not the least signs of people. Every one being unanimously of opinion that the Adventure could neither be stranded on the coast, nor be in any of the harbours thereof, I gave up looking for her, and all thoughts of seeing her any more during the voyage; as no rendezvous was absolutely fixed upon after leaving New Zealand. Nevertheless, this did not discourage me from fully exploring the southern parts of the Pacific Ocean, in the doing of which I intended to employ the whole of the ensuing season.

On our quitting the coast, and, consequently, all hopes of being joined by our consort, I had the satisfaction to find that not a man was dejected, or thought the dangers we had yet to go through were in the least increased by being alone; but as cheerfully proceeding to the south, or wherever I might think proper to lead them, as if the Adventure, or even more ships, had been in our company.

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CHAPTER VI.—ROUTE OF THE SHIP FROM NEW ZEALAND IN SEARCH OF A CONTINENT;  
WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE VARIOUS OBSTRUCTIONS MET WITH FROM THE ICE, AND  
THE METHODS PURSUED TO EXPLORE THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC OCEAN.

At eight o'clock in the evening of the 26th, we took our departure from Cape Palliser, and steered to the south, inclining to the east, having a favourable gale from the north-west and south-west: we daily saw some rock-weed, seals, Port-Egmont hens, albatrosses, pintoos, and other peterels; and on the 2d of December, being in the latitude of 48° 23' S.,



longitude  $179^{\circ} 16' W.$ , we saw a number of red-billed penguins, which remained about us for several days. On the 5th, being in the latitude  $50^{\circ} 17' S.$ , longitude  $179^{\circ} 40' E.$ , the variation was  $18^{\circ} 25' E.$  At half an hour past eight o'clock the next evening, we reckoned ourselves antipodes to our friends in London, consequently as far removed from them as possible.

On the 8th, being in latitude  $55^{\circ} 39'$ , longitude  $178^{\circ} 53' W.$ , we ceased to see penguins and seals, and concluded that those we had seen retired to the southern parts of New Zealand whenever it was necessary for them to be at land. We had now a strong gale at north-west, and a great swell from south-west. This swell we got as soon as the south point of New Zealand came in that direction; and as we had had no wind from that quarter the six preceding days, but, on the contrary, it had been at east, north, and north-west, I conclude there can be no land to the southward, under the meridian of New Zealand, but what must lie very far to the south. The two following days we had very stormy weather, sleet and snow, winds between the north and south-west. The 11th the storm abated, and the weather clearing up, we found the latitude to be  $61^{\circ} 15' S.$ , longitude  $173^{\circ} 4' W.$  This fine weather was of short duration: in the evening the wind increased to a strong gale at south-west, blew in squalls, attended with thick snow showers, hail, and sleet. The mercury in the thermometer fell to thirty-two, consequently the weather was very cold, and seemed to indicate that ice was not far off.

At four o'clock the next morning, being in the latitude of  $62^{\circ} 10' S.$ , longitude  $172^{\circ} W.$ , we saw the first ice island,  $11\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  farther S. than the first ice we saw the preceding year after leaving the Cape of Good Hope. At the time we saw this ice, we also saw an antarctic peterel, some grey albatrosses, and our old companions, pintadoes and blue peterels. The wind kept veering from S.W. by the N.W. to N.N.E., for the most part a fresh gale, attended with a thick haze and snow; on which account we steered to the S.E. and E., keeping the wind always on the beam, that it might be in our power to return back nearly on the same track, should our course have been interrupted by any danger whatever. For some days we had a great sea from the N.W. and S.W., so that it is not probable there can be any land near between these two points. We fell in with several large islands on the 14th, and, about noon, with a quantity of loose ice, through which we sailed. Latitude  $64^{\circ} 55' S.$ , longitude  $163^{\circ} 20' W.$  Grey albatrosses, blue peterels, pintadoes, and fulmers were seen. As we advanced to the S.E. by E., with a fresh gale at W., we found the number of ice islands increase fast upon us. Between noon and eight in the evening we saw but two, but before four o'clock in the morning of the 15th, we had passed seventeen, besides a quantity of loose ice which we ran through. At six o'clock we were obliged to haul to the north-east, in order to clear an immense field which lay to the south and south-east. The ice in most part of it lay close packed together; in other places there appeared partitions in the field, and a clear sea beyond it. However, I did not think it safe to venture through, as the wind would not permit us to return the same way that we must go in. Besides, as it blew strong, and the weather at times was exceedingly foggy, it was the more necessary for us to get clear of this loose ice, which is rather more dangerous than the great islands. It was not such ice as is usually found in bays or rivers, and near shore, but such as breaks off from the islands, and may not improperly be called parings of the large pieces, or the rubbish or fragments which fall off when the great islands break loose from the place where they are formed.

We had not stood long to the north-east before we found ourselves embayed by the ice, and were obliged to tack and stretch to the south-west, having the field or loose ice to the south, and many huge islands to the north. After standing two hours on this tack, the wind very luckily veering to the westward, we tacked, stretched to the north, and soon got clear of all the loose ice, but not before we had received several hard knocks from the larger pieces, which, with all our care, we could not avoid. After clearing one danger, we still had another to encounter; the weather remained foggy, and many large islands lay in our way; so that we had to luff for one, and bear up for another. One we were very near falling aboard of, and if it had happened, this circumstance would never have been related. These difficulties, together with the improbability of finding land farther south, and the impossibility of exploring



it on account of the ice, if we should find any, determined me to get more to the north. At the time we last tacked, we were in the longitude of  $159^{\circ} 20'$  W., and in the latitude of  $66^{\circ} 0'$  S. Several penguins were seen on some of the ice islands, and a few antarctic peterels on the wing.

We continued to stand to the north, with a fresh gale at west, attended with thick snow showers till eight o'clock in the evening, when the wind abated, the sky began to clear up, and, at six o'clock in the morning of the 16th, it fell calm. Four hours after, it was succeeded by a breeze at north-east, with which we stretched to the south-east, having thick hazy weather, with snow showers, and all our rigging coated with ice. In the evening, we attempted to take some out of the sea, but were obliged to desist, the sea running too high, and the pieces being so large, that it was dangerous for the boat to come near them. The next morning, being the 17th, we succeeded better; for falling in with a quantity of loose ice, we hoisted out two boats, and by noon got on board as much as we could manage. We then made sail for the east, with a gentle breeze northerly, attended with snow and sleet, which froze to the rigging as it fell. At this time we were in the latitude of  $64^{\circ} 41'$  S., longitude  $155^{\circ} 44'$  W. The ice we took up proved to be none of the best, being chiefly composed of frozen snow, on which account it was porous, and had imbibed a good deal of salt water; but this drained off after lying a while on deck, and the water then yielded was fresh. We continued to stretch to the east, with a piercing cold northerly wind, attended with a thick fog, snow, and sleet, that decorated all our rigging with icicles. We were hourly meeting with some of the large ice islands, which in these high latitudes render navigation so very dangerous. At seven in the evening, falling in with a cluster of them, we narrowly escaped running aboard of one, and with difficulty wore clear of the others. We stood back to the west till ten o'clock, at which time the fog cleared away, and we resumed our course to the east. At noon the next day, we were in the latitude of  $64^{\circ} 49'$  S., longitude  $149^{\circ} 19'$  W. Some time after, our longitude, by observed distance of the sun and moon, was  $149^{\circ} 19'$  W.; by Mr. Kendal's watch,  $148^{\circ} 36'$ ; and by my reckoning,  $148^{\circ} 43'$ , latitude  $64^{\circ} 48'$  S.

The clear weather and the wind veering to north-west tempted me to steer south, which course we continued till seven in the morning of the 20th, when the wind changing to north-east, and the sky becoming clouded, we hauled up south-east. In the afternoon the wind increased to a strong gale, attended with a thick fog, snow, sleet, and rain, which constitutes the very worst of weather. Our rigging at this time was so loaded with ice that we had enough to do to get our top-sails down to double the reef. At seven o'clock in the evening, in the longitude of  $147^{\circ} 46'$ , we came the second time within the antarctic or polar circle, continuing our course to the south-east till six o'clock the next morning. At that time, being in the latitude of  $67^{\circ} 5'$  S., all at once we got in among a cluster of very large ice islands, and a vast quantity of loose pieces; and, as the fog was exceedingly thick, it was with the utmost difficulty we wore clear of them. This done, we stood to the north-west till noon, when the fog being somewhat dissipated, we resumed our course again to the south-east. The ice islands we met with in the morning were very high and rugged, forming at their tops many peaks; whereas the most of those we had seen before were flat at top, and not so high, though many of them were between two and three hundred feet in height, and between two and three miles in circuit, with perpendicular cliffs or sides, astonishing to behold. Most of our winged companions had now left us, the grey albatrosses only remained, and instead of the other birds we were visited by a few antarctic peterels.

The 22nd we steered east-south-east with a fresh gale at north, blowing in squalls, one of which took hold of the mizen top-sail, tore it all to rags, and rendered it for ever after useless. At six o'clock in the morning, the wind veering toward the west, our course was east-northerly. At this time we were in the latitude of  $67^{\circ} 31'$ , the highest we had yet been in, longitude  $142^{\circ} 54'$  west. We continued our course to the east by north till noon the 23d, when, being in the latitude of  $67^{\circ} 12'$ , longitude  $138^{\circ} 0'$ , we steered south-east, having then twenty-three ice islands in sight from off the deck, and twice that number from the mast-head, and yet we could not see above two or three miles round us. At four o'clock in the afternoon, in the latitude of  $67^{\circ} 20'$ , longitude  $137^{\circ} 12'$ , we fell in with such a quantity of



field or loose ice, as covered the sea in the whole extent from south to east, and was so thick and close as wholly to obstruct our passage. At this time, the wind being pretty moderate, and the sea smooth, we brought to at the outer edge of the ice, hoisted out two boats, and sent them to take some up. In the mean time, we laid hold of several large pieces alongside, and got them on board with our tackle. The taking up ice proved such cold work, that it was eight o'clock by the time the boats had made two trips; when we hoisted them in, and made sail to the west, under double-reefed topsails and courses, with a strong gale at north, attended with snow and sleet, which froze to the rigging as it fell, making the ropes like wires, and the sails like boards or plates of metal. The sheaves also were frozen so fast in the blocks, that it required our utmost efforts to get a topsail down and up; the cold so intense as hardly to be endured; the whole sea, in a manner covered with ice; a hard gale, and a thick fog.

Under all these unfavourable circumstances, it was natural for me to think of returning more to the north, seeing no probability of finding any land here, nor a possibility of getting farther south; and to have proceeded to the east, in this latitude, must have been wrong, not only on account of the ice, but because we must have left a vast space of sea to the north unexplored; a space of  $24^{\circ}$  of latitude, in which a large tract of land might have lain. Whether such a supposition was well grounded, could only be determined by visiting those parts.

While we were taking up ice, we got two of the antarctic peterels so often mentioned, by which our conjectures were confirmed of their being of the peterel tribe. They are about the size of a large pigeon; the feathers of the head, back, and part of the upper side of the wings, are of a light brown; the belly and under side of the wings, white; the tail-feathers are also white, but tipped with brown: at the same time, we got another new peterel, smaller than the former, and all of a dark-grey plumage. We remarked that these birds were fuller of feathers than any we had hitherto seen; such care has nature taken to clothe them suitably to the climate in which they live. At the same time we saw a few chocolate-coloured albatrosses; these, as well as the peterels above mentioned, we nowhere saw but among the ice; hence one may, with reason, conjecture that there is land to the south. If not, I must ask where these birds breed? A question which perhaps will never be determined; for hitherto we have found these lands, if any, quite inaccessible. Besides these birds, we saw a very large seal, which kept playing about us some time. One of our people who had been at Greenland called it a sea-horse; but every one else who saw it took it for what I have said. Since our first falling in with the ice, the mercury in the thermometer had been from 33 to 31 at noon-day.

On the 24th, the wind abated, veering to the north-west, and the sky cleared up, in the latitude of  $67^{\circ} 0'$ , longitude  $138^{\circ} 15'$ . As we advanced to the north-east, with a gentle gale at north-west, the ice islands increased so fast upon us, that this day at noon we could see near 100 round us, besides an immense number of small pieces. Perceiving that it was likely to be calm, I got the ship into as clear a berth as I could, where she drifted along with the ice; and by taking the advantage of every light air of wind, was kept from falling aboard any of these floating isles. Here it was we spent Christmas-day, much in the same manner as we did the preceding one. We were fortunate in having continual daylight and clear weather; for had it been as foggy as on some of the preceding days, nothing less than a miracle could have saved us from being dashed to pieces.

In the morning of the 26th, the whole sea was in a manner covered with ice, 200 large islands and upwards being seen within the compass of four or five miles, which was the limits of our horizon, besides smaller pieces innumerable. Our latitude at noon was  $66^{\circ} 15'$ , longitude  $134^{\circ} 22'$ . By observation we found that the ship had drifted, or gone about 20 miles to the north-east or east-north-east, whereas by the ice islands it appeared that she had gone little or nothing; from which we concluded that the ice drifted nearly in the same direction, and at the same rate. At four o'clock a breeze sprung up at west-south-west, and enabled us to steer north, the most probable course to extricate ourselves from these dangers. We continued our course to the north with a gentle breeze at west, attended with clear weather, till four o'clock the next morning, when, meeting with a quantity of loose ice, we



brought to, and took on board as much as filled all our empty casks, and for several days' present expense. This done, we made sail, and steered north-west, with a gentle breeze at north-east, clear frosty weather. Our latitude at this time was  $65^{\circ} 53' \text{ S.}$ , longitude  $133^{\circ} 42' \text{ W.}$ ; islands of ice not half so numerous as before.

At four in the morning of the 28th, the wind having veered more to the east and south-east, increased to a fresh gale, and was attended with snow showers. Our course was north till noon the next day. Being then in the latitude of  $62^{\circ} 24'$ , longitude  $134^{\circ} 37'$ , westeered north-west by north. Some hours after the sky cleared up, and the wind abating, veered more to the south. On the 30th, had little wind westerly; dark gloomy weather, with snow and sleet at times; several whales seen playing about the ship, but very few birds; islands of ice in plenty, and a swell from west-north-west. On the 31st, little wind from the westward; fair and clear weather, which afforded an opportunity to air the spare sails, and to clean and smoke the ship betwixt decks. At noon our latitude was  $59^{\circ} 40' \text{ S.}$ , longitude  $135^{\circ} 11' \text{ W.}$  Our observation to-day gave us reason to conjecture that we had a southerly current. Indeed, this was no more than what might reasonably be supposed, to account for such huge masses of ice being brought from the south. In the afternoon, had a few hours' calm, succeeded by a breeze from the east, which enabled us to resume our north-west by north course.

January 1st, the wind remained not long at east; but veered round by the south to west; blew fresh, attended with snow showers. In the evening, being in the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 39' \text{ S.}$  we passed two islands of ice; after which we saw no more till we stood again to the south. At five o'clock in the morning on the 2nd, it fell calm: being at this time in the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 2'$ , longitude  $137^{\circ} 12'$ . The calm being succeeded by a breeze at east, we steered N.W. by W. My reason for steering this course was to explore part of the great space of sea between us and our track to the south.

On the 3rd, at noon, being in latitude  $56^{\circ} 46'$ , longitude  $139^{\circ} 45'$ , the weather became fair, and the wind veered to south-west. About this time we saw a few small divers (as we call them) of the peterel tribe, which we judged to be such as are usually seen near land, especially in the bays, and on the coast of New Zealand. I cannot tell what to think of these birds. Had there been more of them, I should have been ready enough to believe that we were at this time not very far from land, as I never saw one so far from known land before. Probably these few had been drawn thus far by some shoal of fish, for such were certainly about us, by the vast number of blue peterels, albatrosses, and such other birds as are usually seen in the great ocean; all or most of which left us before night. Two or three pieces of sea-weed were also seen; but these appeared old and decayed.

At eight o'clock in the evening, being in the latitude of  $56^{\circ} \text{ S.}$ , longitude  $140^{\circ} 31'$  west, the wind fixing in the western board, obliged us to steer north-easterly, and laid me under the necessity of leaving unexplored a space of the sea to the west, containing near  $40^{\circ}$  of longitude and a half that in latitude. Had the wind continued favourable, I intended to have run 15 or 20 degrees of longitude more to the west, in the latitude we were then in, and back again to the east in the latitude of  $50^{\circ}$ . This route would have so intersected the space above mentioned, as hardly to have left room for the bare supposition of any land lying there. Indeed, as it was, we have little reason to believe that there is; but rather the contrary, from the great hollow swell we had had for several days, from the W. and N.W., though the wind had blown from a contrary direction great part of the time; which is a great sign we had not been covered by any land between these two points. While we were in the high latitudes, many of our people were attacked with a slight fever, occasioned by colds. It happily yielded to the simplest remedies; was generally removed in a few days; and at this time we had not above one or two on the sick list.

We proceeded N.E. by N. till the 6th, at noon. Being then in the latitude  $52^{\circ} 0' \text{ S.}$ , longitude  $135^{\circ} 32' \text{ W.}$ , and about 200 leagues from our track to Otaheite, in which space it was not probable, all circumstances considered, there is any extensive land; and it being still less probable any lay to the west, from the great mountainous billows we had had, and still continued to have from that quarter; I therefore steered N.E. with a fresh gale at W.S.W.

At eight o'clock in the morning on the 7th, being in the latitude of  $50^{\circ} 49'$  south, we observed several distances of the sun and moon, which gave the longitude as follows, viz.:

By Mr. Wales . . . . .	133°	24' west.
Gilbert . . . . .	133	10
Clerke . . . . .	133	0
Smith . . . . .	133	37 25"
Myself . . . . .	133	37
Mean . . . . .	133	21 43
By the watch . . . . .	133	44 west.
My reckoning . . . . .	133	39
Variation of the compass . . . . .	6	2 east.
Thermometer . . . . .	50	0

The next morning we observed again; and the results were agreeable to the preceding observations, allowing for the ship's run. I must here take notice that our longitude can never be erroneous, while we have so good a guide as Mr. Kendal's watch. This day at noon we steered E.N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., being then in the latitude of  $49^{\circ} 7'$  S., longitude  $131^{\circ} 2'$  W.

On the 9th, in the latitude of  $48^{\circ} 17'$  S., longitude  $127^{\circ} 10'$  W., we steered east with a fine fresh gale at west, attended with clear pleasant weather, and a great swell from the same direction as the wind. In the morning of the 10th, having but little wind, we put a boat in the water, in which some of the officers went and shot several birds. These afforded us a fresh meal. They were of the peterel tribe, and such as are usually seen at any distance from land. Indeed, neither birds nor any other thing was to be seen that could give us the least hopes of finding any; and therefore at noon the next day, being then in the latitude of  $47^{\circ} 51'$  S., longitude  $122^{\circ} 12'$  W., and a little more than 200 leagues from my track to Otaheite in 1769, I altered the course, and steered south-east with a fresh gale at S.W. by W. In the evening, when our latitude was  $48^{\circ} 22'$  S., longitude  $121^{\circ} 29'$  W., we found the variation to be  $2^{\circ} 34'$  E.; which is the least variation we had found without the tropic. In the evening of the next day we found it to be  $4^{\circ} 30'$  E.; our latitude at that time was  $50^{\circ} 5'$  S., longitude  $119^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$  W.

Our course was now more southerly, till the evening of the 13th, when we were in the latitude of  $53^{\circ} 0'$  S., longitude  $118^{\circ} 3'$  W. The wind being then at north-west, a strong gale with a thick fog and rain, which made it unsafe to steer large, I hauled up south-west, and continued this course till noon the next day, when our latitude was  $56^{\circ} 4'$  S., longitude  $122^{\circ} 1'$  W. The wind having veered to the north, and the fog continuing, I hauled to the east, under courses and close-reefed topsails. But this sail we could not carry long; for before eight o'clock in the evening, the wind increased to a perfect storm, and obliged us to lie-to, under the mizzen stay-sail, till the morning of the 16th, when the wind having a good deal abated and veered to west, we set the courses, reefed top-sails, and stood to the south. Soon after, the weather cleared up; and in the evening we found the latitude to be  $56^{\circ} 48'$  S., longitude  $119^{\circ} 8'$  W. We continued to steer to the south, inclining to the east, till the 18th, when we stood to the south-west with the wind at south-east, being at this time in the latitude of  $61^{\circ} 9'$  S., longitude  $116^{\circ} 7'$  W. At ten o'clock in the evening, it fell calm, which continued till two the next morning, when a breeze sprung up at north, which soon after increased to a fresh gale and fixed at N.E. With this we steered south till noon, on the 20th, when, being now in the latitude of  $62^{\circ} 34'$  S., longitude  $116^{\circ} 24'$  W., we were again becalmed.

In this situation we had two ice islands in sight, one of which seemed to be as large as any we had seen. It could not be less than two hundred feet in height, and terminated in a peak not unlike the cupola of St. Paul's church. At this time, we had a great westerly swell, which made it improbable that any land should lie between us and the meridian of  $133^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$ , which was our longitude under the latitude we were now in, when we stood to the north. In all this route, we had not seen the least thing that could induce us to think we were ever



in the neighbourhood of any land. We had, indeed, frequently seen pieces of sea-weed; but this, I am well assured, is no sign of the vicinity of land; for weed is seen in every part of the ocean. After a few hours' calm, we got a wind from S.E., but it was very unsettled, and attended with thick snow showers; at length it fixed at S. by E. and we stretched to the east. The wind blew fresh, was piercing cold, and attended with snow and sleet. On the 22d, being in the latitude of  $62^{\circ} 5'$  S., longitude  $112^{\circ} 24'$  W., we saw an ice island, an antarctic peterel, several blue peterels, and some other known birds; but no one thing that gave us the least hopes of finding land.

On the 23d, at noon, we were in the latitude of  $62^{\circ} 22'$  S., longitude  $110^{\circ} 24'$ . In the afternoon, we passed an ice island. The wind, which blew fresh, continued to veer to the west; and at eight o'clock the next morning, it was to the north of west, when I steered S. by W. and S.S.W. At this time we were in the latitude of  $63^{\circ} 20'$  S., longitude  $108^{\circ} 7'$  W., and had a great sea from S.W. We continued



BLUE PETEREL.

this course till noon the next day, the 25th, when we steered due south. Our latitude, at this time, was  $65^{\circ} 24'$  S., longitude  $109^{\circ} 31'$  W.; the wind was at north; the weather mild and not unpleasant; and not a bit of ice in view. This we thought a little extraordinary; as it was but a month before, and not quite two hundred leagues to the east, that we were, in a manner, blocked up with large islands of ice, in this very latitude. Saw a single pintadoe peterel, some blue peterels, and a few brown albatrosses. In the evening, being under the same meridian, and in the latitude of  $65^{\circ} 44'$  S., the variation was  $19^{\circ} 27'$  E.; but the next morning, in the latitude of  $66^{\circ} 20'$  S., longitude the same as before, it was only  $18^{\circ} 20'$  E.: probably the mean between the two is the nearest the truth. At this time, we had nine small islands in sight; and soon after, we came, the third time, within the antarctic polar circle, in the longitude of  $109^{\circ} 31'$  W. About noon, seeing the appearance of land to the S.E., we immediately trimmed our sails and stood towards it. Soon after it disappeared, but we did not give it up till eight o'clock the next morning, when we were well assured that it was nothing but clouds, or a fog-bank; and then we resumed our course to the south, with a gentle breeze at N.E. attended with a thick fog, snow, and sleet.

We now began to meet with ice islands more frequently than before; and, in the latitude of  $69^{\circ} 38'$  S., longitude  $108^{\circ} 12'$  W., we fell in with a field of loose ice. As we began to be in want of water, I hoisted out two boats and took up as much as yielded about ten tons. This was cold work; but it was now familiar to us. As soon as we had done, we hoisted in the boats, and afterwards made short boards over that part of the sea we had, in some measure, made ourselves acquainted with. For we had now so thick a fog that we could not see two hundred yards round us; and as we knew not the extent of the loose ice, I durst not steer to the south till we had clear weather. Thus we spent the night, or rather that part of the twenty-four hours which answered to night; for we had no darkness but what was occasioned by fogs.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 29th, the fog began to clear away; and the day becoming clear and serene, we again steered to the south with a gentle gale at N.E. and

N.N.E. The variation was found to be  $22^{\circ} 41'$  E. This was in the latitude of  $69^{\circ} 45'$  S., longitude  $108^{\circ} 5'$  W.; and, in the afternoon, being in the same longitude, and in the latitude of  $70^{\circ} 23'$  S., it was  $24^{\circ} 81'$  E. Soon after, the sky became clouded, and the air very cold. We continued our course to the south, and passed a piece of weed covered with barnacles, which a brown albatross was picking off. At ten o'clock, we passed a very large ice-island; it was not less than three or four miles in circuit. Several more being seen ahead, and the weather becoming foggy, we hauled the wind to the northward; but in less than two hours, the weather cleared up, and we again stood south.

On the 30th, at four o'clock in the morning, we perceived the clouds, over the horizon to the south, to be of an unusual snow-white brightness, which we knew announced our approach to field-ice. Soon after, it was seen from the topmast head; and at eight o'clock, we were close to its edge. It extended east and west, far beyond the reach of our sight. In the situation we were in, just the southern half of our horizon was illuminated, by the rays of light reflected from the ice, to a considerable height. Ninety-seven ice-hills were distinctly seen within the field, besides those on the outside; many of them very large, and looking like a ridge of mountains, rising one above another till they were lost in the clouds. The outer, or northern edge of this immense field, was composed of loose or broken ice close packed together; so that it was not possible for anything to enter it. This was about a mile broad; within which was solid ice in one continued compact body. It was rather low and flat, (except the hills,) but seemed to increase in height, as you traced it to the south; in which direction it extended beyond our sight. Such mountains of ice as these were, I believe, never seen in the Greenland seas; at least, not that I ever heard or read of; so that we cannot draw a comparison between the ice here, and there. It must be allowed that these prodigious ice mountains must add such additional weight to the ice-fields which inclose them, as cannot but make a great difference between the navigating this icy sea and that of Greenland.

I will not say it was impossible anywhere to get farther to the south; but the attempting it would have been a dangerous and rash enterprise, and what, I believe, no man in my situation would have thought of. It was, indeed, my opinion, as well as the opinion of most on board, that this ice extended quite to the pole, or, perhaps, joined to some land, to which it had been fixed from the earliest time; and that it is here, that is, to the south of this parallel, where all the ice we find scattered up and down to the north is first formed, and afterwards broken off by gales of wind, or other causes, and brought to the north by the currents, which we always found to set in that direction in the high latitudes. As we drew near this ice, some penguins were heard, but none seen; and but few other birds, or any other thing, that could induce us to think any land was near. And yet I think there must be some to the south behind this ice; but if there is, it can afford no better retreat for birds, or any other animals, than the ice itself, with which it must be wholly covered. I, who had ambition not only to go farther than any one had been before, but as far as it was possible for man to go, was not sorry at meeting with this interruption; as it, in some measure, relieved us; at least, shortened the dangers and hardships inseparable from the navigation of the southern polar regions. Since, therefore, we could not proceed one inch farther to the south, no other reason need be assigned for my tacking, and standing back to the north; being at this time in the latitude of  $71^{\circ} 10'$  S., longitude  $106^{\circ} 54'$  W.

It was happy for us that the weather was clear when we fell in with this ice, and that we discovered it so soon as we did; for we had no sooner tacked than we were involved in a thick fog. The wind was at east, and blew a fresh breeze; so that we were able to return back over that space we had already made ourselves acquainted with. At noon the mercury in the thermometer stood at  $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , and we found the air exceedingly cold. The thick fog continuing with showers of snow, gave a coat of ice to our rigging of near an inch thick. In the afternoon of the next day the fog cleared away at intervals; but the weather was cloudy and gloomy, and the air excessively cold; however, the sea within our horizon was clear of ice.

We continued to stand to the north with the wind easterly till the afternoon, on the 1st of February, when, falling in with some loose ice which had broken from an island to wind-



ward, we hoisted out two boats, and having taken some on board, resumed our course to the north and north-east with gentle breezes from the south-east, attended sometimes with fair weather, and at other times with snow and sleet. On the 4th we were in the latitude of  $65^{\circ} 42'$  S., longitude  $99^{\circ} 44'$ . The next day the wind was very unsettled both in strength and position, and attended with snow and sleet. At length on the 6th, after a few hours' calm, we got a breeze at south, which soon after freshened, fixed at west south-west, and was attended with snow and sleet.

I now came to a resolution to proceed to the north, and to spend the ensuing winter within the tropic, if I met with no employment before I came there. I was now well satisfied no continent was to be found in this ocean, but what must lie so far to the south as to be wholly inaccessible on account of ice; and that if one should be found in the Southern Atlantic Ocean, it would be necessary to have the whole summer before us to explore it. On the other hand, upon a supposition that there is no land there, we undoubtedly might have reached the Cape of Good Hope by April, and so have put an end to the expedition, so far as it related to the finding a continent; which indeed was the first object of the voyage. But for me at this time to have quitted this Southern Pacific Ocean, with a good ship expressly sent out on discoveries, a healthy crew, and not in want either of stores or of provisions, would have been betraying not only a want of perseverance, but of judgment, in supposing the South Pacific Ocean to have been so well explored, that nothing remained to be done in it. This, however, was not my opinion; for although I had proved there was no continent but what must lie far to the south, there remained, nevertheless, room for very large islands in places wholly unexamined: and many of those which were formerly discovered are but imperfectly explored, and their situations as imperfectly known. I was besides of opinion that my remaining in this sea some time longer would be productive of improvements in navigation and geography, as well as other sciences. I had several times communicated my thoughts on this subject to Captain Furneaux; but as it then wholly depended on what we might meet with to the south, I could not give it in orders without running the risk of drawing us from the main object.

Since now nothing had happened to prevent me from carrying these views into execution, my intention was first to go in search of the land, said to have been discovered by Juan Fernandez, above a century ago, in about the latitude of  $38^{\circ}$ ; if I should fail in finding this land, then to go in search of Easter Island or Davis's Land, whose situation was known with so little certainty that the attempts lately made to find it had miscarried. I next intended to get within the tropic, and then proceed to the west, touching at, and settling the situations of such islands as we might meet with till we arrived at Otaheite, where it was necessary I should stop to look for the Adventure. I had also thoughts of running as far west as the *Tierra Austral del Espiritu Santo*, discovered by Quiros, and which M. de Bougainville calls the Great Cyclades. Quiros speaks of this land as being large, or lying in the neighbourhood of large lands; and as this was a point which Bougainville had neither confirmed nor refuted, I thought it was worth clearing up. From this land my design was to steer to the south, and so back to the east, between the latitudes of  $50^{\circ}$  and  $60^{\circ}$ ; intending if possible to be the length of Cape Horn in November next, when we should have the best part of the summer before us to explore the southern part of the Atlantic Ocean. Great as this design appeared to be, I, however, thought it possible to be executed; and when I came to communicate it to the officers, I had the satisfaction to find that they all heartily concurred in it. I should not do these gentlemen justice, if I did not take some opportunity to declare that they always showed the utmost readiness to carry into execution, in the most effectual manner, every measure I thought proper to take. Under such circumstances, it is hardly necessary to say that the seamen were always obedient and alert; and, on this occasion, they were so far from wishing the voyage at an end, that they rejoiced at the prospect of its being prolonged another year, and of soon enjoying the benefits of a milder climate.

I now steered north, inclining to the east, and in the evening we were overtaken by a furious storm at west-south-west, attended with snow and sleet. It came so suddenly upon us, that before we could take in our sails, two old top-sails, which we had bent to the yards,



were blown to pieces, and the other sails much damaged. The gale lasted, without the least intermission, till the next morning, when it began to abate; it however continued to blow very fresh till noon on the 12th, when it ended in a calm. At this time we were in the latitude of  $50^{\circ} 14' S.$ , longitude  $95^{\circ} 18' W.$  Some birds being about the ship, we took the advantage of the calm to put a boat in the water, and shot several birds, on which we feasted the next day. One of these birds was of that sort which has been so often mentioned in this journal, under the name of Port-Egmont hens. They are of the gull kind, about the size of a raven, with a dark brown plumage, except the under side of each wing, where there are some white feathers. The rest of the birds were albatrosses and sheerwaters.

After a few hours' calm, having got a breeze at north-west, we made a stretch to the south-west for twenty-four hours; in which route we saw a piece of wood, a bunch of weed, and a diving peterel. The wind having veered more to the west, made us tack and stretch to the north till noon on the 14th, at which time we were in the latitude of  $49^{\circ} 32' S.$ , longitude  $95^{\circ} 11' W.$  We had now calms and light breezes succeeding each other till the next morning, when the wind freshened at W.N.W., and was attended with a thick fog and drizzling rain the three following days, during which time we stretched to the north, inclining to the east, and crossed my track to Otaheite in 1769. I did intend to have kept more to the west; but the strong winds from that direction put it out of my power.

On the 18th the wind veered to south-west, and blew very fresh, but was attended with clear weather, which gave us an opportunity to ascertain our longitude by several lunar observations made by Messrs. Wales, Clerke, Gilbert, and Smith. The mean result of all was  $94^{\circ} 19' 30'' W.$ ; Mr. Kendal's watch, at the same time, gave  $94^{\circ} 46' W.$ ; our latitude was  $43^{\circ} 53' S.$  The wind continued not long at south-west before it veered back to west and west-north-west. As we advanced to the north we felt a most sensible change in the weather. The 20th, at noon, we were in the latitude of  $39^{\circ} 58' S.$ , longitude  $94^{\circ} 37' W.$  The day was clear and pleasant, and I may say the only summer's day we had had since we left New Zealand. The mercury in the thermometer rose to 66.

We still continued to steer to the north, as the wind remained in the old quarter; and the next day, at noon, we were in the latitude  $37^{\circ} 54' S.$ , which was the same that Juan Fernandez's discovery is said to lie in. We, however, had not the least signs of any land lying in our neighbourhood. The next day at noon we were in latitude  $36^{\circ} 10' S.$ , longitude  $94^{\circ} 56' W.$  Soon after, the wind veered to south-south-east, and enabled us to steer west-south-west, which I thought the most probable direction to find the land of which we were in search; and yet I had no hopes of succeeding, as we had a large hollow swell from the same point. We, however, continued this course till the 25th, when the wind having veered again round to the westward, I gave it up, and stood away to the north, in order to get into the latitude of Easter Island; our latitude at this time was  $37^{\circ} 52'$ , longitude  $101^{\circ} 10' W.$

I was now well assured that the discovery of Juan Fernandez, if any such was ever made, can be nothing but a small island; there being hardly room for a large land, as will fully appear by the tracks of Captain Wallis, Bougainville, of the Endeavour, and this of the Resolution. Whoever wants to see an account of the discovery in question, will meet with it in Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages to the South Seas. This gentleman places it under the meridian of  $90^{\circ}$ , where I think it cannot be; for M. de Bougainville seems to have run down under that meridian, and we had now examined the latitude in which it is said to lie, from the meridian of  $94^{\circ}$  to  $101^{\circ}$ . It is not probable it can lie to the east of  $90^{\circ}$ ; because if it did, it must have been seen at one time or other by ships bound from the northern to the southern parts of America. Mr. Pengr , in a little treatise concerning the transit of Venus, published in 1768, gives some account of land having been discovered by the Spaniards in 1714, in the latitude of  $38^{\circ}$ , and 550 leagues from the coast of Chili, which is in the longitude of  $110^{\circ}$  or  $111^{\circ} W.$ , and within a degree or two of my track in the Endeavour; so that this can hardly be its situation. In short, the only probable situation it can have must be about the meridian of  $106^{\circ}$  or  $108^{\circ} W.$ ; and then it can only be a small isle, as I have already observed.

I was now taken ill of the bilious colic, which was so violent as to confine me to my bed;



so that the management of the ship was left to Mr. Cooper, the first officer, who conducted her very much to my satisfaction. It was several days before the most dangerous symptoms of my disorder were removed; during which time Mr. Patten, the surgeon, was to me not only a skilful physician, but an affectionate nurse; and I should ill deserve the care he bestowed on me, if I did not make this public acknowledgment. When I began to recover, a favourite dog belonging to Mr. Forster fell a sacrifice to my tender stomach. We had no other fresh meat whatever on board; and I could eat of this flesh, as well as broth made of it, when I could taste nothing else. Thus I received nourishment and strength from food which would have made most people in Europe sick; so true it is, that necessity is governed by no law.

On the 28th, in the latitude of  $33^{\circ} 7'$  S., longitude  $102^{\circ} 33'$  W., we began to see flying-fish, egg-birds, and noddies, which are said not to go above sixty or eighty leagues from land; but of this we have no certainty. No one yet knows to what distance any of the oceanic birds go to sea; for my own part, I do not believe there is one in the whole tribe that can be relied on, in pointing out the vicinity of land.

In the latitude of  $30^{\circ} 30'$  S., longitude  $101^{\circ} 45'$  W., we began to see men-of-war birds. In the latitude of  $29^{\circ} 44'$ , longitude  $100^{\circ} 45'$  W., we had a calm for near two days together, during which time the heat was intolerable; but what ought to be remarked, was a very great swell from the south-west. On the 6th of March, the calm was succeeded by an easterly wind, with which we steered north-west till noon the 8th, when, being in the latitude of  $27^{\circ} 4'$  S., longitude  $103^{\circ} 58'$  W., we steered west, meeting every day with great numbers of birds, such as men-of-war, tropic and egg birds, noddies, sheerwaters, &c.; and once we passed several pieces of sponge, and a small dried leaf not unlike a bay one. Soon after, we saw a sea-snake, in every respect like those we had before seen at the tropical islands. We also saw plenty of fish; but were such bad fishers, that we caught only four albacores, which were very acceptable, to me especially, who was just recovering from my late illness.

CHAPTER VII.—SEQUEL OF THE PASSAGE FROM NEW ZEALAND TO EASTER ISLAND, AND TRANSACTIONS THERE, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF AN EXPEDITION TO DISCOVER THE INLAND PART OF THE COUNTRY, AND A DESCRIPTION OF SOME OF THE SURPRISING GIGANTIC STATUES FOUND IN THE ISLAND.

At eight o'clock in the morning on the 11th, land was seen, from the mast-head, bearing west, and at noon from the deck, extending from W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N. to W. by S. about twelve leagues distant. I made no doubt that this was Davis's Land, or Easter Island, as its appearance from this situation corresponded very well with Wafer's account; and we expected to have seen the low sandy isle that Davis fell in with, which would have been a confirmation; but in this we were disappointed. At seven o'clock in the evening, the island bore from N.  $62^{\circ}$  W. to N.  $87^{\circ}$  W., about five leagues distant; in which situation we sounded, without finding ground, with a line of a hundred and forty fathoms. Here we spent the night, having alternately light airs and calms, till ten o'clock the next morning, when a breeze sprung up at west-south-west. With this we stretched in for the land; and, by the help of our glass, discovered people, and some of those colossian statues or idols mentioned by the authors of Roggewein's Voyage.\* At four o'clock in the afternoon, we were half a league south-south-east, and north-north-west of the north-east point of the island; and, on sounding, found thirty-five fathoms, a dark sandy bottom. I now tacked and endeavoured to get into what appeared to be a bay, on the west side of the point, or south-east side of the island; but before this could be accomplished, night came upon us, and we stood on and off under the land till the next morning, having soundings from seventy-five to a hundred and ten fathoms, the same bottom as before.

On the 13th, about eight o'clock in the morning, the wind, which had been variable most part of the night, fixed at south-east and blew in squalls, accompanied with rain, but it was

\* See Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii.

not long before the weather became fair. As the wind now blew right on the south-east shore, which does not afford that shelter I at first thought, I resolved to look for anchorage on the west and north-west sides of the island. With this view, I bore up round the south point, off which lie two small islets, the one nearest the point high and peaked, and the other low and flattish. After getting round the point, and coming before a sandy beach, we found soundings, thirty and forty fathoms, sandy ground, and about one mile from the shore. Here a canoe conducted by two men came off to us. They brought with them a bunch of plantains, which they sent into the ship by a rope, and then they returned ashore. This gave us a good opinion of the islanders, and inspired us with hopes of getting some refreshments, which we were in great want of.

I continued to range along the coast till we opened the northern point of the isle without seeing a better anchoring-place than the one we had passed. We therefore tacked, and plied back to it; and, in the mean time, sent away the master in a boat to sound the coast. He returned about five o'clock in the evening, and soon after we came to an anchor, in thirty-six fathoms water, before the sandy beach above mentioned. As the master drew near the shore with the boat, one of the natives swam off to her, and insisted on coming aboard the ship, where he remained two nights and a day. The first thing he did after coming aboard, was to measure the length of the ship, by fathoming her from the taffrail to the stern; and as he counted the fathoms, we observed that he called the numbers by the same names that they do at Otaheite: nevertheless, his language was in a manner wholly unintelligible to all of us.

Having anchored too near the edge of the bank, a fresh breeze from the land, about three o'clock the next morning, drove us off it; on which the anchor was heaved up, and sail made to regain the bank again. While the ship was plying in, I went ashore, accompanied by some of the gentlemen, to see what the island was likely to afford us. We landed at the sandy beach, where some hundreds of the natives were assembled, and who were so impatient to see us, that many of them swam off to meet the boats. Not one of them had so much as a stick or weapon of any sort in their hands. After distributing a few trinkets amongst them, we made signs for something to eat; on which they brought down a few potatoes, plantains, and sugar-canes, and exchanged them for nails, looking-glasses, and pieces of cloth. We presently discovered that they were as expert thieves, and as tricking in their exchanges, as any people we had yet met with. It was with some difficulty we could keep the hats on our heads, but hardly possible to keep anything in our pockets, not even what themselves had sold us; for they would watch every opportunity to snatch it from us, so that we sometimes bought the same thing two or three times over, and after all did not get it.

Before I sailed from England, I was informed that a Spanish ship had visited this isle in 1769. Some signs of it were seen among the people now about us; one man had a pretty good broad-brimmed European hat on, another had a grego jacket, and another a red silk handkerchief. They also seemed to know the use of a musket, and to stand in much awe of it; but this they probably learnt from Roggewein, who, if we are to believe the authors of that voyage, left them sufficient tokens.

Near the place where we landed were some of those statues before mentioned, which I shall describe in another place. The country appeared barren and without wood; there were, nevertheless, several plantations of potatoes, plantains, and sugar-canes; we also saw some fowls, and found a well of brackish water. As these were articles we were in want of, and as the natives seemed not unwilling to part with them, I resolved to stay a day or two. With this view, I repaired on board, and brought the ship to an anchor in thirty-two fathoms water; the bottom, a fine dark sand. Our station was about a mile from the nearest shore, the south point of a small bay, in the bottom of which is the sandy beach before mentioned, being east south-east distant one mile and a half. The two rocky islets lying off the south point of the island were just shut behind a point to the north of them; they bore S.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. four miles distant, and the other extreme of the island bore N. 25° E. distant about six miles. But the best mark for this anchoring-place is the beach; because it is the only one on this side the island. In the afternoon we got on board a few casks



of water, and opened a trade with the natives for such things as they had to dispose of. Some of the gentlemen also made an excursion into the country to see what it produced, and returned again in the evening, with the loss only of a hat, which one of the natives snatched off the head of one of the party.

Early next morning, I sent Lieutenants Pickersgill and Edgecumbe with a party of men, accompanied by several of the gentlemen, to examine the country. As I was not sufficiently recovered from my late illness to make one of the party, I was obliged to content myself with remaining at the landing-place among the natives. We had at one time a pretty brisk trade with them for potatoes, which we observed they dug up out of an adjoining plantation; but this traffic, which was very advantageous to us, was soon put a stop to by the owner (as we supposed) of the plantation coming down, and driving all the people out of it. By this we concluded that he had been robbed of his property, and that they were not less scrupulous of stealing from one another than from us, on whom they practised every little fraud they could think of, and generally with success; for we no sooner detected them in one, than they found out another. About seven o'clock in the evening, the party I had sent into the country returned, after having been over the greatest part of the island.

They left the beach about nine o'clock in the morning, and took a path which led across to the south-east side of the island, followed by a great crowd of the natives, who pressed much upon them. But they had not proceeded far, before a middle-aged man, punctured from head to foot, and his face painted with a sort of white pigment, appeared with a spear in his hand, and walked alongside of them, making signs to his countrymen to keep at a distance, and not to molest our people. When he had pretty well effected this, he hoisted a piece of white cloth on his spear, placed himself in the front, and led the way with his ensign of peace, as they understood it to be. For the greatest part of the distance across the ground had but a barren appearance, being a dry hard clay, and everywhere covered with stones; but, notwithstanding this, there were several large tracks planted with potatoes, and some plantain walks, but they saw no fruit on any of the trees. Towards the highest part of the south end of the island, the soil, which was a fine red earth, seemed much better, bore a longer grass, and was not covered with stones as in the other parts; but here they saw neither house nor plantation.

On the east side, near the sea, they met with three platforms of stone-work, or rather the ruins of them. On each had stood four of those large statues; but they were all fallen down from two of them, and also one from the third; all except one were broken by the fall, or in some measure defaced. Mr. Wales measured this one, and found it to be fifteen feet in length, and six feet broad over the shoulders. Each statue had on its head a large cylindric stone of a red colour, wrought perfectly round. The one they measured, which was not by far the largest, was fifty-two inches high, and sixty-six in diameter. In some, the upper corner of the cylinder was taken off in a sort of concave quarter-round, but in others the cylinder was entire.

From this place they followed the direction of the coast to the north-east, the man with the flag still leading the way. For about three miles they found the country very barren, and in some places stript of the soil to the bare rock, which seemed to be a poor sort of iron ore. Beyond this they came to the most fertile part of the island they saw, it being interspersed with plantations of potatoes, sugar-canes, and plantain trees, and these not so much encumbered with stones as those which they had seen before; but they could find no water except what the natives twice or thrice brought them, which, though brackish and stinking, was rendered acceptable by the extremity of their thirst. They also passed some huts, the owners of which met them with roasted potatoes and sugarcanes, and placing themselves ahead of the foremost of the party, (for they marched in a line in order to have the benefit of the path,) gave one to each man as he passed by. They observed the same method in distributing the water which they brought; and were particularly careful that the foremost did not drink too much, lest none should be left for the hindmost. But at the very time these were relieving the thirsty and hungry, there were not wanting others who endeavoured to steal from them the very things which had been given them. At last, to prevent worse consequences, they were obliged to fire a load of small shot at one who was so audacious as

to snatch from one of the men the bag which contained everything they carried with them. The shot hit him on the back ; on which he dropped the bag, ran a little way, and then fell ; but he afterwards got up and walked ; and what became of him they knew not, nor whether he was much wounded. As this affair occasioned some delay, and drew the natives together, they presently saw the man who had hitherto led the way, and one or two more coming running towards them ; but instead of stopping when they came up, they continued to run round them, repeating in a kind manner, a few words, until our people set forwards again. Then their old guide hoisted his flag, leading the way as before, and none ever attempted to steal from them the whole day afterwards.

As they passed along, they observed on a hill a number of people collected together, some of whom had spears in their hands ; but, on being called to by their countryman, they dispersed ; except a few, amongst whom was one seemingly of some note. He was a stout, well-made man, with a fine open countenance ; his face was painted, his body punctured, and he wore a better *Ha kou*, or cloth, than the rest. He saluted them as he came up, by stretching out his arms with both hands clenched, lifting them over his head, opening them wide, and then letting them fall gradually down to his sides. To this man, whom they understood to be the chief of the island, their other friend gave his white flag ; and he gave it to another, who carried it before them the remainder of the day.

Towards the eastern end of the island, they met with a well whose water was perfectly fresh, being considerably above the level of the sea ; but it was dirty, owing to the filthiness or cleanliness (call it which you will) of the natives, who never go to drink without washing themselves all over as soon as they have done ; and if ever so many of them are together, the first leaps right into the middle of the hole, drinks, and washes himself without the least ceremony ; after which another takes his place and does the same.

They observed that this side of the island was full of those gigantic statues so often mentioned ; some placed in groups on platforms of masonry ; others single, fixed only in the earth, and that not deep ; and these latter are in general much larger than the others. Having measured one which had fallen down, they found it very near twenty-seven feet long, and upwards of eight feet over the breast or shoulders ; and yet this appeared considerably short of the size of one they saw standing ; its shade, a little past two o'clock, being sufficient to shelter all the party, consisting of near thirty persons, from the rays of the sun. Here they stopped to dine ; after which they repaired to a hill, from whence they saw all the east and north shores of the isle, on which they could not see either bay or creek fit even for a boat to land in, nor the least signs of fresh water. What the natives brought them here was real salt water ; but they observed that some of them drank pretty plentifully of it ; so far will necessity and custom get the better of nature ! On this account, they were obliged to return to the last-mentioned well ; where, after having quenched their thirst, they directed their route across the island towards the ship, as it was now four o'clock.

In a small hollow on the highest part of the island, they met with several such cylinders as are placed on the heads of the statues. Some of these appeared larger than any they had seen before ; but it was now too late to stop to measure any of them. Mr. Wales, from whom I had this information, is of opinion that there had been a quarry here, whence these stones had formerly been dug, and that it would have been no difficult matter to roll them down the hill after they were formed. I think this a very reasonable conjecture, and have no doubt that it has been so. On the declivity of the mountain, towards the west, they met with another well ; but the water was a very strong mineral, had a thick green scum on the top, and stunk intolerably. Necessity, however, obliged some to drink of it ; but it soon made them so sick, that they threw it up the same way it went down.

In all this excursion, as well as the one made the preceding day, only two or three shrubs were seen. The leaf and seed of one (called by the natives *Torromedo*) were not much unlike those of the common vetch ; but the pod was more like that of a tamarind in its size and shape. The seeds have a disagreeable bitter taste ; and the natives, when they saw our people chew them, made signs to spit them out ; from whence it was concluded that they think them poisonous. The wood is of a reddish colour, and pretty hard and heavy ; but very crooked, small, and short, not exceeding six or seven feet in height. At the south-west



corner of the island, they found another small shrub, whose wood was white and brittle, and in some measure, as also its leaf, resembling the ash. They also saw in several places the Otaheitean cloth plant; but it was poor and weak, and not above two and a half feet high at most. They saw not an animal of any sort, and but very few birds; nor indeed anything which can induce ships that are not in the utmost distress to touch at this island.

This account of the excursion I had from Mr. Pickersgill and Mr. Wales, men on whose veracity I could depend; and, therefore, I determined to leave the island the next morning, since nothing was to be obtained that could make it worth my while to stay longer; for the water which we had sent on board was not much better than if it had been taken up out of the sea. We had a calm till ten o'clock in the morning of the 16th, when a breeze sprung up at west, accompanied with heavy showers of rain, which lasted about an hour. The weather then clearing up, we got under sail, stood to sea, and kept plying to and fro, while an officer was sent on shore with two boats, to purchase such refreshments as the natives might have brought down; for I judged this would be the case, as they knew nothing of our sailing. The event proved that I was not mistaken; for the boats made two trips before night: when we hoisted them in, and made sail to the north-west with a light breeze at north north-east.

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CHAPTER VIII.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND, ITS PRODUCE, SITUATION, AND INHABITANTS; THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.—CONJECTURES CONCERNING THEIR GOVERNMENT, RELIGION, AND OTHER SUBJECTS; WITH A MORE PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE GIGANTIC STATUES.

I SHALL now give some farther account of this island, which is undoubtedly the same that Admiral Roggewein touched at in April 1722, although the description given of it by the authors of that voyage does by no means agree with it now. It may also be the same that was seen by Captain Davis in 1686; for when seen from the east, it answers very well to Wafer's description, as I have before observed. In short, if this is not the land, his discovery cannot lie far from the coast of America, as this latitude has been well explored from the meridian of 80° to 110°. Captain Carteret carried it much farther, but his track seems to have been a little too far south. Had I found fresh water, I intended spending some days looking for the low sandy isle Davis fell in with, which would have determined the point; but as I did not find water, and had a long run to make before I was assured of getting any, and being in want of refreshments, I declined the search, as a small delay might have been attended with bad consequences to the crew, many of them beginning to be more or less affected with the scurvy.

No nation need contend for the honour of the discovery of this island, as there can be few places which afford less convenience for shipping than it does. Here is no safe anchorage, no wood for fuel, nor any fresh water worth taking on board. Nature has been exceedingly sparing of her favours to this spot. As everything must be raised by dint of labour, it cannot be supposed the inhabitants plant much more than is sufficient for themselves; and as they are but few in number, they cannot have much to spare to supply the wants of visitant strangers. The produce is sweet potatoes, yams, taroeddy-root, plantains, and sugar-canes, all pretty good, the potatoes especially, which are the best of the kind I ever tasted. Gourds they have also; but so very few, that a cocoa-nut shell was the most valuable thing we could give them. They have a few tame fowls, such as cocks and hens, small but well-tasted. They have also rats, which it seems they eat; for I saw a man with some dead ones in his hand, and he seemed unwilling to part with them, giving me to understand they were for food. Land-birds there were hardly any, and sea-birds but few; these were, men-of-war, tropic, and egg-birds, noddies, tern, &c. The coast seemed not to abound with fish; at least we could catch none with hook and line, and it was but very little we saw amongst the natives.

Such is the produce of Easter Island, or Davis's Land, which is situated in the latitude of 27° 5' 30" S., longitude 109° 46' 20" W. It is about ten or twelve leagues in circuit, hath a hilly and stony surface, and an iron-bound shore. The hills are of such a height as

to be seen fifteen or sixteen leagues. Off the south end are two rocky islets lying near the shore. The north and east points of the island rise directly from the sea to a considerable height; between them, on the south-east side, the shore forms an open bay, in which I believe the Dutch anchored. We anchored, as hath been already mentioned, on the west side of the island, three miles to the north of the south point, with the sandy beach bearing east-south-east. This is a very good road with easterly winds, but a dangerous one with westerly, as the other on the south-east side must be with easterly winds.

For this and other bad accommodations already mentioned, nothing but necessity will induce any one to touch at this isle, unless it can be done without going much out of the way\*; in which case touching here may be advantageous, as the people willingly and readily part with such refreshments as they have, and at an easy rate. We certainly received great benefit from the little we got; but few ships can come here without being in want of water, and this want cannot be here supplied. The little we took on board could not be made use of; it being only salt water which had filtrated through a stony beach into a stone well. This the natives had made for the purpose, a little to the southward of the sandy beach so often mentioned, and the water ebbed and flowed into it with the tide.

The inhabitants of this island do not seem to exceed six or seven hundred souls; and above two-thirds of those we saw were males. They either have but few females among them, or else many were restrained from making their appearance during our stay; for though we saw nothing to induce us to believe the men were of a jealous disposition, or the women afraid to appear in public, something of this kind was probably the case. In colour, features, and language, they bear such affinity to the people of the more western isles, that no one will doubt that they have had the same origin. It is extraordinary that the same nation should have spread themselves over all the isles in this vast ocean, from New Zealand to this island, which is almost one-fourth part of the circumference of the globe. Many of them have now no other knowledge of each other than what is preserved by antiquated tradition; and they have by length of time become, as it were, different nations, each having adopted some peculiar custom or habit, &c. Nevertheless, a careful observer will soon see the affinity each has to the other.

In general, the people of this isle are a slender race. I did not see a man that would measure six feet; so far are they from being giants, as one of the authors of Roggewein's voyage asserts. They are brisk and active, have good features, and not disagreeable countenances; are friendly and hospitable to strangers, but as much addicted to pilfering as any of their neighbours. *Tattooing*, or puncturing the skin, is much used here. The men are marked from head to foot, with figures all nearly alike; only some give them one direction, and some another, as fancy leads. The women are but little punctured; red and white paint is an ornament with *them*, as also with the men; the former is made of turmeric; but what composes the latter I know not. Their clothing is a piece or two of quilted cloth about six feet by four, or a mat. One piece wrapped round their loins, and another over their shoulders, make a complete dress. But the men, for the most part, are in a manner naked, wearing nothing but a slip of cloth betwixt their legs, each end of which is fastened to a cord or belt they wear round the waist. Their cloth is made of the same materials as at Otaheite, viz. of the bark of the cloth-plant; but as they have but little of it, our Otaheitean cloth, or indeed any sort of it, came here to a good market.

Their hair, in general, is black; the women wear it long, and sometimes tied up on the crown of the head; but the men wear it and their beards cropped short. Their head-dress is a round fillet adorned with feathers, and a straw bonnet something like a Scotch one; the former, I believe, being chiefly worn by the men, and the latter by the women. Both men and women have very large holes, or rather slits, in their ears, extended to near three inches in length. They sometimes turn this slit over the upper part, and then the ear looks as if the flap was cut off. The chief ear ornaments are the white down of feathers, and rings, which they wear in the inside of the hole, made of some elastic substance, rolled up like a watch-

\* The disadvantages above mentioned are such as to have prevented to this day any but the most casual intercourse between the natives and Europeans; even the zealous missionaries have not hitherto attempted their conversion, and by the later accounts the island appears to be in much the same condition as in 1774.—Ed.



spring. I judged this was to keep the hole at its utmost extension. I do not remember seeing them wear any other ornaments, excepting amulets made of bone or shells. As harmless and friendly as these people seem to be, they are not without offensive weapons, such as short wooden clubs and spears; which latter are crooked sticks about six feet long, armed at one end with pieces of flint. They have also a weapon made of wood, like the *Patoo patoo* of New Zealand.

Their houses are low miserable huts, constructed by setting sticks upright in the ground, at six or eight feet distance, then bending them towards each other, and tying them together at the top, forming thereby a kind of Gothic arch. The longest sticks are placed in the middle, and shorter ones each way, and at less distance asunder; by which means the building is highest and broadest in the middle, and lower and narrower towards each end. To these are tied others horizontally, and the whole is thatched over with leaves of sugar-cane. The door-way is in the middle of one side, formed like a porch, and so low and narrow as just to admit a man to enter upon all-fours. The largest house I saw was about sixty feet long, eight or nine feet high in the middle, and three or four at each end; its breadth at these parts was nearly equal to its height. Some have a kind of vaulted houses built with stone, and partly under ground; but I never was in one of these.

I saw no household utensils amongst them except gourds, and of these but very few. They were extravagantly fond of cocoa-nut shells; more so than of anything we could give them. They dress their victuals in the same manner as at Otaheite; that is, with hot stones in an oven or hole in the ground. The straw or tops of sugar-cane, plantain heads, &c. serve them for fuel to heat the stones. Plantains, which require but little dressing, they roast under fires of straw, dried grass, &c., and whole races of them are ripened or roasted in this manner. We frequently saw ten or a dozen, or more, such fires in one place, and most commonly in the mornings and evenings.

Not more than three or four canoes were seen on the whole island; and these very mean, and built of many pieces sewed together with small line. They are about eighteen or twenty feet long, head and stern carved or raised a little, are very narrow, and fitted with outriggers. They do not seem capable of carrying above four persons, and are by no means fit for any distant navigation. As small and as mean as these canoes were, it was a matter of wonder to us where they got the wood to build them with; for in one of them was a board six or eight feet long, fourteen inches broad at one end, and eight at the other; whereas we did not see a stick on the island which would have made a board half this size; nor, indeed, was there another piece in the whole canoe half so big.

There are two ways by which it is possible they may have got this large wood: it might have been left here by the Spaniards; or it might have been driven on the shore of the island from some distant land. It is even possible that there may be some land in the neighbourhood from whence they might have got it. We, however, saw no signs of any; nor could we get the least information on this head from the natives, although we tried every method we could think of to obtain it. We were almost as unfortunate in our inquiries for the proper or native name of the island. For, on comparing notes, I found we had got three different names for it, viz. Tamareki, Whyhu, and Teapy. Without pretending to say which, or whether any of them is right, I shall only observe, that the last was obtained by Oedidee, who understood their language much better than any of us; though even he understood it but very imperfectly.

It appears by the account of Roggewein's voyage, that these people had no better vessel than when he first visited them. The want of materials, and not of genius, seems to be the reason why they have made no improvement in this art. Some pieces of carving were found amongst them, both well designed and executed. Their plantations are prettily laid out by line, but not inclosed by any fence; indeed, they have nothing for this purpose but stones. I have no doubt that all these plantations are private property, and that there are here, as at Otaheite, chiefs (which they call *Areekees*) to whom these plantations belong. But of the power or authority of these chiefs, or of the government of these people, I confess myself quite ignorant.

Nor are we better acquainted with their religion. The gigantic statues so often mentioned

are not, in my opinion, looked upon as idols by the present inhabitants, whatever they might have been in the days of the Dutch ; at least, I saw nothing that could induce me to think so. On the contrary, I rather suppose that they are burying-places for certain tribes or families. I, as well as some others, saw a human skeleton lying in one of the platforms, just covered with stones. Some of these platforms of masonry are thirty or forty feet long, twelve or sixteen broad, and from three to twelve in height ; which last in some measure depends on the nature of the ground. For they are generally at the brink of the bank facing the sea, so that this face may be ten or twelve feet or more high, and the other may not be above three or four. They are built, or rather faced, with hewn stones of a very large size ; and the workmanship is not inferior to the best plain piece of masonry we have in England. They use no sort of cement ; yet the joints are exceedingly close, and the stones morticed and tenanted one into another, in a very artful manner. The side walls are not perpendicular, but inclining a little inwards, in the same manner that breast-works, &c., are built in Europe : yet had not all this care, pains, and sagacity been able to preserve these curious structures from the ravages of all-devouring time. The statues, or at least many of them, are erected on these platforms, which serve as foundations. They are, as near as we could judge, about half length, ending in a sort of stump at the bottom, on which they stand. The workmanship is rude, but not bad ; nor are the features of the face ill formed, the nose and chin in particular ; but the ears are long beyond proportion ; and, as to the bodies, there is hardly anything like a human figure about them.

I had an opportunity of examining only two or three of these statues, which are near the landing-place ; and they were of a grey stone, seemingly of the same sort as that with which the platforms were built. But some of the gentlemen who travelled over the island, and examined many of them, were of opinion that the stone of which they were made was different from any other they saw on the island, and had much the appearance of being factitious. We could hardly conceive how these islanders, wholly unacquainted with any mechanical power, could raise such stupendous figures, and afterwards place the large cylindric stones, before mentioned, upon their heads. The only method I can conceive, is by raising the upper end by little and little, supporting it by stones as it is raised, and building about it till they got it erect ; thus a sort of mount, or scaffolding, would be made, upon which they might roll the cylinder, and place it upon the head of the statue, and then the stones might be removed from about it. But if the stones are factitious, the statues might have been put together on the place in their present position, and the cylinder put on by building a mount round them as above mentioned. But, let them have been made and set up, by this or any other method, they must have been a work of immense time, and sufficiently show the ingenuity and perseverance of the islanders in the age in which they were built ; for the present inhabitants have most certainly had no hand in them, as they do not even repair the foundations of those which are going to decay. They give different names to them, such as Gotomoara, Marapate, Kanaro, Gowaytoo-goo, Matta Matta, &c. &c., to which they sometimes prefix the word *Moi*, and sometimes annex *Areekee*. The latter signifies chief, and the former, burying, or sleeping-place, as well as we could understand. Besides the monuments of antiquity, which were pretty numerous, and nowhere but on or near the sea-coast, there were many little heaps of stones piled up in different places, along the coast. Two or three of the uppermost stones in each pile were generally white ; perhaps always so, when the pile is complete. It will hardly be doubted that these piles of stone had a meaning. Probably they might mark the place where people had been buried, and serve instead of the large statues.

The working-tools of these people are but very mean, and, like those of all the other islanders we have visited in this ocean, made of stone, bone, shells, &c. They set but little value on iron, or iron tools, which is the more extraordinary as they know their use ; but the reason may be their having but little occasion for them.



CHAPTER IX.—THE PASSAGE FROM EASTER ISLAND TO THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS.—TRANSACTIONS AND INCIDENTS WHICH HAPPENED WHILE THE SHIP LAY IN MADRE DE DIOS, OR RESOLUTION BAY, IN THE ISLAND OF ST. CHRISTINA.

AFTER leaving Easter Island, I steered north-west by north, and north-north-west, with a fine easterly gale, intending to touch at the Marquesas, if I met with nothing before I got there. We had not been long at sea before the bilious disorder made another attack upon me, but not so violent as the former. I believe this second visit was owing to my exposing and fatiguing myself too much at Easter Island.

On the 22d, being in the latitude of  $19^{\circ} 20'$  S., longitude  $114^{\circ} 49'$  W., steered north-west. Since leaving Easter Island, the variation had not been more than  $3^{\circ} 4'$ , nor less than  $2^{\circ} 32'$  E.; but on the 26th, in latitude  $15^{\circ} 7'$  S., longitude  $119^{\circ} 45'$  W., it was no more than  $1^{\circ} 1'$  E., after which it began to increase. On the 29th, being in latitude  $10^{\circ} 20'$ , longitude  $123^{\circ} 58'$  W., altered the course to west north-west, and the next day to west, being then in latitude  $9^{\circ} 24'$ , which I judged to be the parallel of the Marquesas; where, as I have before observed, I intended to touch in order to settle their situation, which I find different in different charts. Having now a steady settled trade-wind and pleasant weather, I ordered the forge to be set up, to repair and make various necessary articles in the iron way, and the calkers had already been some time at work calking the decks, weather-works, &c.

As we advanced to the west, we found the variation to increase but slowly; for, on the 3d of April, it was only  $4^{\circ} 40'$  E., being then in the latitude  $9^{\circ} 32'$ , longitude  $132^{\circ} 45'$ , by observation made at the same time. I continued to steer to the west till the 6th, at four in the afternoon, at which time, being in the latitude of  $9^{\circ} 20'$ , longitude  $138^{\circ} 14'$  W., we discovered an island, bearing west by south, distant about nine leagues. Two hours after we saw another bearing south-west by south, which appeared more extensive than the former. I hauled up for this island, and ran under an easy sail all night, having equally unsettled rainy weather, which is not very uncommon in this sea when near high land. At six o'clock the next morning, the first island bore north-west, the second south-west  $\frac{1}{2}$  west, and a third west. I gave orders to steer for the separation between the two last, and soon after a fourth was seen, still more to the west. By this time we were well assured that these were the Marquesas, discovered by Mendana in 1595. The first isle was a new discovery, which I named Hood's Island, after the young gentleman who first saw it; the second was that of Saint Pedro; the third, La Dominica; and the fourth, St. Christina. We ranged the south-east coast of La Dominica without seeing the least signs of anchorage, till we came to the channel that divides it from St. Christina, through which we passed, hauled over for the last-mentioned island, and ran along the coast to the south-west in search of Mendana's Port. We passed several coves in which there seemed to be anchorage; but a great surf broke on all the shores. Some canoes put off from these places, and followed us down the coast.

At length, having come before the port we were in search of, we attempted to turn into it, the wind being right out; but as it blew in violent squalls from this high land, one of these took us just after we had put in stays, payed the ship off again, and before she wore round she was within a few yards of being driven against the rocks to leeward. This obliged us to stand out to sea, and to make a stretch to windward; after which we stood in again, and, without attempting to turn, anchored in the entrance of the bay in thirty-four fathoms water, a fine sandy bottom. This was no sooner done, than about thirty or forty of the natives came off to us in ten or twelve canoes; but it required some address to get them alongside. At last, a hatchet and some spike-nails induced the people in one canoe to come under the quarter-gallery; after which all the others put alongside, and having exchanged some bread-fruit and fish, for small nails, &c. retired ashore, the sun being already set. We observed a heap of stones in the bow of each canoe, and every man to have a sling tied round his hand.

Very early next morning, the natives visited us again in much greater numbers than before; bringing with them bread-fruit, plantains, and one pig, all of which they exchanged for nails, &c. But, in this traffic, they would frequently keep our goods and make no return; till at last I was obliged to fire a musket-ball over one man who had several times served us in this manner; after which they dealt more fairly, and soon after several of them came on board. At this time we were preparing to warp farther into the bay; and I was going in a boat, to look for the most convenient place to moor the ship in. Observing too many of the natives on board, I said to the officers, "You must look well after these people, or they will certainly carry off something or other." I had hardly got into the boat, before I was told they had stolen one of the iron stanchions from the opposite gangway, and were making off with it. I ordered them to fire over the canoe till I could get round in the boat, but not to kill any one. But the natives made too much noise for me to be heard; and the unhappy thief was killed at the third shot. Two others in the same canoe leaped overboard, but got in again just as I came to them. The stanchion they had thrown overboard. One of them, a man grown, sat baling the blood and water out of the canoe, in a kind of hysteric laugh. The other, a youth about fourteen or fifteen years of age, looked on the deceased with a serious and dejected countenance: we had afterwards reason to believe he was his son.

At this unhappy accident, all the natives retired with precipitation. I followed them into the bay, and prevailed upon the people in one canoe to come alongside the boat, and receive some nails and other things, which I gave them. This, in some measure, allayed their fears. Having taken a view of the bay, and found that fresh water, which we most wanted, was to be had, I returned on board, and carried out a kedge-anchor with three hawsers upon an end, to warp the ship in by, and hove short on the bower. One would have thought that the natives, by this time, would have been so sensible of the effect of our fire-arms, as not to have provoked us to fire upon them any more; but the event proved otherwise. For the boat had no sooner left the kedge-anchor, than two men in a canoe put off from the shore, took hold of the buoy-rope, and attempted to drag it ashore, little considering what was fast to it. Lest, after discovering their mistake, they should take away the buoy, I ordered a musket to be fired at them. The ball fell short, and they took not the least notice of it; but a second having passed over them, they let go the buoy, and made for the shore. This was the last shot we had occasion to fire at any of them while we lay at this place. It probably had more effect than killing the man, by showing them that they were not safe at any distance; at least we had reason to think so, for they afterwards stood in great dread of the musket. Nevertheless, they would very often be exercising their talent of thieving upon us, which I thought proper to put up with, as our stay was not likely to be long amongst them. The trouble these people gave us retarded us so long, that, before we were ready to heave the anchor, the wind began to increase, and blew in squalls out of the bay; so that we were obliged to lie fast. It was not long before the natives ventured off to us again. In the first canoe which came, was a man who seemed to be of some consequence. He advanced slowly with a pig on his shoulder, and speaking something which we did not understand. As soon as he got alongside, I made him a present of a hatchet, and several other articles. In return he sent in his pig, and was, at last, prevailed upon to come himself up into the gangway, where he made but a short stay before he went away. The reception this man met with induced the people in all the other canoes to put alongside; and exchanges were presently re-established.

Matters being thus settled on board, I went on shore with a party of men, to see what was to be done there. We were received by the natives with great courtesy; and, as if nothing had happened, trafficked with them for some fruit and a few small pigs; and, after loading the launch with water, returned aboard. After dinner I sent the boats, under the protection of a guard, ashore for water. On their landing, the natives all fled but one man, and he seemed much frightened; afterwards one or two more came down; and these were all that were seen this afternoon. We could not conceive the reason of this sudden fright. Early in the morning of the 9th, the boats were sent as usual for water; and, just as they were coming off, but not before, some of the natives made their appearance. After breakfast,



I landed some little time before the guard, when the natives crowded round me in great numbers; but as soon as the guard landed, I had enough to do to keep them from running off. At length their fears vanished, and a trade was opened for fruit and pigs. I believe the reason of the natives flying from our people the day before, was their not seeing me at the head of them; for they certainly would have done the same to-day had I not been present. About noon, a chief of some consequence, attended by a great number of people, came down to the landing-place. I presented him with such articles as I had with me; and, in return, he gave me some of his ornaments. After these mutual exchanges, a good understanding seemed to be established between us; so that we got by exchanges as much fruit as loaded two boats, with which we returned on board to dinner, but could not prevail on the chief to accompany us.

In the afternoon, the watering and trading parties were sent on shore; though the latter got but little, as most of the natives had retired into the country. A party of us went to the other, or southern cove of the bay, where I procured five pigs, and came to the house, which, we were told, did belong to the man we had killed. He must have been a person of some note, as there were six pigs in and about his house, which, we were told, belonged to his son, who fled on our approach. I wanted much to have seen him, to make him a present, and by other kind treatment, to convince him and the others, that it was not from any bad design against the nation, that we had killed his father. It would have been to little purpose, if I had left anything in the house, as it certainly would have been taken by others; especially as I could not sufficiently explain to them my meaning. Strict honesty was seldom observed when the property of our things came to be disputed. I saw a striking instance of this in the morning, when I was going ashore. A man in a canoe offered me a small pig for a six-inch spike, and another man being employed to convey it, I gave him the spike, which he kept for himself, and, instead of it, gave to the man who owned the pig a sixpenny nail. Words of course arose, and I waited to see how it would end; but as the man who had possession of the spike seemed resolved to keep it, I left them before it was decided. In the evening we returned on board with what refreshments we had collected, and thought we had made a good day's work.

On the 10th, early in the morning, some people from more distant parts came in canoes alongside, and sold us some pigs; so that we had now sufficient to give the crew a fresh meal. They were in general so small, that forty or fifty were hardly sufficient for this purpose. The trade on shore for fruit was as brisk as ever. After dinner I made a little expedition in my boat along the coast to the southward, accompanied by some of the gentlemen; at the different places we touched at, we collected eighteen pigs; and, I believe, might have gotten more. The people were exceedingly obliging wherever we landed, and readily brought down whatever we desired.

Next morning I went down to the same place where we had been the preceding evening; but, instead of getting pigs as I expected, found the scene quite changed. The nails and other things they were mad after but the evening before they now despised, and instead of them wanted they did not know what; so that I was obliged to return with three or four little pigs, which cost more than a dozen did the day before. When I got on board, I found the same change had happened there, as also at the trading place on shore. The reason was, several of the young gentlemen having landed the preceding day, had given away in exchange various articles which the people had not seen before, and which took with them more than nails or more useful iron tools. But what ruined our market the most was, one of them giving for a pig a very large quantity of red feathers he had got at Amsterdam. None of us knew, at this time, that this article was in such estimation here; and if I had known it, I could not have supported the trade, in the manner it was begun, one day. Thus was our fine prospect of getting a plentiful supply of refreshments from these people frustrated; which will ever be the case so long as every one is allowed to make exchanges for what he pleases; and in what manner he pleases. When I found this island was not likely to supply us, on any conditions, with sufficient refreshments, such as we might expect to find at the Society Isles, nor very convenient for taking in wood and water, nor for giving the ship the necessary repairs she wanted, I resolved forthwith to leave it, and proceed to some other place where our wants might be effectually relieved. For, after having been

nineteen weeks at sea, and living all the time upon salt diet, we could not but want some refreshments; although I must own, and that with pleasure, that on our arrival here, it could hardly be said we had one sick man, and but a few who had the least complaint. This was undoubtedly owing to the many antiscorbutic articles we had on board, and to the great attention of the surgeon, who was remarkably careful to apply them in time.

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CHAPTER X.—DEPARTURE FROM THE MARQUESAS. — A DESCRIPTION OF THE SITUATION, EXTENT, FIGURE, AND APPEARANCE OF THE SEVERAL ISLANDS; WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE INHABITANTS, THEIR CUSTOMS, DRESS, HABITATIONS, FOOD, WEAPONS, AND CANOES.

AT three o'clock in the afternoon we weighed, and stood over from St. Christina for La Dominica, in order to take a view of the west side of that isle; but as it was dark before we reached it, the night was spent in plying between the two isles. The next morning we had a full view of the south-west point, from which the coast trended north-east, so that it was not probable we should find good anchorage on that side, as being exposed to the easterly winds. We had now but little wind, and that very variable, with showers of rain. At length we got a breeze at east north-east, with which we steered to the south. At five o'clock in the afternoon Resolution Bay bore E.N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., distant five leagues, and the island Magdalena south-east about nine leagues distant. This was the only sight we had of this isle. From hence I steered S.S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. for Otaheite, with a view of falling in with some of those isles discovered by former navigators, especially those discovered by the Dutch, whose situations are not well determined.

But it will be necessary to return to the Marquesas; which were, as I have already observed, first discovered by Mendana, a Spaniard, and from him obtained the general name they now bear, as well as those of the different isles. The nautical account of them, in Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages to the South Seas\*, is deficient in nothing but situation. This was my chief reason for touching at them: the settling this point is the more useful, as it will, in a great measure, fix the situations of Mendana's other discoveries.

The Marquesas are five in number, viz. La Magdalena, St. Pedro, La Dominica, Santa Christina, and Hood's Island, which is the northernmost, situated in latitude  $9^{\circ} 26' S.$ , and N.  $13^{\circ} W.$ , five leagues and a half distant from the east point of La Dominica, which is the largest of all the isles, extending east and west six leagues. It hath an unequal breadth, and is about fifteen or sixteen leagues in circuit. It is full of rugged hills rising in ridges directly from the sea; these ridges are disjoined by deep valleys, which are clothed with wood, as are the sides of some of the hills; the aspect is, however, barren; but it is, nevertheless, inhabited, latitude  $9^{\circ} 44' 30'' S.$  St. Pedro, which is about three leagues in circuit, and of a good height, lies south four leagues and a half from the east end of La Dominica: we know not if it be inhabited. Nature has not been very bountiful to it. St. Christina lies under the same parallel, three or four leagues more to the west. This island stretches north and south, is nine miles long in that direction, and about seven leagues in circuit. A narrow ridge of hills of considerable height extends the whole length of the island. There are other ridges which, rising from the sea, and, with an equal ascent, join the main ridge. These are disjoined by deep narrow valleys, which are fertile, adorned with fruit and other trees, and watered by fine streams of excellent water. La Magdalena we only saw at a distance. Its situation must be nearly in the latitude of  $10^{\circ} 25'$  longitude,  $138^{\circ} 50'$ . So that these isles occupy one degree in latitude, and near half a degree in longitude, viz. from  $138^{\circ} 47'$  to  $139^{\circ} 13' W.$ , which is the longitude of the west end of La Dominica.

The port of Madre de Dios, which I named Resolution Bay, is situated near the middle of the west side of St. Christina, and under the highest land in the island, in latitude  $9^{\circ} 55' 30''$ , longitude  $139^{\circ} 8' 40'' W.$ ; and N.  $15' W.$  from the west end of La Dominica. The south point of the bay is a steep rock of considerable height, terminating at the top in

\* Vol. i. p. 61 to 73.



a peaked hill, above which you will see a pathway leading up a narrow ridge to the summits of the hills. The north point is not so high, and rises with a more gentle slope. They are a mile from each other, in the direction of north by east, and south by west. In the bay, which is near three-quarters of a mile deep, and has from thirty-four to twelve fathoms water, with a clean sandy bottom, are two sandy coves, divided from each other by a rocky point. In each is a rivulet of excellent water. The northern cove is the most commodious for wooding and watering. Here is the little waterfall mentioned by Quiros, Mendana's pilot; but the town or village is in the other cove. There are several other coves or bays on this side of the island; and some of them, especially to the northward, may be mistaken for this; therefore, the best direction is the bearing of the west end of La Dominica.

The trees, plants, and other productions of these isles, so far as we know, are nearly the same as at Otaheite and the Society Isles. The refreshments to be got are hogs, fowls, plantains, yams, and some other roots; likewise bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, but of these not many. At first these articles were purchased with nails. Beads, looking-glasses, and such trifles, which are so highly valued at the Society Isles, are in no esteem here; and even nails at last lost their value for other articles far less useful. The inhabitants of these islands, collectively, are, without exception, the finest race of people in this sea. For fine shape and regular features, they perhaps surpass all other nations. Nevertheless, the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheite and the Society Isles shows that they are of the same nation. Oedidee could converse with them tolerably well, though *we* could not; but it was easy to see that their language was nearly the same.



NATIVES OF THE MARQUESAS.

The men are punctured, or curiously *tattooed*, from head to foot. The figures are various, and seem to be directed more by fancy than custom. These punctures make them look dark; but the women, who are but little punctured, youths, and young children who are not at all, are as fair as some Europeans. The men are in general tall; that is, about five feet ten inches or six feet; but I saw none that were fat and lusty like the *Earees* of Otaheite; nor did I see any that could be called meagre. Their teeth are not so good, nor are their eyes so full and lively, as those of many other nations. Their hair, like ours, is of many colours, except red, of which I saw none. Some have it long; but the most general custom is to wear it short, except a bunch on each side of the crown, which they tie in a knot. They observe different modes in trimming the beard, which is in general long. Some part it, and tie it in two bunches under the chin; others plait it; some wear it loose, and others quite short.

Their clothing is the same as at Otaheite, and made of the same materials; but they have

it not in such plenty, nor is it so good. The men, for the most part, have nothing to cover their nakedness, except the *Marra*, as it is called at Otaheite, which is a slip of cloth passed round the waist and betwixt the legs. This simple dress is quite sufficient for the climate, and answers every purpose modesty requires. The dress of the women is a piece of cloth, wrapped round the loins like a petticoat, which reaches down below the middle of the leg, and a loose mantle over their shoulders. Their principal head-dress, and what appears to be their chief ornament, is a sort of broad fillet, curiously made of the fibres of the husk of cocoa-nuts. In the front is fixed a mother-of-pearl shell, wrought round to the size of a tea-saucer; before that, another, smaller, of very fine tortoise-shell, perforated into curious figures. Also before, and in the centre of that, is another round piece of mother-of-pearl, about the size of half-a-crown; and before this another piece of perforated tortoise-shell, the size of a shilling. Besides this decoration in front, some have it also on each side, but in smaller pieces; and all have fixed to them the tail-feathers of cocks or tropic-birds, which, when the fillet is tied on, stand upright; so that the whole together makes a very sightly ornament. They wear round the neck a kind of ruff or necklace, call it which you please, made of light wood, the out and upper side covered with small red peas, which are fixed on with gum. They also wear small bunches of human hair, fastened to a string, and tied round the legs and arms. Sometimes, instead of hair, they make use of short feathers; but all the above-mentioned ornaments are seldom seen on the same person. I saw only the chief, who came to visit us, completely dressed in this manner. Their ordinary ornaments are necklaces and amulets made of shells, &c. I did not see any with ear-rings, and yet all of them had their ears pierced.

Their dwellings are in the valleys, and on the sides of the hills near their plantations. They are built after the same manner as at Otaheite; but are much meaner, and only covered with the leaves of the bread-tree. The most of them are built on a square or oblong pavement of stone, raised some height above the level of the ground. They likewise have such pavements near their houses, on which they sit to eat and amuse themselves. In the article of eating, these people are by no means so cleanly as the Otaheiteans. They are likewise dirty in their cookery. Pork and fowls are dressed in an oven of hot stones as at Otaheite; but fruit and roots they roast on the fire, and, after taking off the rind or skin, put them into a platter or trough with water, out of which I have seen both men and hogs eat at the same time. I once saw them make a batter of fruit and roots diluted with water, in a vessel that was loaded with dirt, and out of which the hogs had been but that moment eating, without giving it the least washing, or even washing their hands, which were equally dirty; and when I expressed a dislike, was laughed at. I know not if all are so. The actions of a few individuals are not sufficient to fix a custom on a whole nation. Nor can I say if it is the custom for men and women to have separate messes. I saw nothing to the contrary; indeed I saw but few women upon the whole.

They seemed to have dwellings, or strongholds, on the summits of the highest hills. These we only saw by the help of our glasses; for I did not permit any of our people to go there, as we were not sufficiently acquainted with the disposition of the natives, which I believe is humane and pacific. Their weapons are clubs and spears, resembling those of Otaheite, but somewhat neater. They have also slings, with which they throw stones with great velocity, and to a great distance, but not with a good aim.

Their canoes are made of wood and pieces of the bark of a soft tree which grows near the sea in great plenty, and is very tough and proper for the purpose. They are from sixteen to twenty feet long, and about fifteen inches broad; the head and stern are made of two solid pieces of wood; the stern rises or curves a little, but in an irregular direction, and ends in a point; the head projects out horizontally, and is carved into some faint and very rude resemblance of a human face. They are rowed by paddles, and some have a sort of lateen sail made of matting.

Hogs were the only quadrupeds we saw, and cocks and hens the only tame fowls. However, the woods seemed to abound with small birds of a very beautiful plumage, and fine notes; but the fear of alarming the natives hindered us from shooting so many of them as might otherwise have been done.



CHAPTER XI.—A DESCRIPTION OF SEVERAL ISLANDS DISCOVERED OR SEEN IN THE PASSAGE FROM THE MARQUESAS TO OTAHEITE, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF A NAVAL REVIEW.

WITH a fine easterly wind I steered south-west; south-west by west, and west by south till the 17th, at ten o'clock in the morning, when land was seen bearing W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N., which, upon a nearer approach, we found to be a string of low islets connected together by a reef of coral rocks. We ranged the north-west coast, at the distance of one mile from shore, to three quarters of its length, which in the whole is near four leagues, when we came to a creek or inlet that seemed to open a communication into the lake in the middle of the isle. As I wanted to obtain some knowledge of the produce of these half-drowned isles, we brought-to, hoisted out a boat, and sent the master in to sound, there being no soundings without.

As we ran along the coast, the natives appeared in several places armed with long spears and clubs; and some were got together on one side of the creek. When the master returned, he reported that there was no passage into the lake by the creek, which was fifty fathoms wide at the entrance, and thirty deep; farther in, thirty wide and twelve deep; that the bottom was everywhere rocky, and the sides bounded by a wall of coral rocks. We were under no necessity to put the ship into such a place as this; but as the natives had shown some signs of a friendly disposition, by coming peaceably to the boat, and taking such things as were given them, I sent two boats well armed ashore, under the command of Lieutenant Cooper, with a view of having some intercourse with them, and to give Mr. Forster an opportunity of collecting something in his way. We saw our people land without the least opposition being made by a few natives who were on the shores. Some little time after, observing forty or fifty more, all armed, coming to join them, we stood close in shore in order to be ready to support our people in case of an attack. But nothing of this kind happened; and soon after our boats returned aboard, when Mr. Cooper informed me that, on his landing, only a few of the natives met him on the beach, but there were many in the skirts of the woods with spears in their hands. The presents he made them were received with great coolness, which plainly showed we were unwelcome visitors. When their reinforcement arrived, he thought proper to embark, as the day was already far spent, and I had given orders to avoid an attack by all possible means. When his men got into the boats, some were for pushing them off, others for detaining them; but, at last, they suffered them to depart at their leisure. They brought on board five dogs, which seemed to be in plenty there. They saw no fruit but cocoa-nuts, of which they got, by exchanges, two dozen. One of our people got a dog for a single plantain, which led us to conjecture they had none of this fruit.

This island, which is called by the inhabitants Tiookea, was discovered and visited by Commodore Byron. It has something of an oval shape, is about ten leagues in circuit, lying in the direction of east south-east, and west north-west, and situated in the latitude of  $14^{\circ} 27' 30''$  S., longitude  $144^{\circ} 56'$  W. The inhabitants of this island, and perhaps of all the low ones, are of a much darker colour than those of the higher islands, and seem to be of a more ferine disposition. This may be owing to their situation. Nature not having bestowed her favours to these low islands with that profusion she has done to some of the others, the inhabitants are chiefly beholden to the sea for their subsistence; consequently, are much exposed to the sun and weather, and by that means become more dark in colour, and more hardy and robust; for there is no doubt of their being of the same nation. Our people observed that they were stout, well-made men, and had marked on their bodies the figure of a fish; a very good emblem of their profession.

On the 18th, at daybreak, after having spent the night making short boards, we wore down to another isle we had in sight to the westward, which we reached by eight o'clock, and ranged the south-east side at one mile from shore. We found it to be just such another as that we had left, extending north-east and south-west near four leagues, and from five to three miles broad. It lies south-west by west, two leagues distant from the west end of Tiookea, and the middle is situated in the latitude of  $14^{\circ} 37'$  S., longitude  $145^{\circ} 10'$  W.

These must be the same islands to which Commodore Byron gave the name of George's Islands. Their situation in longitude, which was determined by lunar observations made near the shores, and still farther correct by the difference of longitude carried on by the watch to Otaheite, is  $3^{\circ} 54'$  more east than he says they lie. This correction, I apprehend, may be applied to all the islands he discovered.

After leaving these isles, we steered south south-west, half west, and south-west by south, with a fine easterly gale, having signs of the vicinity of land, particularly a smooth sea; and, on the 19th, at seven in the morning, land was seen to the westward, which we bore down to, and reached the south-east end by nine o'clock. It proved to be another of these half-overflowed or drowned islands, which are so common to this part of the ocean; that is, a number of little isles ranged in a circular form, connected together by a reef or wall of coral rock. The sea is, in general, everywhere, on their outside, unfathomable; all their interior parts are covered with water, abounding, I have been told, with fish and turtle, on which the inhabitants subsist, and sometimes exchange the latter with the high islanders for cloth, &c. These inland seas would be excellent harbours, were they not shut up from the access of shipping, which is the case with most of them, if we can believe the report of the inhabitants of the other isles. Indeed few of them have been well searched by Europeans; the little prospect of meeting with fresh water having generally discouraged every attempt of this kind. I, who have seen a great many, have not yet seen an inlet into one.

This island is situated in the latitude of  $15^{\circ} 26'$ , longitude  $146^{\circ} 20'$ . It is five leagues long in the direction of north-north-east and south-south-west, and about three leagues broad. As we drew near the south end, we saw from the mast-head another of these low isles bearing south-east, distant about four or five leagues, but being to windward we could not fetch it. Soon after a third appeared, bearing south-west by south, for which we steered, and at two o'clock P.M. reached the east end, which is situated in latitude  $15^{\circ} 47' S.$ , longitude  $146^{\circ} 30' W.$  This island extends west-north-west and east-south-east, and is seven leagues long in that direction; but its breadth is not above two. It is in all respects like the rest; only here are fewer islets, and less firm land on the reef which incloseth the lake. As we ranged the north coast, at the distance of half a mile, we saw people, huts, canoes, and places built, seemingly for drying of fish. They seemed to be the same sort of people as on Tiookea, and were armed with long spikes like them. Drawing near the west end, we discovered another or fourth island, bearing north-north-east. It seemed to be low like the others, and lies west from the first isle, distant six leagues. These four isles I called Palliser's Isles, in honour of my worthy friend Sir Hugh Palliser, at this time comptroller of the navy.

Not choosing to run farther in the dark, we spent the night making short boards under the top-sail, and on the 20th, at daybreak, hauled round the west end of the third isle, which was no sooner done than we found a great swell rolling in from the south; a sure sign that we were clear of these low islands; and as we saw no more land, I steered S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. for Otaheite; having the advantage of a stout gale at east, attended with showers of rain. It cannot be determined with any degree of certainty whether the group of isles we had lately seen be any of those discovered by the Dutch navigators or not; the situation of their discoveries not being handed down to us with sufficient accuracy. It is, however, necessary to observe, that this part of the ocean, that is from the latitude of  $20^{\circ}$  down to  $14^{\circ}$  or  $12^{\circ}$ , and from the meridian of  $138^{\circ}$  to  $148^{\circ}$  or  $150^{\circ} W.$ , is so strewn with these low isles, that a navigator cannot proceed with too much caution.

We made the high land of Otaheite on the 21st, and at noon were about thirteen leagues east of Point Venus, for which we steered, and got pretty well in with it by sunset, when we shortened sail; and, having spent the night, which was squally, with rain, standing on and off, at eight o'clock the next morning anchored in Matavia Bay in seven fathoms water. This was no sooner known to the natives than many of them made us a visit, and expressed not a little joy at seeing us again. As my chief reason for putting in at this place was to give Mr. Wales an opportunity to know the error of the watch by the known longitude, and to determine anew her rate of going, the first thing we did was to land his instruments, and to erect tents for the reception of a guard and such other people as it was



necessary to have on shore. Sick we had none ; the refreshments we got at the Marquesas had removed every complaint of that kind.

On the 23rd, showery weather. Our very good friends the natives supplied us with fruit and fish sufficient for the whole crew. On the 24th, Otoo the king, and several other chiefs, with a train of attendants, paid us a visit, and brought as presents ten or a dozen large hogs, besides fruits, which made them exceedingly welcome. I was advertised of the king's coming, and looked upon it as a good omen. Knowing how much it was my interest to make this man my friend, I met him at the tents, and conducted him and his friends on board, in my boat, where they staid dinner ; after which they were dismissed with suitable presents, and highly pleased with the reception they had met with.

Next day we had much thunder, lightning, and rain. This did not hinder the king from making me another visit, and a present of a large quantity of refreshments. It hath been already mentioned, that when we were at the island of Amsterdam we had collected, amongst other curiosities, some red parrot feathers. When this was known here, all the principal people of both sexes endeavoured to ingratiate themselves into our favour by bringing us hogs, fruit, and every other thing the island afforded, in order to obtain these valuable jewels. Our having these feathers was a fortunate circumstance ; for as they were valuable to the natives, they became so to us ; but more especially as my stock of trade was, by this time, greatly exhausted ; so that, if it had not been for the feathers, I should have found it difficult to have supplied the ship with the necessary refreshments.

When I put in at this island, I intended to stay no longer than till Mr. Wales had made the necessary observations for the purposes already mentioned ; thinking we should meet with no better success than we did the last time we were here. But the reception we had already met with, and the few excursions we had made, which did not exceed the plains of Matavai and Oparree, convinced us of our error. We found, at these two places, built and building, a great number of large canoes, and houses of every kind ; people living in spacious habitations, who had not a place to shelter themselves in eight months before ; several large hogs about every house ; and every other sign of a rising state. Judging from these favourable circumstances that we should not mend ourselves by removing to another island, I resolved to make a longer stay, and to begin with the repairs of the ship and stores, &c. Accordingly I ordered the empty casks and sails to be got ashore to be repaired, the ship to be calked, and the rigging to be overhauled ; all of which the high southern latitudes had made indispensably necessary.

In the morning of the 26th, I went down to Oparree, accompanied by some of the officers and gentlemen, to pay Otoo a visit by appointment. As we drew near we observed a number of large canoes in motion ; but were surprised, when we arrived, to see upwards of three hundred ranged in order, for some distance along the shore, all completely equipped and manned, besides a vast number of armed men upon the shore. So unexpected an armament collected together in our neighbourhood, in the space of one night, gave rise to various conjectures. We landed however in the midst of them, and were received by a vast multitude, many of them under arms, and many not. The cry of the latter was *Tiyo no Otoo*, and that of the former *Tiyo no Towha*. This chief, we afterwards learned, was admiral or commander of the fleet and troops present. The moment we landed, I was met by a chief whose name was Tee, uncle to the king, and one of his prime ministers, of whom I inquired for Otoo. Presently after we were met by Towha, who received me with great courtesy. He took me by the one hand, and Tee by the other ; and, without my knowing where they intended to carry me, dragged me as it were through the crowd that was divided into two parties, both of which professed themselves my friends by crying out *Tiyo no Tootee*. One party wanted me to go to Otoo, and the other to remain with Towha. Coming to the usual place of audience, a mat was spread for me to sit down upon, and Tee left me to go and bring the king. Towha was unwilling I should sit down, partly insisting on my going with him ; but, as I knew nothing of this chief, I refused to comply. Presently Tee returned, and wanted to conduct me to the king, taking hold of my hand for that purpose. This Towha opposed ; so that, between the one party and the other, I was like to have been torn in pieces ; and was obliged to desire Tee to desist, and to leave me to the

admiral and his party, who conducted me down to the fleet. As soon as we came before the admiral's vessel, we found two lines of armed men drawn up before her, to keep off the crowd, as I supposed, and to clear the way for me to go in. But, as I was determined not to go, I made the water, which was between me and her, an excuse. This did not answer; for a man immediately squatted himself down at my feet, offering to carry me; and then I declared I would not go. That very moment Towha quitted me, without my seeing which way he went, nor would any one inform me. Turning myself round, I saw Tee, who, I believe, had never lost sight of me. Inquiring of him for the king, he told me he was gone into the country *Mataou*, and advised me to go to my boat; which we accordingly did, as soon as we could get collected together; for Mr. Edgcumbe was the only person that could keep with me; the others being jostled about in the crowd in the same manner we had been.

When we got into our boat, we took our time to view this grand fleet. The vessels of war consisted of a hundred and sixty large double canoes very well equipped, manned, and armed. But I am not sure that they had their full complement of men or rowers; I rather think not. The chiefs, and all those on the fighting stages, were dressed in their war habits; that is, in a vast quantity of cloth, turbans, breastplates, and helmets. Some of the latter were of such a length as greatly to encumber the wearer. Indeed, their whole dress seemed to be ill calculated for the day of battle, and to be designed more for show than use. Be this as it may, it certainly added grandeur to the prospect, as they were so complaisant as to show themselves to the best advantage. The vessels were decorated with flags, streamers, &c. so that the whole made a grand and noble appearance, such as we had never seen before in this sea, and what no one would have expected. Their instruments of war were clubs, spears, and stones. The vessels were ranged close alongside of each other, with their heads ashore, and their stern to the sea; the admiral's vessel being nearly in the centre. Besides the vessels of war, there were a hundred and seventy sail of smaller double canoes, all with a little house upon them, and rigged with mast and sail, which the war canoes had not. These, we judged, were designed for transports, victuallers, &c.; for in the war canoes was no sort of provisions whatever. In these three hundred and thirty vessels, I guessed there were no less than seven thousand seven hundred and sixty men; a number which appears incredible, especially as we were told they all belonged to the districts of Attahourou and Ahopatea. In this computation, I allow to each war canoe forty men, troops and rowers, and to each of the small canoes eight. Most of the gentlemen who were with me, thought the number of men belonging to the war canoes exceeded this. It is certain that the most of them were fitted to row with more paddles than I have allowed them men; but at this time I think they were not complete. Tupia informed us, when I was first here, that the whole island raised only between six and seven thousand men, but we now saw two districts only raise that number; so that he must have taken his account from some old establishment, or else he only meant *Tatatous*, that is, warriors, or men trained from their infancy to arms, and did not include the rowers, and those necessary to navigate the other vessels. I should think he only spoke of this number as the standing troops or militia of the island, and not their whole force. This point I shall leave to be discussed in another place, and return to the subject.



WAR DRESS OF OTAHEITE.



After we had well viewed this fleet, I wanted much to have seen the admiral, to have gone with him on board the war canoes. We inquired for him as we rowed past the fleet to no purpose. We put ashore and inquired, but the noise and crowd were so great that no one attended to what we said. At last Tee came, and whispered us in the ear, that Otoo was gone to Matavai, advising us to return thither, and not to land where we were. We accordingly proceeded for the ship, and this intelligence and advice received from Tee gave rise to new conjectures. In short, we concluded that this Towha was some powerful disaffected chief, who was upon the point of making war against his sovereign; for we could not imagine Otoo had any other reason for leaving Oparree in the manner he did.

We had not been long gone from Oparree before the whole fleet was in motion to the westward, from whence it came. When we got to Matavai, our friends there told us that this fleet was part of the armament intended to go against Eimeo, whose chief had thrown off the yoke of Otaheite, and assumed an independency. We were likewise informed, that Otoo neither was nor had been at Matavai; so that we were still at a loss to know why he fled from Oparree. This occasioned another trip thither in the afternoon, where we found him; and now understood that the reason of his not seeing me in the morning was, that some of his people having stolen a quantity of my clothes which were on shore washing, he was afraid I should demand restitution. He repeatedly asked me if I was not angry; and when I assured him that I was not, and that they might keep what they had got, he was satisfied. Towha was alarmed partly on the same account. He thought I was displeased when I refused to go aboard his vessel; and I was jealous of seeing such a force in our neighbourhood without being able to know anything of its design. Thus, by mistaking one another, I lost the opportunity of examining more narrowly into part of the naval force of this isle, and making myself better acquainted with its manœuvres. Such an opportunity may never occur; as it was commanded by a brave, sensible, and intelligent chief, who would have satisfied us in all the questions we had thought proper to ask; and, as the objects were before us, we could not well have misunderstood each other. It happened unluckily that Oedidee was not with us in the morning; for Tee, who was the only man we could depend on, served only to perplex us. Matters being thus cleared up, and mutual presents having passed between Otoo and me, we took leave and returned on board.

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CHAPTER XII.—SOME ACCOUNT OF A VISIT FROM OTOO, TOWHA, AND SEVERAL OTHER CHIEFS; ALSO OF A ROBBERY COMMITTED BY ONE OF THE NATIVES, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES, WITH GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE SUBJECT.

In the morning of the 27th, I received a present from Towha, consisting of two large hogs and some fruit, sent by two of his servants, who had orders not to receive anything in return; nor would they, when offered them. Soon after, I went down to Oparree in my boat, where having found both this chief and the king, after a short stay, I brought them both on board to dinner, together with Tarevato, the king's younger brother, and Tee. As soon as we drew near the ship, the admiral, who had never seen one before, began to express much surprise at so new a sight. He was conducted all over the ship, every part of which he viewed with great attention. On this occasion Otoo was the principal show-man; for, by this time, he was well acquainted with the different parts of the ship. After dinner Towha put a hog on board and retired, without my knowing anything of the matter, or having made him any return either for this or the present I had in the morning. Soon after, the king and his attendants went away also. Otoo not only seemed to pay this chief much respect, but was desirous I should do the same; and yet he was jealous of him, but on what account we knew not. It was but the day before that he frankly told us, Towha was not his friend. Both these chiefs when on board solicited me to assist them against Tiarabou, notwithstanding a peace at this time subsisted between the two kingdoms, and we were told that their joint force was to go against Eimeo. Whether this was done with a view of breaking with their neighbours and allies, if I had promised them assistance, or only to sound my disposition, I know not. Probably they would have been ready enough to have embraced

an opportunity which would have enabled them to conquer that kingdom, and annex it to their own as it was formerly. Be this as it may, I heard no more of it; indeed, I gave them no encouragement.

Next day we had a present of a hog sent by Wahea-toua, king of Tiarabou. For this, in return, he desired a few red feathers, which were, together with other things, sent him accordingly. Mr. Forster and his party set out for the mountains, with an intent to stay out all night. I did not go out of the ship this day. Early on the morning of the 29th, Otoo, Towha, and several other grandees, came on board, and brought with them as presents, not only provisions, but some of the most valuable curiosities of the island. I made them returns, with which they were well pleased. I likewise took this opportunity to repay the civilities I had received from Towha.

The night before, one of the natives attempting to steal a water-cask from the watering-place, he was caught in the act, sent on board, and put in irons; in which situation Otoo and the other chiefs saw him. Having made known his crime to them, Otoo begged he might be set at liberty. This I refused, telling him, that since I punished my people, when they committed the least offence against his, it was but just this man should be punished also; and as I knew he would not do it, I was resolved to do it myself. Accordingly, I ordered the man to be carried on shore to the tents, and having followed myself with Otoo, Towha, and others, I ordered the guard out under arms, and the man to be tied up to a post. Otoo, his sister, and some others begged hard for him; Towha said not one word, but was very attentive to everything going forward. I expostulated with Otoo on the conduct of this man, and of his people in general; telling him, that neither I, nor any of my people, took anything from them, without first paying for it; enumerating the articles we gave in exchange for such and such things, and urging that it was wrong in them to steal from us who were their friends. I, moreover, told him, that the punishing this man would be the means of saving the lives of others of his people, by deterring them from committing crimes of this nature, in which some would certainly be shot dead, one time or another. With these and other arguments, which I believe he pretty well understood, he seemed satisfied, and only desired the man might not be *Matterou* (or killed). I then ordered the crowd, which was very great, to be kept at a proper distance, and, in the presence of them all, ordered the fellow two dozen of lashes with a cat-of-nine-tails, which he bore with great firmness, and was then set at liberty. After this, the natives were going away; but Towha stepped forth, called them back, and harangued them for near half an hour. His speech consisted of short sentences, very little of which I understood; but, from what we could gather, he recapitulated part of what I had said to Otoo; named several advantages they had received from us; condemned their present conduct, and recommended a different one for the future. The gracefulness of his action, and the attention with which he was heard, bespoke him a great orator. Otoo said not one word. As soon as Towha had ended his speech, I ordered the marines to go through their exercise, and to load and fire in volleys with ball; and as they were very quick in their manœuvres, it is easier to conceive than to describe the amazement the natives were under the whole time, especially those who had not seen anything of the kind before.

This being over, the chiefs took leave and retired with all their attendants, scarcely more pleased than frightened at what they had seen. In the evening, Mr. Forster and his party returned from the mountains, where he had spent the night, having found some new plants, and some others which grew in New Zealand. He saw Huaheine, which lies forty leagues to the westward; by which a judgment may be formed of the height of the mountains in Otaheite.

Next morning I had an opportunity to see the people of ten war-canoes go through part of their paddling exercise. They had put off from the shore before I was apprised of it; so that I was only present at their landing. They were properly equipped for war, the warriors with their arms, and dressed in their war habits, &c. In landing, I observed that the moment the canoe touched the ground, all the rowers leaped out, and, with the assistance of a few people on the shore, dragged the canoe on dry land to her proper place; which being done, every one walked off with his paddle, &c. All this was executed with such



expedition, that, in five minutes' time after putting ashore, you could not tell that anything of the kind had been going forward. I thought these vessels were thinly manned with rowers; the most being not above thirty, and the least sixteen or eighteen. I observed the warriors on the stage encouraged the rowers to exert themselves. Some youths sat high up in the curved stern, above the steersmen, with white wands in their hands. I know not what they were placed there for; unless it was to look out, and direct, or give notice of what they saw, as they were elevated above every one else. Tarevato, the king's brother, gave me the first notice of these canoes being at sea; and, knowing that Mr. Hodges made drawings of everything curious, desired, of his own accord, that he might be sent for. I being at this time on shore with Tarevato, Mr. Hodges was, therefore, with me, and had an opportunity to collect some materials for a large drawing or picture of the fleet assembled at Oparree, which will convey a far better idea of it than can be expressed by words. Being present when the warriors undressed, I was surprised at the quantity and weight of cloth they had upon them, not conceiving how it was possible for them to stand under it in time of battle. Not a little was wrapped round their heads as a turban, and made into a cap. This indeed might be necessary in preventing a broken head. Many had fixed to one of this sort of caps, dried branches of small shrubs covered over with white feathers; which, however, could only be for ornament.

I had a very great supply of provisions, sent and brought by different chiefs on the 1st of May; and the next day received a present from Towha, sent by his servants, consisting of a hog, and a boat-load of various sorts of fruit and roots. The like present I also had from Otoo, brought by Tarevato, who stayed dinner; after which I went down to Oparree, paid a visit to Otoo, and returned on board in the evening.

On the 3d, in looking into the condition of our sea-provisions, we found that the biscuit was in a state of decay, and that the airing and picking we had given it at New Zealand, had not been of that service we expected and intended; so that we were obliged to take it all on shore here, where it underwent another airing and cleaning, in which a good deal was found wholly rotten and unfit to be eaten. We could not well account for this decay in our bread, especially as it was packed in good casks, and stowed in a dry part of the hold. We judged it was owing to the ice we so frequently took in when to the southward, which made the hold damp and cold, and to the great heat which succeeded when to the north. Be it this, or any other cause, the loss was equal to us: it put us to scanty allowance of this article; and we had bad bread to eat too.

On the 4th, nothing worthy of note. On the 5th, the king and several other great men paid us a visit, and brought with them, as usual, some hogs and fruit. In the afternoon, the botanists set out for the mountains, and returned the following evening, having made some new discoveries in their way.

On going ashore in the morning of the 7th, I found Otoo at the tents, and took the opportunity to ask his leave to cut down some trees for fuel. He not well understanding me, I took him to some growing near the sea-shore, where I presently made him comprehend what I wanted, and he as readily gave his consent. I told him at the same time, that I should cut down no trees that bore any fruit. He was pleased with this declaration, and told it aloud, several times, to the people about us. In the afternoon, he and the whole royal family, viz. his father, brother, and three sisters, paid us a visit on board. This was properly his father's visit of ceremony. He brought me, as a present, a complete mourning dress, a curiosity we most valued. In return, I gave him whatever he desired, which was not a little; and having distributed red feathers to all the others, conducted them ashore in my boat. Otoo was so well pleased with the reception he and his friends met with, that he told me at parting, I might cut down as many trees as I pleased, and what sort I pleased.

During the night, between the 7th and 8th, some time in the middle watch, all our friendly connexions received an interruption, through the negligence of one of the sentinels on shore. He having either slept or quitted his post, gave one of the natives an opportunity to carry off his musket. The first news I heard of it was from Tee, whom Otoo had sent on board for that purpose, and to desire that I would go to him, for that he was *mataoued*. We were not well enough acquainted with their language to understand all Tee's story; but we

understood enough to know that something had happened which had alarmed the king. In order, therefore, to be fully informed, I went ashore with Tee and Tarevato, who had slept aboard all night. As soon as we landed, I was informed of the whole by the serjeant who commanded the party. I found the natives all alarmed, and the most of them fled. Tarevato slipped from me in a moment, and hardly any remained by me but Tee. With him I went to look for Otoo; and, as we advanced, I endeavoured to allay the fears of the people, but at the same time insisted on the musket being restored. After travelling some distance into the country, inquiring of every one we saw for Otoo, Tee stopped all at once, and advised me to return, saying that Otoo was gone to the mountains, and he would proceed and tell him that I was still his friend; a question which had been asked me fifty times by different people, and if I was angry, &c. Tee also promised that he would use his endeavours to recover the musket. I was now satisfied it was to no purpose to go farther; for, although I was alone and unarmed, Otoo's fears were such, that he durst not see me; and, therefore, I took Tee's advice, and returned aboard. After this I sent Oedidee to Otoo to let him know that his fears were ill-grounded; for that I only required the return of the musket, which I knew was in his power.

Soon after Oedidee was gone, we observed six large canoes coming round Point Venus. Some people whom I had sent out, to watch the conduct of the neighbouring inhabitants, informed me they were laden with baggage, fruit, hogs, &c. There being room for suspecting that some person belonging to these canoes had committed the theft, I presently came to a resolution to intercept them; and having put off in a boat for that purpose, gave orders for another to follow. One of the canoes, which was some distance ahead of the rest, came directly for the ship. I went alongside this, and found two or three women in her whom I knew. They told me they were going on board the ship with something for me; and on my inquiring of them for Otoo, was told he was then at the tents. Pleased with this news, I contradicted the orders I had given for intercepting the other canoes, thinking they might be coming on board also, as well as this one, which I left within a few yards of the ship, and rowed ashore to speak with Otoo. But when I landed, I was told that he had not been there, nor knew they anything of him. On my looking behind me, I saw all the canoes making off in the greatest haste; even the one I had left alongside the ship had evaded going on board, and was making her escape. Vexed at being thus outwitted, I resolved to pursue them, and as I passed the ship, gave orders to send another boat for the same purpose. Five out of six we took, and brought alongside; but the first, which acted the finesse so well, got clear off. When we got on board with our prizes, I learnt that the people who had deceived me, used no endeavours to lay hold of the ship on the side they were upon, but let their canoe drop past as if they meant to come under the stern, or on the other side; and that the moment they were past, they paddled off with all speed. Thus the canoe, in which were only a few women, was to have amused us with false stories, as they actually did, while the others, in which were most of the effects, got off.

In one of the canoes we had taken, was a chief, a friend of Mr. Forster's, who had hitherto called himself an *Earee*, and would have been much offended if any one had called his title in question; also three women, his wife and daughter, and the mother of the late Toutaha. These, together with the canoes, I resolved to detain, and to send the chief to Otoo, thinking he would have weight enough with him to obtain the return of the musket, as his own property was at stake. He was, however, very unwilling to go on this embassy, and made various excuses, one of which was his being of too low a rank for this honourable employment; saying he was no *Earee*, but a *Manahouana*, and, therefore, was not a fit person to be sent; that an *Earee* ought to be sent to speak to an *Earee*; and as there were no *Earees* but Otoo and myself, it would be much more proper for me to go. All his arguments would have availed him little, if Tee and Oedidee had not, at this time, come on board and given a new turn to the affair, by declaring that the man who stole the musket was from Tiarabou, and had gone with it to that kingdom, so that it was not in the power of Otoo to recover it. I very much doubted their veracity, till they asked me to send a boat to Waheatoua, the king of Tiarabou, and offered to go themselves in her, and get it. I asked why this could not be done without my sending a boat? They said it would not otherwise be given to them.



This story of theirs, although it did not quite satisfy me, nevertheless carried with it the probability of truth; for which reason I thought it better to drop the affair altogether, rather than to punish a nation for a crime I was not sure any of its members had committed. I, therefore, suffered my new ambassador to depart with his two canoes without executing his commission. The other three canoes belonged to Maritata, a Tiarabou chief, who had been some days about the tents; and there was good reason to believe it was one of his people that carried off the musket. I intended to have detained them; but as Tee and Oedidee both assured me that Maritata and his people were quite innocent, I suffered them to be taken away also, and desired Tee to tell Otoo, that I should give myself no farther concern about the musket, since I was satisfied none of his people had stolen it. Indeed, I thought it was irrecoverably lost; but, in the dusk of the evening, it was brought to the tents, together with some other things we had lost, which we knew nothing of, by three men who had pursued the thief and taken them from him. I know not, if they took this trouble of their own accord, or by order of Otoo. I rewarded them, and made no farther inquiry about it. These men, as well as some others present, assured me that it was one of Maritata's people who had committed this theft; which vexed me that I had let his canoes so easily slip through my fingers. Here, I believe, both Tee and Oedidee designedly deceived me.

When the musket and other things were brought in, every one then present, or who came after, pretended to have had some hand in recovering them, and claimed a reward accordingly. But there was no one who acted this farce so well as Nuno, a man of some note, and well known to us when I was here in 1769. This man came, with all the savage fury imaginable in his countenance, and a large club in his hand, with which he beat about him, in order to show us how he alone had killed the thief; when, at the same time, we all knew that he had not been out of his house the whole time.

Thus ended this troublesome day; and next morning early, Tee, Otoo's faithful ambassador, came again on board, to acquaint me that Otoo was gone to Oparree, and desired I would send a person (one of the natives, as I understood) to tell him that I was still his *Tiyo*. I asked him why he did not do this himself, as I had desired. He made some excuse; but I believe the truth was, he had not seen him. In short, I found it was necessary for me to go myself; for while we thus spent our time in messages, we remained without fruit, a stop being put to all exchanges of this nature; that is, the natives brought nothing to market. Accordingly, a party of us set out with Tee in our company, and proceeded to the very utmost limits of Oparree, where, after waiting some considerable time, and several messages having passed, the king at last made his appearance. After we were seated under the shade of some trees as usual, and the first salutations were over, he desired me to *parou* (that is, to speak). Accordingly, I began with blaming him for being frightened and alarmed at what had happened, since I had always professed myself his friend, and I was not angry with him or any of his people, but with those of Tiarabou, who were the thieves. I was then asked, how I came to fire at the canoes? Chance, on this occasion, furnished me with a good excuse. I told them, that they belonged to Maritata, a Tiarabou man, one of whose people had stolen the musket, and occasioned all this disturbance; and if I had them in my power, I would destroy them, or any other belonging to Tiarabou. This declaration pleased them, as I expected, from the natural aversion the one kingdom has to the other. What I said was enforced by presents, which perhaps had the greatest weight with them. Thus were things once more restored to their former state; and Otoo promised, on his part, that the next day we should be supplied with fruit, &c. as usual. We then returned with him to his proper residence at Oparree, and there took a view of some of his dock-yards (for such they well deserved to be called) and large canoes; some lately built, and others building; two of which were the largest I had ever seen in this sea, or indeed anywhere else, under that name. This done, we returned on board with Tee in our company, who, after he had dined with us, went to inform old Happei, the king's father, that all matters were accommodated.

This old chief was at this time in the neighbourhood of Matavai, and it should seem, from what followed, that he was not pleased with the conditions; for that same evening, all the

women, which were not a few, were sent for out of the ship, and people stationed on different parts of the shore to prevent any from coming off; and the next morning, no supplies whatever being brought, on my inquiring into the reason, I was told Happi was *mataoued*. Chagrined at this disappointment as I was, I forbore taking any step, from a supposition that Tee had not seen him, or that Otoo's orders had not yet reached Matavai. A supply of fruit sent us from Oparree, and some brought us by our friends, served us for the present, and made us less anxious about it. Thus matters stood till the afternoon, when Otoo himself came to the tents with a large supply. Thither I went, and expostulated with him for not permitting the people in our neighbourhood to bring us fruit as usual, insisting on his giving immediate orders about it, which he either did, or had done before; for, presently after, more was brought us than we could well manage. This was not to be wondered at; for the people had everything in readiness to bring the moment they were permitted, and, I believe, thought themselves as much injured by the restriction as we did. Otoo desiring to see some of the great guns fire from the ship, I ordered twelve to be shotted, and fired towards the sea. As he had never seen a cannon fired before, the sight gave him as much pain as pleasure. In the evening we entertained him with fire-works, which gave him great satisfaction.

Thus ended all our differences, on which I beg leave to suggest the following remarks:—I have had occasion, in this journal before, to observe, that these people were continually watching opportunities to rob us. This their governors either encouraged, or had not power to prevent; but most probably the former, because the offender was always screened. That they should commit such daring thefts was the more extraordinary, as they frequently ran the risk of being shot in the attempt; and if the article that they stole was of any consequence, they knew they should be obliged to make restitution. The moment a theft of this kind was committed, it spread like the wind over the whole neighbourhood. They judged of the consequences from what they had got. If it were a trifle, and such an article as we usually gave them, little or no notice was taken of it; but if the contrary, every one took the alarm, and moved off with his moveables in all haste. The chief then was *mataoued*, giving orders to bring us no supplies, and flying to some distant part. All this was sometimes done so suddenly, that we obtained, by these appearances, the first intelligence of our being robbed. Whether we obliged them to make restitution or not, the chief must be reconciled before any of the people were permitted to bring in any refreshments. They knew very well we could not do without them; and, therefore, never failed strictly to observe this rule, without ever considering that all their war canoes, on which the strength of their nation depends, their houses, and even the very fruit they refused to supply us with, were entirely in our power. It is hard to say how they would act, were one to destroy any of these things. Except the detaining some of their canoes for a while, I never touched the least article of their property. Of the two extremes, I always chose that which appeared the most equitable and mild. A trifling present to the chief always succeeded to my wish, and very often put things upon a better footing than they had been before. That they were the first aggressors, had very little influence on my conduct in this respect, because no difference happened but when it was so. My people very rarely or never broke through the rules I thought it necessary to prescribe. Had I observed a different conduct, I must have been the loser by it in the end; and all I could expect, after destroying some part of their property, would have been the empty honour of obliging them to make the first overture towards an accommodation. But who knows if this would have been the event? Three things made them our fast friends: their own good-nature and benevolent disposition; gentle treatment on our part; and the dread of our fire-arms. By our ceasing to observe the second, the first would have worn out of course; and the too frequent use of the latter would have excited a spirit of revenge, and perhaps have taught them that fire-arms were not such terrible things as they had imagined. They were very sensible of the superiority of their numbers; and no one knows what an enraged multitude might do.



CHAPTER XIII.—PREPARATIONS TO LEAVE THE ISLAND. — ANOTHER NAVAL REVIEW, AND VARIOUS OTHER INCIDENTS ; WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND, ITS NAVAL FORCE, AND NUMBER OF INHABITANTS.

IN the morning of the 11th, a very large supply of fruit was brought to us from all parts. Some of it came from Towha, the admiral, sent as usual by his servants, with orders to receive nothing in return. But he desired I would go and see him at Attahourou, as he was ill, and could not come to me. As I could not well undertake this journey, I sent Oedidee, along with Towha's servants, with a present suitable to that which I had, in so genteel a manner, received from him. As the most essential repairs of the ship were nearly finished, I resolved to leave Otaheite in a few days, and accordingly ordered everything to be got off from the shore, that the natives might see we were about to depart.

On the 12th, old Oberea, the woman who, when the Dolphin was here in 1767, was thought to be queen of the island, and whom I had not seen since 1769, paid us a visit, and brought us a present of hogs and fruit. Soon after came Otoo with a great retinue, and a large quantity of provisions. I was pretty liberal in my returns, thinking it might be the last time I should see these good people who had so liberally relieved our wants ; and in the evening entertained them with fire-works.

On the 13th, winds easterly, fair weather. Nevertheless, we were not ready to sail, as Otoo had made me promise to see him again, and I had a present to make him, which I reserved to the last. Oedidee was not yet come back from Attahourou ; various reports arose concerning him : some said he had returned to Matavai ; others that he would not return ; and some would have it that he was at Oparree. In order to know more of the truth, a party of us in the evening went down to Oparree, where we found him, and likewise Towha, who, notwithstanding his illness, had resolved to see me before I sailed, and had gotten thus far on his journey. He was afflicted with a swelling in his feet and legs, which had entirely taken away the use of them. As the day was far spent, we were obliged to shorten our stay ; and after seeing Otoo, we returned with Oedidee on board.

This youth, I found, was desirous of remaining at this isle, having before told him, as likewise many others, that we should not return. I now mentioned to him that he was at liberty to remain here, or to quit us at Ulietea, or to go with us to England, frankly owning that if he chose the latter, it was very probable he would never return to his country ; in which case I would take care of him, and he must afterwards look upon me as his father. He threw his arms about me, and wept much, saying many people persuaded him to remain at Otaheite. I told him to go ashore and speak to his friends, and then come to me in the morning. He was well beloved in the ship, so that every one was persuading him to go with us, telling him what great things he would see in England, and the immense riches (according to his idea of riches) he would return with. But I thought proper to undeceive him, as knowing that the only inducement to his going was the expectation of returning, and I could see no prospect of an opportunity of that kind happening, unless a ship should be expressly sent out for that purpose ; which neither I nor any one else had a right to expect. I thought it an act of the highest injustice to take a person from these isles, under any promise which it was not in my power to perform. At this time, indeed, it was quite unnecessary, for many youths voluntarily offered themselves to go, and even to remain and die in *Pretance* ; as they call our country. Otoo importuned me much to take one or two to collect red feathers for him at Amsterdam, willing to risk the chance of their returning. Some of the gentlemen on board were likewise desirous of taking some as servants ; but I refused every solicitation of this kind, knowing, from experience, they would be of no use to us in the course of the voyage ; and farther my views were not extended. What had the greatest weight with me was, the thinking myself bound to see they were afterwards properly taken care of, as they could not be carried from their native spot without consent.

Next morning early, Oedidee came on board with a resolution to remain at the island ;

but Mr. Forster prevailed upon him to go with us to Ulietea. Soon after, Towha, Poatatou, Oamo, Happi, Oberea, and several more of our friends, came on board with fruit, &c. Towha was hoisted in, and placed on a chair on the quarter-deck; his wife was with him. Amongst the various articles which I gave this chief, was an English pendant, which pleased him more than all the rest, especially after he had been instructed in the use of it.

We had no sooner despatched our friends than we saw a number of war canoes coming round the point of Oparree. Being desirous of having a nearer view of them, accompanied by some of the officers and gentlemen, I hastened down to Oparree, which we reached before all the canoes were landed, and had an opportunity of seeing in what manner they approached the shore. When they got before the place where they intended to land, they formed themselves into divisions, consisting of three or four, or perhaps more, lashed square and close alongside of each other; and then each division, one after the other, paddled in for the shore with all their might, and conducted in so judicious a manner, that they formed and closed a line along the shore to an inch. The rowers were encouraged to exert their strength by their leaders on the stages, and directed by a man who stood with a wand in his hand in the fore part of the middlemost vessel. This man, by words and actions, directed the paddlers when all should paddle, when either the one side or the other should cease, &c., for the steering paddles alone were not sufficient to direct them. All these motions they observed with such quickness, as clearly showed them to be expert in their business. After Mr. Hodges had made a drawing of them, as they lay ranged along the shore, we landed, and took a nearer view of them by going on board several. This fleet consisted of forty sail, equipped in the same manner as those we had seen before, belonged to the little district of Tettaha, and were come to Oparree to be reviewed before the king, as the former fleet had been. There were attending on this fleet some small double canoes, which they called *Marais*, having on their fore part a kind of double bed-place laid over with green leaves, each just sufficient to hold one man. These, they told us, were to lay their dead upon; their chiefs I suppose they meant, otherwise their slain must be few. Otoo, who was present, caused, at my request, some of the troops to go through their exercise on shore. Two parties first began with clubs; but this was over almost as soon as begun, so that I had no time to make my observations upon it. They then went to single combat, and exhibited the various methods of fighting with great alertness, parrying off the blows and pushes which each combatant aimed at the other with great dexterity. Their arms were clubs and spears; the latter they also used as darts. In fighting with the club, all blows intended to be given the legs were evaded by leaping over it; and those intended for the head, by couching a little, and leaping on one side; thus the blow would fall to the ground. The spear or dart was parried, by fixing the point of a spear in the ground right before them, holding it in an inclined position, more or less elevated, according to the part of the body they saw their antagonist intended to make a push, or throw his dart at, and by moving the hand a little to the right or left, either the one or the other was easily turned off with great ease. I thought that when one combatant had parried off the blows, &c., of the other, he did not use the advantage which seemed to me to accrue. As, for instance: after he had parried off a dart, he still stood on the defensive, and suffered his antagonist to take up another, when I thought there was time to run him through the body. These combatants had no superfluous dress upon them; an unnecessary piece of cloth or two which they had on when they began, were presently torn off by the bystanders, and given to some of our gentlemen present. This being over, the fleet departed,—not in any order, but as fast as they could be got afloat; and we went with Otoo to one of his dock-yards, where the two large *pahies* or canoes were building, each of which was a hundred and eight feet long: they were almost ready to launch, and were intended to make one joint double *pahie* or canoe. The king begged of me a grappling and rope, to which I added an English jack and pendant (with the use of which he was well acquainted), and desired the *pahie* might be called *Britannia*. This he very readily agreed to, and she was named accordingly. After this he gave me a hog, and a turtle of about sixty pounds weight, which was put privately into our boat, the giving it away not being agreeable to some of the great lords about him, who were thus deprived of a feast. He likewise would have given me a large shark they



had prisoner in a creek (some of his fins being cut off so that he could not make his escape), but the fine pork and fish we had got at this isle had spoiled our palates for such food. The king, and his prime minister Tee, accompanied us on board to dinner; and after it was over, took a most affectionate farewell. He hardly ever ceased soliciting me, this day, to return to Otaheite; and, just before he went out of the ship, took a youth by the hand, and presented him to me, desiring I would keep him on board to go to Amsterdam to collect red feathers. I told him I could not, since I knew he would never return; but that, if any ship should happen to come from Britain to this isle, I would either bring or send him red feathers in abundance. This, in some measure, satisfied him; but the youth was exceedingly desirous of going, and, if I had not come to a resolution to carry no one from the isles (except Oedidee, if he chose to go), and but just refused Mr. Forster the liberty of taking a boy, I believe I should have consented. Otoo remained alongside in his canoe till we were under sail, when he put off, and was saluted with three guns.

Our treatment at this isle was such as had induced one of our gunner's mates to form a plan to remain at it. He knew he could not execute it with success while we lay in the bay, therefore took the opportunity, as soon as we were out, the boats in, and sails set, to slip overboard, being a good swimmer: but he was discovered before he got clear of the ship, and we presently hoisted a boat out and took him up. A canoe was observed, about half-way between us and the shore, seemingly coming after us; she was intended to take him up; but as soon as the people in her saw our boat, they kept at a distance. This was a preconcerted plan between the man and them, which Otoo was acquainted with, and had encouraged. When I considered this man's situation in life, I did not think him so culpable, nor the resolution he had taken of staying here so extraordinary, as it may at first appear. He was an Irishman by birth, and had sailed in the Dutch service. I picked him up at Batavia on my return from my former voyage, and he had been with me ever since. I never learnt that he had either friends or connexions to confine him to any particular part of the world: all nations were alike to him; where then could such a man be more happy than at one of these isles? where, in one of the finest climates in the world, he could enjoy not only the necessaries, but the luxuries of life, in ease and plenty. I know not, if he might not have obtained my consent, if he had applied for it in proper time. As soon as we had got him on board, and the boat in, I steered for Huahine, in order to pay a visit to our friends there. But, before we leave Otaheite, it will be necessary to give some account of the present state of that island, especially as it differs very much from what it was eight months before.

I have already mentioned the improvements we found in the plains of Oparree and Matavai. The same was observed in every other part into which we came. It seemed to us almost incredible that so many large canoes and houses could be built in so short a space as eight months. The iron tools which they had got from the English, and other nations who have lately touched at the isle, had, no doubt, greatly accelerated the work; and they have no want of hands, as I shall soon make appear. The number of hogs was another thing that excited our wonder. Probably they were not so scarce when we were here before as we imagined, and, not choosing to part with any, they had conveyed them out of our sight. Be this as it may, we now not only got as many as we could consume during our stay, but some to take to sea with us.

When I was last here, I conceived but an unfavourable opinion of Otoo's talents. The improvements since made in the island convinced me of my mistake; and that he must be a man of good parts. He has, indeed, some judicious, sensible men about him; who, I believe, have a great share in the government. In truth, we know not how far his power extends as king, nor how far he can command the assistance of the other chiefs, or is controllable by them. It should however seem, that all have contributed towards bringing the isle to its present flourishing state. We cannot doubt that there are divisions amongst the great men of this state, as well as of most others; or else why did the king tell us that Towha, the admiral, and Poatatou, were not his friends? They were two leading chiefs; and he must be jealous of them on account of their great power; for on every occasion he seemed to court their interest. We had reason to believe that they had raised by far the

greatest number of vessels and men to go against Eimeo, and were to be two of the commanders in the expedition, which we were told was to take place five days after our departure. Waheatoua, king of Tiarabou, was to send a fleet to join that of Otoo, to assist him in reducing to obedience the chief of Eimeo. I think we were told that young prince was one of the commanders. One would suppose that so small an island as Eimeo would hardly have attempted to make head against the united force of these two kingdoms, but have endeavoured to settle matters by negotiation. Yet we heard of no such thing; on the contrary, every one spoke of nothing but fighting. Towha told us more than once that he should die there; which, in some measure, shows what he thought of it. Oedidee told me the battle would be fought at sea; in which case the other must have a fleet nearly equal, if not quite, to the one going against them; which I think was not probable. It was therefore more likely they would remain ashore upon the defensive, as we were told they did, about five or six years ago, when attacked by the people of Tiarabou whom they repulsed. Five general officers were to command in this expedition; of which number Otoo was one; and, if they named them in order according to the posts they held, Otoo was only the third in command. This seems probable enough, as being but a young man he could not have sufficient experience to command such an expedition, where the greatest skill and judgment seemed to be necessary.

I confess I would willingly have staid five days longer, had I been sure the expedition would have then taken place; but it rather seemed that they wanted us to be gone first. We had been all along told it would be ten moons before it took place; and it was not till the evening before we sailed, that Otoo and Towha told us it was to be in five days after we were gone, as if it were necessary to have that time to put everything in order; for while we lay there, great part of their time and attention was taken up with us. I had observed that, for several days before we sailed, Otoo and the other chiefs had ceased to solicit my assistance, as they were continually doing at first, till I assured Otoo that, if they got their fleet ready in time, I would sail with them down to Eimeo: after this I heard no more of it. They probably had taken it into consideration, and concluded themselves safer without me, well knowing it would be in my power to give the victory to whom I pleased, and that, at the best, I might thwart some favourite custom, or run away with the spoils. But be their reasons what they might, they certainly wanted us to be gone, before they undertook anything. Thus we were deprived of seeing the whole fleet equipped on this occasion, and perhaps of being spectators of a sea-fight, and by that means gaining some knowledge of their manœuvres.

I never could learn what number of vessels were to go on this expedition. We knew of no more than two hundred and ten, besides smaller canoes to serve as transports, &c. and the fleet of Tiarabou, the strength of which we never learnt. Nor could I ever learn the number of men necessary to man this fleet; and whenever I asked the question, the answer was, *Warou, warou, warou te Tuta*, that is, many, many, many men, as if the number far exceeded their arithmetic. If we allow forty men to each war canoe, and four to each of the others, which is thought a moderate computation, the number will amount to nine thousand: an astonishing number to be raised in four districts; and one of them, viz. Matavai, did not equip a fourth part of its fleet. The fleet of Tiarabou is not included in this account; and many other districts might be arming which we knew nothing of. I, however, believe that the whole isle did not arm on this occasion, for we saw not the least preparations making in Oparree. From what we saw and could learn, I am clearly of opinion that the chief, or chiefs, of each district superintended the equipping of the fleet belonging to that district; but, after they are equipped, they must pass in review before the king, and be approved of by him. By this means he knows the state of the whole, before they assemble to go on service.

It hath been already observed, that the number of war canoes belonging to Attahourou and Ahopata was a hundred and sixty, to Tettaha forty, and to Matavai ten, and that this district did not equip one-fourth part of their number. If we suppose every district in the island, of which there are forty-three, to raise and equip the same number of war canoes as Tettaha, we shall find, by this estimate, that the whole island can raise and equip one



thousand seven hundred and twenty war canoes, and sixty-eight thousand able men, allowing forty men to each canoe. And, as these cannot amount to above one-third part of the number of both sexes, children included, the whole island cannot contain less than two hundred and four thousand inhabitants; a number which, at first sight, exceeded my belief. But, when I came to reflect on the vast swarms which appeared wherever we came, I was convinced that this estimate was not much, if at all, too great\*. There cannot be a greater proof of the richness and fertility of Otaheite (not forty leagues in circuit) than its supporting such a number of inhabitants.

This island made formerly but one kingdom; how long it has been divided into two, I cannot pretend to say; but I believe not long. The kings of Tiarabou are a branch of the family of those of Opoureonu; at present, the two are nearly related; and, I think, the former is, in some measure, dependent on the latter. Otoo is styled *Earee de hie* of the whole island; and we have been told that Waheatoua, the king of Tiarabou, must uncover before him, in the same manner as the meanest of his subjects. This homage is due to Otoo, as *Earee de hie* of the isle, to Tarevatou, his brother, and his second sister; to the one as heir, and to the other as heir apparent; his eldest sister being married, is not entitled to this homage.

The *Eowas* and *Whannos* we have sometimes seen covered before the king, but whether by courtesy, or by virtue of their office, we never could learn. These men, who are the principal persons about the king, and form his court, are generally, if not always, his relations. Tee, whom I have so often mentioned, was one of them. We have been told that the *Eowas*, who have the first rank, attend in their turns, a certain number each day, which occasioned us to call them lords in waiting; but whether this was really so, I cannot say. We seldom found Tee absent; indeed his attendance was necessary, as being best able to negotiate matters between us and them, on which service he was always employed; and he executed it, I have reason to believe, to the satisfaction of both parties.

It is to be regretted that we know little more of this government than the general outline; for, of its subdivisions, classes, or orders of the constituent parts, how disposed, or in what manner connected, so as to form one body politic, we know but little. We, however, are sure that it is of the feudal kind; and, if we may judge from what we have seen, it has sufficient stability, and is by no means badly constructed. The *Eowas* and *Whannos* always eat with the king; indeed I do not know if any one is excluded from this privilege but the *Toutous*. For as to the women, they are out of the question, as they never eat with the men, let their rank be ever so much elevated.

Notwithstanding this kind of kingly establishment, there was very little about Otoo's person or court by which a stranger could distinguish the king from the subject. I seldom saw him dressed in anything but a common piece of cloth wrapped round his loins; so that he seemed to avoid all unnecessary pomp, and even to demean himself more than any other of the *Earees*. I have seen him work at a paddle, in coming to and going from the ship, in common with the other paddlers; and even when some of his *Toutous* sat looking on. All have free access to him, and speak to him wherever they see him, without the least ceremony: such is the easy freedom which every individual of this happy isle enjoys. I have observed that the chiefs of these isles are more beloved, by the bulk of the people, than feared. May we not from hence conclude, that the government is mild and equitable?

\* Mr. Ellis in his *Polynesian Researches*, vol. ii. p. 28, has the following passage in relation to the population of Otaheite:—"It is impossible for any one who has visited these shores, or traversed any one of the districts, to entertain the slightest doubt that the number of inhabitants in the South Sea Islands was formerly much greater than at present. What their number in any remote period of their history may have been it is not easy to ascertain: Captain Cook estimated those residing in Tahiti at 200,000. The grounds, however, on which he formed his conclusion were certainly fallacious. The population was at all times so fugitive and uncertain, as to the proportion it bore to any section of geographical surface, that no correct inference, as to the amount of the whole could be drawn from

the numbers seen in one part. Captain Wilson's calculations, in 1797, made the population of Tahiti only about 16,000; and not many years afterwards, the Missionaries declared it as their opinion that this island did not contain more than 8000 souls; and I cannot think that within the last thirty years it has ever contained fewer inhabitants. The present number of natives is about 10,000." There are ancient remains which indicate that formerly, the Society and other neighbouring islands were far more densely populated than they were at the period at which they were first visited by Europeans. Some further remarks on this subject will be found in the Appendix. —Ed.

We have mentioned that Waheatoua of Tiabarou is related to Otoo. The same may be said of the chiefs of Eimeo, Tapamannoo, Huaheine, Ulietea, Otaha, and Bolabola; for they are all related to the royal family of Otaheite. It is a maxim with the *Earees*, and others of superior rank, never to intermarry with the *Toutous*, or others of inferior rank. Probably this custom is one great inducement to the establishment of these societies called *Eareeoies*. It is certain that these societies greatly prevent the increase of the superior classes of people, of which they are composed, and do not at all interfere with the inferiors or *Toutous*; for I never heard of one of these being an *Earreoy*. Nor did I ever hear that a *Toutou* could rise in life above the rank in which he was born.

I have occasionally mentioned the extraordinary fondness the people of Otaheite showed for red feathers. These they call *Oora*, and they are as valuable here as jewels are in Europe, especially those which they call *Oravine*, and grow on the head of the green parrot: all red feathers are, indeed, esteemed, but none equally with these; and they are such good judges as to know very well how to distinguish one sort from another. Many of our people attempted to deceive them, by dyeing other feathers; but I never heard that any one succeeded. These feathers they make up in little bunches, consisting of eight or ten, and fix them to the end of a small cord about three or four inches long, which is made of the strong outside fibres of the cocoa-nut, twisted so hard, that it is like a wire, and serves as a handle to the bunch. Thus prepared, they are used as symbols of the *Eatuas*, or divinities, in all their religious ceremonies. I have often seen them hold one of these bunches, and sometimes only two or three feathers, between the fore-finger and thumb, and say a prayer, not one word of which I could ever understand. Whoever comes to this island will do well to provide himself with red feathers, the finest and smallest that are to be got. He must also have a good stock of axes and hatchets, spike-nails, files, knives, looking-glasses, beads, &c. Sheets and shirts are much sought after, especially by the ladies; as many of our gentlemen found by experience.

The two goats which Captain Furneaux gave to Otoo when we were last here, seemed to promise fair for answering the end for which they were put on shore. The ewe soon after had two female kids, which were now so far grown as to be nearly ready to propagate; and the old ewe was again with kid. The people seemed to be very fond of them, and they to like their situation as well; for they were in excellent condition. From this circumstance, we may hope that, in a few years, they will have some to spare to their neighbours; and, by that means, they may in time spread over all the isles in this ocean. The sheep which we left, died soon after, excepting one, which we understood was yet alive. We have also furnished them with a stock of cats; no less than twenty having been given away at this isle, besides what were left at Ulietea and Huaheine.

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CHAPTER XIV.—THE ARRIVAL OF THE SHIP AT THE ISLAND OF HUAHEINE; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF AN EXPEDITION INTO THE ISLAND, AND SEVERAL OTHER INCIDENTS WHICH HAPPENED WHILE SHE LAY THERE.

AT one o'clock in the afternoon on the 15th, we anchored in the north entrance of O'Wharre harbour, in the island of Huaheine; hoisted out the boats, warped into a proper berth, and moored with the bower and kedg anchor, not quite a cable's length from the shore. While this was doing, several of the natives made us a visit, amongst whom was old Oree, the chief, who brought a hog, and some other articles, which he presented to me, with the usual ceremony.

Next morning, the natives began to bring us fruit. I returned Oree's visit, and made my present to him; one article of which was red feathers. Two or three of these the chief took in his right hand, holding them up between the finger and thumb, and said a prayer, as I understood, which was little noticed by any present. Two hogs were, soon after, put into my boat; and he, and several of his friends, came on board, and dined with us. After dinner Oree gave me to understand what articles would be most acceptable to him and his friends; which were chiefly axes and nails. Accordingly I gave him what he asked, and



desired he would distribute them to the others, which he did, seemingly to the satisfaction of every one. A youth about ten or twelve years of age, either his son or grandson, seemed to be the person of most note, and had the greatest share. After the distribution was over, they all returned ashore. Mr. Forster and his party being out in the country botanising, his servant, a feeble man, was beset by five or six fellows, who would have stripped him, if, that moment, one of the party had not come to his assistance; after which, they made off with a hatchet they had got from him.

On the 17th I went ashore to look for the chief, in order to complain of the outrage committed as above; but he was not in the neighbourhood. Being ashore in the afternoon, a person came and told me Oree wanted to see me. I went with the man, and was conducted to a large house, where the chief, and several other persons of note, were assembled, in council, as well as I could understand. After I was seated and some conversation had passed among them, Oree made a speech, and was answered by another. I understood no more of either, than just to know it regarded the robbery committed the day before. The chief then began to assure me, that neither he, nor any one present (who were the principal chiefs in the neighbourhood) had any hand in it; and desired me to kill, with the guns, all those which had. I assured him that I was satisfied that neither he, nor those present, were at all concerned in the affair; and that I should do with the fellows as he desired, or any others who were guilty of the like crimes. Having asked where the fellows were, and desired they would bring them to me that I might do with them as he had said; his answer was, they were gone to the mountains, and he could not get them. Whether this was the case or not, I will not pretend to say. I knew fair means would never make them deliver them up; and I had no intention to try others. So the affair dropt, and the council broke up.

In the evening, some of the gentlemen went to a dramatic entertainment. The piece represented a girl as running away with us from Otaheite; which was in some degree true; as a young woman had taken a passage with us down to Ulitea, and happened now to be present at the representation of her own adventures; which had such an effect upon her, that it was with great difficulty our gentlemen could prevail upon her to see the play out, or to refrain from tears while it was acting. The piece concluded with the reception she was supposed to meet with from her friends at her return; which was not a very favourable one. These people can add little extempore pieces to their entertainments when they see occasion. Is it not then reasonable to suppose that this was intended as a satire against this girl, and to discourage others from following her steps?

In the morning of the 18th Oree came on board with a present of fruit, stayed dinner, and in the afternoon desired to see some great guns fired, shotted, which I complied with. The reason of his making this request was his hearing, from Oedidee and our Otaheitean passengers, that we had so done at their island. The chief would have had us fire at the hills; but I did not approve of that, lest the shot should fall short, and do some mischief. Besides, the effect was better seen in the water. Some of the petty officers, who had leave to go into the country for their amusement, took two of the natives with them to be their guides, and to carry their bags, containing nails, hatchets, &c., the current cash we traded with here; which the fellows made off with in the following artful manner:—The gentlemen had with them two muskets for shooting birds. After a shower of rain, their guides pointed out some for them to shoot. One of the muskets having missed fire several times, and the other having gone off, the instant the fellows saw themselves secure from both, they ran away, leaving the gentlemen gazing after them with so much surprise, that no one had presence of mind to pursue them.

The 19th, showery morning; fair afternoon; nothing happened worthy of note. Early in the morning of the 20th, three of the officers set out on a shooting party, rather contrary to my inclination; as I found the natives, at least some of them, were continually watching every opportunity to rob straggling parties, and were daily growing more daring. About three o'clock in the afternoon, I got intelligence that they were seized and stripped of everything they had about them. Upon this I immediately went on shore with a boat's crew, accompanied by Mr. Forster, and took possession of a large house with all its effects, and

two chiefs, whom I found in it ; but this we did in such a manner that they hardly knew what we were about, being unwilling to alarm the neighbourhood. In this situation I remained till I heard the officers had got back safe, and had all their things restored to them : then I quitted the house ; and presently after everything in it was carried off. When I got on board, I was informed of the whole affair by the officers themselves. Some little insult on their part induced the natives to seize their guns, on which a scuffle ensued, some chiefs interfered, took the officers out of the crowd, and caused everything which had been taken from them to be restored. This was at a place where we had before been told, that a set of fellows had formed themselves into a gang, with a resolution to rob every one who should go that way. It should seem, from what followed, that the chief could not prevent this, or put a stop to these repeated outrages. I did not see him this evening, as he was not come into the neighbourhood when I went on board ; but I learnt from Oedidee that he came soon after, and was so concerned at what had happened that he wept. Daylight no sooner broke upon us on the 21st, than we saw upwards of sixty canoes under sail going out of the harbour, and steering over for Ulitea. On our inquiring the reason, we were told that the people in them were *Eareeoies*, and were going to visit their brethren in the neighbouring isles. One may almost compare these men to freemasons ; they tell us they assist each other when need requires ; they seem to have customs among them which they either will not or cannot explain. Oedidee told us he was one ; Tupia was one ; and yet I have not been able to get any tolerable idea of this set of men from either of them. Oedidee denies that the children they have by their mistresses are put to death, as we understood from Tupia and others. I have had some conversation with Omai on this subject, and find that he confirms everything that is said upon it in the narrative of my former voyage\*.

Oedidee, who generally slept on shore, came off with a message from Oree, desiring I would land with twenty-two men, to go with him to chastise the robbers. The messenger brought with him, by way of assisting his memory, twenty-two pieces of leaves, a method customary amongst them. On my receiving this extraordinary message, I went to the chief for better information ; and all I could learn of him was, that these fellows were a sort of banditti, who had formed themselves into a body with a resolution of seizing and robbing our people wherever they found them, and were now armed for that purpose ; for which reason he wanted me to go along with him to chastise them. I told him, if I went, they would fly to the mountains ; but he said they were resolved to fight us, and therefore desired I would destroy both them and their house ; but begged I would spare those in the neighbourhood, as also the canoes and the *Whenoa*. By way of securing these, he presented me with a pig as a peace-offering for the *Whenoa*. It was too small to be meant for anything but a ceremony of this kind. This sensible old chief could see (what, perhaps, none of the others ever thought of) that everything in the neighbourhood was at our mercy, and therefore took care to secure them by this method, which I suppose to be of weight with them. When I returned on board, I considered of the chief's request, which, upon the whole, appeared an extraordinary one. I, however, resolved to go, lest these fellows should be (by our refusal) encouraged to commit greater acts of violence ; and, as their proceeding would soon reach Ulitea, where I intended to go next, the people there might be induced to treat us in the same manner, or worse, they being more numerous. Accordingly, I landed with forty-eight men, including officers, Mr. Forster, and some others of the gentlemen. The chief joined us with a few people, and we began to march, in search of the banditti, in good order. As we proceeded, the chief's party increased like a snow-ball. Oedidee, who was with us, began to be alarmed, observing that many of the people in our company were of the very party we were going against, and at last telling us that they were only leading us to some place where they could attack us to advantage. Whether there was any truth in this, or it was only Oedidee's fears, I will not pretend to say ; he, however, was the only person we could confide in, and we regulated our motions according to the information he had given us. After marching some miles, we got intelligence that the men we were going after had fled to the mountains ; but I think this was not till I had declared to the chief I would

\* For a full account of the constitution of the Areois see the Appendix.—Ed.



proceed no farther; for we were then about crossing a deep valley, bounded on each side by steep rocks, where a few men, with stones only, might have made our retreat difficult, if their intentions were what Oedidee had suggested, and which he still persisted in. Having come to a resolution to return, we marched back in the same order as we went, and saw, in several places, people, who had been following us, coming down from the sides of the hills with their arms in their hands, which they instantly quitted, and hid in the bushes, when they saw they were discovered by us. This seemed to prove that there must have been some foundation for what Oedidee had said; but I cannot believe the chief had any such design, whatever the people might have. In our return, we halted at a convenient place to refresh ourselves. I ordered the people to bring us some cocoa-nuts, which they did immediately: indeed, by this time, I believe many of them wished us on board out of the way; for although no one step was taken that could give them the least alarm, they certainly were in terror. Two chiefs brought each of them a pig, a dog, and some young plantain trees, the usual peace-offerings, and, with due ceremony, presented them singly to me. Another brought a very large hog, with which he followed us to the ship. After this we continued our course to the landing-place, where I caused several volleys to be fired, to convince the natives that we could support a continual fire. This being done, we all embarked and went on board; and soon after the chief, following, brought with him a quantity of fruit, and sat down with us to dinner. We had scarce dined, before more fruit was brought us by others, and two hogs; so that we were likely to make more by this little excursion than by all the presents we had made them. It certainly gave them some alarm to see so strong a party of men march into their country, and probably gave them a better opinion of fire-arms than they had before; for I believe they had but an indifferent, or rather contemptible, idea of muskets in general, having never seen any fired but at birds, &c., by such of our people as used to straggle about the country, the most of them but indifferent marksmen, losing generally two shots out of three, their pieces often missing fire, and being slow in charging. Of all this they had taken great notice, and concluded, as well they might, that fire-arms were not so terrible things as they had been taught to believe.

When the chiefs took leave in the evening, they promised to bring us the next day a very large supply of provisions. In the article of fruit they were as good as their word; but of hogs, which we most wanted, they brought far less than we expected. Going ashore in the afternoon, I found the chief just sitting down to dinner. I cannot say what was the occasion of his dining so late. As soon as he was seated, several people began chewing the pepper-root; about a pint of the juice of which, without any mixture, was the first dish, and was despatched in a moment. A cup of it was presented to me, but the manner of brewing it was at this time sufficient. Oedidee was not so nice, but took what I refused. After this the chief washed his mouth with cocoa-nut water; then he ate of repe, plantain, and mahee, of each not a little; and, lastly, finished his repast by eating, or rather drinking, about three pints of *popoie*, which is made of bread-fruit, plantains, mahee, &c., beat together, and diluted with water till it is of the consistence of a custard. This was at the outside of his house, in the open air; for at this time a play was acting within, as was done almost every day in the neighbourhood; but they were such poor performances that I never attended. I observed that, after the juice had been squeezed out of the chewed pepper-root for the chief, the fibres were carefully picked up and taken away by one of his servants. On my asking what he intended to do with it, I was told he would put water to it, and strain it again. Thus he would make what I will call small beer.

The 23d, wind easterly, as it had been ever since we left Otaheite. Early in the morning we unmoored, and at eight weighed and put to sea. The good old chief was the last man who went out of the ship. At parting I told him we should see each other no more; at which he wept, and said, "Let your sons come; we will treat them well." Oree is a good man, in the utmost sense of the word; but many of the people are far from being of that disposition, and seem to take advantage of his old age, Teraderre, his grandson and heir, being yet but a youth. The gentle treatment the people of this isle ever met with from me, and the careless and imprudent manner in which many of our people had rambled about in the country, from a vain opinion that fire-arms rendered them invincible, encouraged many

at Huaheine to commit acts of violence, which no man at Otaheite ever durst attempt. During our stay here we got bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, &c., more than we could well consume, but not hogs enough by far to supply our daily expense; and yet it did not appear that they were scarce in the isle. It must, however, be allowed, that the number we took away, when last here, must have thinned them greatly, and at the same time stocked the isle with our articles. Besides, we now wanted a proper assortment of trade; what we had being nearly exhausted, and the few remaining red feathers being here but of little value, when compared to the estimation they stand in at Otaheite. This obliged me to set the smiths to work, to make different sorts of iron tools, nails, &c., in order to enable me to procure refreshments at the other isles, and to support my credit and influence among the natives.

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CHAPTER XV.—ARRIVAL AT ULIATEA, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE RECEPTION WE MET WITH THERE, AND THE SEVERAL INCIDENTS WHICH HAPPENED DURING OUR STAY. A REPORT OF TWO SHIPS BEING AT HUAHEINE. PREPARATIONS TO LEAVE THE ISLAND, AND THE REGRET THE INHABITANTS SHOWED ON THE OCCASION. THE CHARACTER OF OEDIDEE, WITH SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE ISLANDS.

As soon as we were clear of the harbour, we made sail, and stood over for the south end of Ulietea. Oree took the opportunity to send a man with a message to Opoony. Being little wind all the latter part of the day, it was dark before we reached the west side of the isle, where we spent the night. The same light variable wind continued till ten o'clock next morning, when the trade-wind at east prevailed, and we ventured to ply up to the harbour, first sending a boat to lie in anchorage in the entrance. After making a few trips, we got before the channel, and with all our sails set, and the head-way the ship had acquired, shut her in as far as she would go; then dropped the anchor, and took in the sails. This is the method of getting into most of the harbours which are on the lee-side of these isles; for the channels, in general, are too narrow to ply in. We were now anchored between the two points of the reef which form the entrance; each not more than two-thirds the length of a cable from us, and on which the sea broke with such height and violence, as, to people less acquainted with the place, would have been terrible. Having all our boats out with anchors and warps in them, which were presently run out, the ship warped into safety, where we dropped anchor for the night. While this work was going forward, my old friend Oreo the chief, and several more, came to see us. The chief came not empty.

Next day we warped the ship into, and moored her in, a proper berth, so as to command all the shores around us. In the mean time a party of us went ashore to pay the chief a visit, and to make the customary present. At our first entering his house, we were met by four or five old women, weeping and lamenting, as it were, most bitterly, and at the same time cutting their heads with instruments made of sharks' teeth, till the blood ran plentifully down their faces and on their shoulders. What was still worse, we were obliged to submit to the embraces of these old hags, and by that means were all besmeared with blood. This ceremony (for it was merely such) being over, they went out, washed themselves, and immediately after appeared as cheerful as any of the company. Having made some little stay, and given my present to the chief and his friends, he put a hog and some fruit into my boat, and came on board with us to dinner. In the afternoon, we had a vast number of people and canoes about us, from different parts of the island. They all took up their quarters in our neighbourhood, where they remained feasting for some days. We understood the most of them were *Eareoys*.

The 26th afforded nothing remarkable, excepting that Mr. Forster, in his botanical excursions, saw a burying-place for dogs, which they called *Marai no te Oore*. But, I think, we ought not to look upon this as one of their customs; because few dogs die a natural death, being generally, if not always, killed and eaten, or else given as an offering to the gods. Probably this might be a *Marai* or altar, where this sort of offering was made; or it might have been the whim of some person to have buried his favourite dog in this manner. But



be it as it will, I cannot think it is a general custom in the nation ; and, for my own part, I neither saw nor heard of such a thing before.

Early in the morning of the 27th, Oreo, his wife, son, daughter, and several more of his friends, made us a visit and brought with them a good quantity of all manner of refreshments ; little having as yet been got from anybody else. They staid dinner ; after which a party of us accompanied them on shore, where we were entertained with a play, called *Mididdij Harramy*, which signifies the *Child is coming*. It concluded with the representation of a woman in labour, acted by a set of great brawny fellows, one of whom at last brought forth a strapping boy, about six feet high, who ran about the stage, dragging after him a large wisp of straw which hung by a string from his middle. I had an opportunity of seeing this acted another time, when I observed, that the moment they had got hold of the fellow who represented the child, they flattened or pressed his nose. From this I judged that they do so by their children when born, which may be the reason why all in general have flat noses. This part of the play, from its newness, and the ludicrous manner in which it was performed, gave us, the first time we saw it, some entertainment, and caused a loud laugh, which might be the reason why they acted it so often afterwards. But this, like all their other pieces, could entertain us no more than once ; especially as we could gather little from them, for want of knowing more of their language.

The 28th was spent by me in much the same manner as the preceding day, viz., in entertaining my friends, and being entertained by them ; Mr. Forster and his party in the country botanising. Next morning, we found several articles had been stolen out of our boats lying at the buoy, about sixty or seventy yards from the ship. As soon as I was informed of it, I went to the chief to acquaint him therewith. I found that he not only knew they were stolen, but by whom, and where they were ; and he went immediately with me in my boat in pursuit of them. After proceeding a good way along shore, towards the south end of the island, the chief ordered us to land near some houses, where we did not wait long before all the articles were brought to us, except the pinnacle's iron tiller, which I was told was still farther off. But, when I wanted to go after it, I found the chief unwilling to proceed ; and he actually gave me the slip, and retired into the country. Without him I knew I could do nothing. The people began to be alarmed when they saw I was for going farther ; by which I concluded that the tiller was out of their reach also. I therefore sent one of them to the chief to desire him to return. He returned accordingly ; when we sat down, and had some victuals set before us ; thinking perhaps that, as I had not breakfasted, I must be hungry, and not in a good humour. Thus I was amused till two hogs were produced, which they entreated me to accept. This I did, and then their fears vanished ; and I thought myself not ill off in having gotten two good hogs for a thing which seemed to be quite out of my reach. Matters being thus settled, we returned on board, and had the company of the chief and his son to dinner. After that we all went ashore, where a play was acted for the entertainment of such as would spend their time in looking at it. Besides these plays, which the chief caused frequently to be acted, there were a set of strolling players in the neighbourhood, who performed every day. But their pieces seemed to be so much alike, that we soon grew tired of them ; especially as we could not collect any interesting circumstances from them. We, our ship, and our country, were frequently brought on the stage ; but on what account I know not. It can hardly be doubted that this was designed as a compliment to us, and probably not acted but when some of us were present. I generally appeared at Oreo's theatre towards the close of the play, and twice at the other, in order to give my mite to the actors. The only actress at Oreo's theatre was his daughter, a pretty brown girl, at whose shrine, on these occasions, many offerings were made by her numerous votaries. This, I believe, was one great inducement to her father's giving us these entertainments so often.

Early in the morning of the 30th, I set out with the two boats, accompanied by the two Mr. Forsters, Oedidee, the chief, his wife, son, and daughter, for an estate which Oedidee called his, situated at the north end of the island. There I was promised to have hogs and fruit in abundance ; but when we came there we found that poor Oedidee could not command one single thing, whatever right he might have to the *Whenooa*, which was now in possession



of his brother, who, soon after we landed, presented to me, with the usual ceremony, two pigs. I made him a very handsome present in return, and Oedidee gave him every thing he had left of what he had collected the time he was with us.

After this ceremony was over, I ordered one of the pigs to be killed and dressed for dinner, and attended myself to the whole operation, which was as follows:—They first strangled the hog, which was done by three men; the hog being placed on his back, two of them laid a pretty strong stick across his throat, and pressed with all their weight on each end; the third man held his hind legs, kept him on his back, and plugged up his fundament with grass, I suppose to prevent any air from passing or repassing that way. In this manner they held him for about ten minutes before he was quite dead. In the mean time, some hands were employed in making a fire, to heat the oven, which was close by. As soon as the hog was quite dead, they laid him on the fire, and burnt or singed the hair, so that it came off with almost the same ease as if it had been scalded. As the hair was got off one part, another was applied to the fire till they had got off the whole, yet not so clean but that another operation was necessary; which was to carry it to the sea-side, and there give it a good scrubbing with sandy stones, and sand. This brought off all the scurf &c. which the fire had left on. After well washing off the sand and dirt, the carcase was brought again to the former place, and laid on clean green leaves, in order to be opened. They first ripped up the skin of the belly, and took out the fat or lard from between the skin and the flesh, which they laid on a large green leaf. The belly was then ripped open, and the entrails taken out and carried away in a basket, so that I know not what became of them; but am certain they were not thrown away. The blood was next taken out and put into a large leaf, and then the lard, which was put to the other fat. The hog was now washed clean, both inside and out, with fresh water, and several hot stones put into his belly, which were shaken in under the breast, and green leaves crammed in upon them. By this time the oven was sufficiently heated; what fire remained was taken away, together with some of the hot stones; the rest made a kind of pavement in the bottom of the hole or oven, and were covered with leaves, on which the hog was placed on his belly. The lard and fat, after being washed with water, were put into a vessel, made just then of the green bark of a plantain tree, together with two or three hot stones, and placed on one side the hog. A hot stone was put to the blood, which was tied up in the leaf, and put into the oven; as also bread-fruits and plantains. Then the whole was covered with green leaves, on which were laid the remainder of the hot stones; over them were leaves; then any sort of rubbish they could lay their hands on; finishing the operation by well covering the whole with earth. While the victuals were baking, a table was spread with green leaves on the floor, at one end of a large boat-house. At the close of two hours and ten minutes, the oven was opened, and all the victuals taken out. Those of the natives who dined with us, sat down by themselves, at one end of the table, and we at the other. The hog was placed before us, and the fat and blood before them, on which they chiefly dined, and said it was *Mamity*, very good victuals; and we not only said, but thought the same of the pork. The hog weighed about fifty pounds. Some parts about the ribs I thought rather overdone; but the more fleshy parts were excellent; and the skin, which by our way of dressing can hardly be eaten, had, by this method, a taste and flavour superior to any thing I ever met with of the kind. I have now only to add, that during the whole of the various operations, they exhibited a cleanliness well worthy of imitation. I have been the more particular in this account, because I do not remember that any one of us had seen the whole process before; nor is it well described in the narrative of my former voyage.

While dinner was preparing, I took a view of this *Whenoa* of Oedidee. It was small, but a pleasant spot; and the houses were so disposed as to form a very pretty village, which is very rarely the case at these isles. Soon after we had dined, we set out for the ship, with the other pig, and a few races of plantains, which proved to be the sum total of our great expectations. In our return to the ship, we put ashore at a place where, in the corner of a house, we saw four wooden images, each two feet long, standing on a shelf, having a piece of cloth round their middle, and a kind of turban on their heads, in which were stuck long cocks' feathers. A person in the house told us they were *Eatua no te Toutou*, gods of the



servants or slaves. I doubt if this be sufficient to conclude that they pay them divine worship, and that the servants or slaves are not allowed the same gods as men of more elevated rank. I never heard that Tupia made any such distinction, or that they worshipped any visible thing whatever. Besides, these were the first wooden gods we had seen in any of the isles; and all the authority we had for their being such was the bare word of perhaps a superstitious person, and whom we were likewise liable to misunderstand. It must be allowed that the people of this isle are, in general, more superstitious than at Otaheite. At the first visit I made the chief after our arrival, he desired I would not suffer any of my people to shoot herons and woodpeckers; birds as sacred with them as robin-redbreasts, swallows, &c. are with many old women in England. Tupia, who was a priest, and well acquainted with their religion, customs, traditions, &c., paid little or no regard to these birds. I mention this because some amongst us were of opinion that these birds are their *Eatuas*, or gods. We, indeed, fell into this opinion when I was here in 1769, and into some others still more absurd, which we had undoubtedly adopted if Tupia had not undeceived us. A man of his knowledge and understanding we have not since met with, and consequently have added nothing to his account of their religion, but superstitious notions.

The people, knowing that we should sail soon, began, on the 31st, to bring on board more fruit than usual. Amongst those who came was a young man who measured six feet four inches and six-tenths; and his sister, younger than he, measured five feet ten inches and a half. A brisk trade for hogs and fruit continued on the 1st of June. On the 2d, in the afternoon, we got intelligence that, three days before, two ships had arrived at Huaheine. The same report said the one was commanded by Mr. Banks, and the other by Captain Furneaux. The man who brought the account said he was made drunk on board one of them, and described the persons of Mr. Banks and Captain Furneaux so well, that I had not the least doubt of the truth, and began to consider about sending a boat over that very evening, with orders to Captain Furneaux, when a man, a friend of Mr. Forster, happened to come on board, and denied the whole, saying it was *ua warre*, a lie. The man from whom we had the intelligence was now gone, so that I could not confront them, and there were none else present who knew anything about it but by report; so that I laid aside sending over a boat till I should be better informed. This evening we entertained the people with fire-works, on one of the little isles near the entrance of the harbour.

I had fixed on the next day for sailing, but the intelligence from Huaheine put a stop to it. The chief had promised to bring the man on board who first brought the account; but he was either not to be found, or would not appear. In the morning, the people were divided in their opinions; but in the afternoon all said it was a false report. I had sent Mr. Clerke, in the morning, to the farthest part of the island, to make inquiries there: he returned without learning anything satisfactory. In short, the report appeared now too ill-founded to authorise me to send a boat over, or to wait any longer here; and, therefore, early in the morning of the 4th, I got everything in readiness to sail. Oreo, the chief, and his whole family, came on board, to take their last farewell, accompanied by Oo-oo-rou, the *Earee de hi*, and Boba the *Earee* of Otaha, and several of their friends. None of them came empty; but Oo-oo-rou brought a pretty large present, this being his first and only visit. I distributed amongst them almost everything I had left. The very hospitable manner in which I had ever been received by these people, had endeared them to me, and given them a just title to every thing in my power to grant. I questioned them again about the ships at Huaheine; and they all, to a man, denied that any were there. During the time these people remained on board, they were continually importuning me to return. The chief, his wife, and daughter, but especially the two latter, scarcely ever ceased weeping. I will not pretend to say whether it was real or feigned grief they showed on this occasion. Perhaps there was a mixture of both; but were I to abide by my own opinion only, I should believe it was real. At last, when we were about to weigh, they took a most affectionate leave. Oreo's last request was for me to return; when he saw he could not obtain that promise, he asked the name of my *Marai* (burying-place). As strange a question as this was, I hesitated not a moment to tell him Stepney; the parish in which I live when in London. I was made to repeat it several times over till they could pronounce it: then, Stepney, *Marai no Toote*, was echoed

through a hundred mouths at once. I afterwards found the same question had been put to Mr. Forster by a man on shore; but he gave a different, and, indeed, more proper answer, by saying, no man, who used the sea, could say where he should be buried. It is the custom at these isles for all the great families to have burial-places of their own, where their remains are interred. These go with the estate to the next heir. The *Marai* at Oparree at Otaheite, when Tootaha swayed the sceptre, was called *Marai no Tootaha*; but now it is called *Marai no Otoo*. What greater proof could we have of these people esteeming us as friends, than their wishing to remember us, even beyond the period of our lives? They had been repeatedly told that we should see them no more; they then wanted to know where we were to mingle with our parent dust.

As I could not promise, or even suppose, that more English ships would be sent to those isles, our faithful companion, Oedidee, chose to remain in his native country. But he left us with a regret fully demonstrative of the esteem he bore to us; nor could anything, but the fear of never returning, have torn him from us. When the chief teased me so much about returning, I sometimes gave such answers as left them hopes. Oedidee would instantly catch at this, take me on one side, and ask me over again. In short, I have not words to describe the anguish which appeared in this young man's breast, when he went away. He looked up at the ship, burst into tears, and then sunk down into the canoe. The maxim that a prophet has no honour in his own country was never more fully verified than in this youth. At Otaheite he might have had anything that was in their power to bestow; whereas here he was not in the least noticed. He was a youth of good parts, and, like most of his countrymen, of a docile, gentle, and humane disposition; but, in a manner, wholly ignorant of their religion, government, manners, customs, and traditions; consequently, no material knowledge could have been gathered from him, had I brought him away. Indeed, he would have been a better specimen of the nation, in every respect, than Omai. Just as Oedidee was going out of the ship, he asked me to *Tatou* some *Parou* for him, in order to show the commanders of any other ships which might stop here. I complied with his request, gave him a certificate of the time he had been with us, and recommended him to the notice of those who might touch at the island after me.

We did not get clear of our friends till eleven o'clock, when we weighed, and put to sea; but Oedidee did not leave us till we were almost out of the harbour. He staid in order to fire some guns; for it being his Majesty's birth-day, we fired the salute at going away.

When I first came to these islands, I had some thought of visiting Tupia's famous Bolabola. But as I had now got on board a plentiful supply of all manner of refreshments, and the route I had in view allowing me no time to spare, I laid this design aside, and directed my course to the west; taking our final leave of these happy isles, on which benevolent nature has spread her luxuriant sweets with a lavish hand. The natives, copying the bounty of nature, are equally liberal; contributing plentifully and cheerfully to the wants of navigators. During the six weeks we had remained at them, we had fresh pork, and all the fruits which were in season, in the utmost profusion; besides fish at Otaheite, and fowls at the other isles. All these articles we got in exchange for axes, hatchets, nails, chisels, cloth, red feathers, beads, knives, scissars, looking-glasses, &c., articles which will ever be valuable here. I ought not to omit shirts as a very capital article in making presents; especially with those who have any connexions with the fair sex. A shirt here is full as necessary as a piece of gold in England. The ladies at Otaheite, after they had pretty well stripped their lovers of shirts, found a method of clothing themselves with their own cloth. It was their custom to go on shore every morning, and to return on board in the evening, generally clad in rags. This furnished a pretence to importune the lover for better clothes; and when he had no more of his own, he was to dress them in new cloth of the country, which they always left ashore; and appearing again in rags, they must again be clothed. So that the same suit might pass through twenty different hands, and be as often sold, bought, and given away.

Before I finish this account of these islands, it is necessary to mention all I know concerning the government of Ulietea and Otaha. Oreo, so often mentioned, is a native of



Bolabola; but is possessed of *Whenooas* or lands at Ulietea; which, I suppose, he, as well as many of his countrymen, got at the conquest. He resides here as Opoony's lieutenant; seeming to be vested with regal authority, and to be the supreme magistrate in the island. Oo-oo-rou, who is the *Earee* by hereditary right, seems to have little more left him than the bare title, and his own *Whenooa* or district, in which, I think, he is sovereign. I have always seen Oreo pay him the respect due to his rank; and he was pleased when he saw me distinguish him from others.

Otaha, so far as I can find, is upon the very same footing. Boba and Ota are the two chiefs; the latter I have not seen; Boba is a stout, well-made young man; and we are told, is, after Opoony's death, to marry his daughter, by which marriage he will be vested with the same regal authority as Opoony has now; so that, it should seem, though a woman may be vested with regal dignity, she cannot have regal power. I cannot find that Opoony has got anything to himself by the conquest of these isles, any farther than providing for his nobles, who have seized on best part of the lands. He seems to have no demand on them for any of the many articles they have had from us. Oedidee has several times enumerated to me all the axes, nails, &c. which Opoony is possessed of, which hardly amount to as many as he had from me when I saw him in 1769. Old as this famous man is, he seems not to spend his last days in indolence. When we first arrived here, he was at Maurana; soon after, he returned to Bolabola; and we were now told he was gone to Tubi.

I shall conclude this account of these islands with some observations on the watch which Mr. Wales hath communicated to me. At our arrival in Matavai Bay in Otaheite, the longitude pointed out by the watch was  $2^{\circ} 8' 38\frac{1}{2}''$  too far to the west; that is, it had gained, since our leaving Queen Charlotte's Sound, of its then rate of going,  $8' 34\frac{1}{2}''$ . This was in about five months, or rather more, during which time it had passed through the extremes of cold and heat. It was judged that half this error arose after we left Easter Island; by which it appeared that it went better in the cold than in the hot climates\*.

### BOOK III.

#### FROM ULIETEA TO NEW ZEALAND.

##### CHAPTER I.—PASSAGE FROM ULIETEA TO THE FRIENDLY ISLES; WITH A DESCRIPTION OF SEVERAL ISLANDS THAT WERE DISCOVERED, AND THE INCIDENTS WHICH HAPPENED IN THAT TRACK.

On the 6th, being the day after leaving Ulietea, at eleven o'clock A. M., we saw land bearing N.W., which, upon a nearer approach, we found to be a low reef island about four leagues in compass, and of a circular form. It is composed of several small patches connected together by breakers, the largest lying on the N.E. part. This is Howe Island, discovered by Captain Wallis, who, I think, sent his boat to examine it; and, if I have not

\* Capt. Fitzroy, in the Appendix to the surveying voyages of the *Adventure* and the *Beagle*, page 326, gives it as his opinion, "confirmed by eight years' observations of the movements of chronometers," that "temperature is the chief, if not the only cause (generally speaking), of marked changes of rate: the balances of but few watches being so well compensated as to be proof against a long continuance of higher or lower temperature." In connexion with this subject, Capt. Fitzroy has the following remarks, deserving of great attention by all travellers and readers of travels, and which serve to illustrate the observations in the text, though not fully to explain the result there noticed:—"Some chronometrical measurements have erred, and caused much perplexity in the following manner:—The chronometers were rated in air whose average temperature was—let us suppose for example,

seventy. They were then carried through air either considerably hotter, or considerably colder, and again rated in a temperature nearly equal to that specified. The rates were not found to differ much, and it was supposed that the chronometers had been going extremely well; though, in truth, the rates of most of the watches had differed extremely (from those found in port) during the voyage; but they had returned nearly to the old rates upon reaching nearly equal temperature. And this has happened, more or less, to every ship carrying chronometers across the equator; especially when going to Rio de Janeiro with the sun to the northward of the line." The consideration of this fact will account for many errors into which navigators, depending solely on their chronometers for their longitude, have been and are continually liable to fall.—Ed.

been misinformed, found a channel through, within the reef, near the N.W. part\*. The inhabitants of Ulitea speak of an uninhabited island, about this situation, called by them Mopeha, to which they go at certain seasons for turtle. Perhaps this may be the same; as we saw no signs of inhabitants upon it. Its latitude is  $16^{\circ} 46'$  South; longitude  $154^{\circ} 8'$  West.

From this day to the 16th we met with nothing remarkable, and our course was West southerly; the winds variable from the North round by the East to S.W. attended with cloudy, rainy, unsettled weather, and a southerly swell. We generally brought-to, or stood upon a wind, during night; and in the day made all the sail we could. About half-an-hour after sunrise this morning, land was seen from the topmast head, bearing N.N.E. We immediately altered the course and steering for it, found it to be another reef island, composed of five or six woody islets, connected together by sand-banks and breakers, inclosing a lake, into which we could see no entrance. We ranged the West and N.W. coasts, from its southern to its northern extremity, which is about two leagues; and so near the shore, that at one time we could see the rocks under us; yet we found no anchorage, nor saw we any signs of inhabitants. There were plenty of various kinds of birds, and the coast seemed to abound with fish. The situation of this isle is not very distant from that assigned by Mr. Dalrymple for La Sagitaria, discovered by Quiros; but, by the description the discoverer has given of it it cannot be the same. For this reason I looked upon it as a new discovery, and named it Palmerston Island, in honour of Lord Palmerston, one of the Lords of the Admiralty. It is situated in latitude  $18^{\circ} 4'$  South, longitude  $163^{\circ} 10'$  West.

At four o'clock in the afternoon we left this isle, and resumed our course to the W. by S. with a fine steady gale easterly, till noon on the 20th, at which time, being in latitude  $18^{\circ} 50'$ , longitude  $168^{\circ} 52'$ , we thought we saw land to S.S.W. and hauled up for it accordingly. But, two hours after, we discovered our mistake, and resumed our course W. by S. Soon after we saw land from the mast-head in the same direction; and, as we drew nearer, found it to be an island which, at five o'clock, bore West, distant five leagues. Here we spent the night plying under the topsails; and, at daybreak next morning, bore away, steering for the northern point, and ranging the West coast at the distance of one mile, till near noon. Then, perceiving some people on the shore, and landing seeming to be easy, we brought-to, and hoisted out two boats, with which I put off to the land, accompanied by some of the officers and gentlemen. As we drew near the shore, some of the inhabitants, who were on the rocks, retired to the woods, to meet us, as we supposed; and we afterwards found our conjectures right. We landed with ease in a small creek, and took post on a high rock to prevent a surprise. Here we displayed our colours, and Mr. Forster and his party began to collect plants, &c. The coast was so overrun with woods, bushes, plants, stones, &c. that we could not see forty yards round us. I took two men, and with them entered a kind of chasm, which opened a way into the woods. We had not gone far before we heard the natives approaching; upon which I called to Mr. Forster to retire to the party, as I did likewise. We had no sooner joined, than the islanders appeared at the entrance of a chasm not a stone's throw from us. We began to speak, and make all the friendly signs we could think of to them, which they answered by menaces; and one of two men, who were advanced before the rest, threw a stone, which struck Mr. Sparman on the arm. Upon this two muskets were fired, without order, which made them all retire under cover of the woods; and we saw them no more.

After waiting some little time, and till we were satisfied nothing was to be done here, the country being so overrun with bushes that it was hardly possible to come to parley with them, we embarked and proceeded down along shore, in hopes of meeting with better success in another place. After ranging the coast for some miles without seeing a living soul, or any convenient landing-place, we at length came before a small beach, on which lay four canoes. Here we landed by means of a little creek, formed by the flat rocks before it, with a view of just looking at the canoes, and to leave some medals, nails, &c. in them, for not a soul was to be seen. The situation of this place was to us worse than the former. A flat rock lay next the sea; behind it a narrow stone beach; this was bounded by a perpendicular

\* Captain Wallis did not land on this island, being deterred from attempting to do so by the breakers.—Ed.



rocky cliff of unequal height, whose top was covered with shrubs; two deep and narrow chasms in the cliff seemed to open a communication into the country. In or before one of these lay the four canoes which we were going to look at; but in the doing of this, I saw we should be exposed to an attack from the natives, if there were any, without being in a situation proper for a defence. To prevent this as much as could be, and to secure a retreat in case of an attack, I ordered the men to be drawn up upon the rock, from whence they had a view of the heights; and only myself, and four of the gentlemen, went up to the canoes. We had been there but a few minutes, before the natives, I cannot say how many, rushed down the chasm out of the wood upon us. The endeavours we used to bring them to a parley were to no purpose; for they came with the ferocity of wild boars, and threw their darts. Two or three muskets, discharged in the air, did not hinder one of them from advancing still farther, and throwing another dart, or rather a spear, which passed close over my shoulder. His courage would have cost him his life, had not my musket missed fire; for I was not five paces from him when he threw his spear, and had resolved to shoot him to save myself. I was glad afterwards that it happened as it did. At this instant, our men on the rock began to fire at others who appeared on the heights, which abated the ardour of the party we were engaged with, and gave us time to join our people, when I caused the firing to cease. The last discharge sent all the islanders to the woods, from whence they did not return so long as we remained. We did not know that any were hurt. It was remarkable, that when I joined our party, I tried my musket in the air, and it went off as well as a piece could do. Seeing no good was to be got with these people, or at the isle, as having no port, we returned on board, and having hoisted in the boats, made sail to W.S.W. I had forgot to mention, in its proper order, that having put ashore a little before we came to this last place, three or four of us went upon the cliffs, where we found the country, as before, nothing but coral rocks, all overrun with bushes; so that it was hardly possible to penetrate into it, and we embarked again with intent to return directly on board, till we saw the canoes; being directed to the place by the opinion of some of us, who thought they heard some people.

The conduct and aspect of these islanders occasioned my naming it *Savage Island* \*. It is situated in the latitude  $19^{\circ} 1'$  South, longitude  $169^{\circ} 37'$  West. It is about eleven leagues



CORAL ROCKS.

in circuit; of a round form, and good height; and hath deep waters close to its shores. All the sea-coast, and as far inland as we could see, is wholly covered with trees, shrubs, &c.

\* The natives of *Savage Island* are still, it appears, deserving of the title bestowed on them by Cook, being described by Mr. Williams as the most wretched and degraded of any nation he had ever seen except the Aborigines of New Holland, and as having lost none of their ferocity of disposition. A fuller notice of the little that is known of these people will be given in its proper place in the Appendix.—Ed.

amongst which were some cocoa-nut trees ; but what the interior parts may produce we know not. To judge of the whole garment by the skirts, it cannot produce much ; for so much as we saw of it consisted wholly of coral rocks, all overrun with wood and bushes. Not a bit of soil was to be seen ; the rocks alone supplying the trees with humidity. If these coral rocks were first formed in the sea by animals, how came they thrown up to such a height ? Has this island been raised by an earthquake ? Or has the sea receded from it ? Some philosophers have attempted to account for the formation of low isles, such as are in this sea ; but I do not know that anything has been said of high islands, or such as I have been speaking of. In this island, not only the loose rocks which cover the surface, but the cliffs which bound the shores, are of coral stone, which the continual beating of the sea has formed into a variety of curious caverns, some of them very large : the roof or rock over them being supported by pillars, which the foaming waves have formed into a multitude of shapes, and made more curious than the caverns themselves. In one we saw, light was admitted through a hole at the top ; in another place, we observed that the whole roof of one of these caverns had sunk in, and formed a kind of valley above, which lay considerably below the circumjacent rocks.

I can say but little of the inhabitants, who, I believe, are not numerous. They seemed to be stout, well-made men, were naked, except round the waists, and some of them had their faces, breast, and thighs painted black. The canoes were precisely like those of Amsterdam ; with the addition of a little rising like a gunwale on each side of the open part ; and had some carving about them, which showed that these people are full as ingenious. Both these islanders and their canoes agree very well with the descriptions M. de Bougainville has given of those he saw off the Isle of Navigators, which lies nearly under the same meridian.

After leaving Savage Island, we continued to steer W.S.W. with a fine easterly trade-wind, till the 24th in the evening, when, judging ourselves not far from Rotterdam, we brought-to, and spent the night plying under the topsails. At daybreak, next morning, we bore away West ; and soon after saw a string of islands\* extending from S.S.W. by the West to N.N.W. The wind being at N.E. we hauled to N.W. with a view of discovering more distinctly the isles in that quarter ; but, presently after, we discovered a reef of rocks a-head, extending on each bow farther than we could see. As we could not weather them, it became necessary to tack and bear up to the South, to look for a passage that way. At noon, the southernmost island bore S.W., distant four miles. North of this isle were three others, all connected by breakers, which we were not sure did not join to those we had seen in the morning, as some were observed in the intermediate space. Some islands were also seen to the West of those four ; but Rotterdam was not yet in sight. Latitude  $20^{\circ} 23'$  S., longitude  $174^{\circ} 6'$  West. During the whole afternoon, we had little wind : so that, at sunset, the southernmost isle bore W.N.W., distant five miles ; and some breakers, we had seen to the South, bore now S.S.W. half W. Soon after it fell calm, and we were left to the mercy of a great easterly swell ; which, however, happened to have no great effect upon the ship. The calm continued till four o'clock the next morning, when it was succeeded by a breeze from the South. At daylight, perceiving a likelihood of a passage between the islands to the North and the breakers to the South, we stretched in West, and soon after saw more islands, both to the S.W. and N.W., but the passage seemed open and clear. Upon drawing near the islands, we sounded, and found forty-five and forty fathoms, a clear sandy bottom. I was now quite easy, since it was in our power to anchor, in case of a calm ; or to spend the night, if we found no passage. Towards noon, some canoes came off to us from one of the isles, having two or three people in each ; who advanced boldly alongside, and exchanged some cocoa-nuts and shaddocks for small nails. They pointed out to us Anamocka or Rotterdam ; an advantage we derived from knowing the proper names. They likewise gave us the names of some of the other isles, and invited us much to go to theirs, which they called Cornango. The breeze freshening, we left them astern, and steered for Anamocka ; meeting with a clear passage, in which we found unequal sounding, from forty to nine fathoms, depending, I believe, in a great measure, on our distance from the islands which form it.

As we drew near the south end of Rotterdam, or Anamocka, we were met by a number

\* The Hapai islands, now christianised.—ED.



of canoes, laden with fruit and roots ; but, as I did not shorten sail, we had but little traffic with them. The people in one canoe inquired for me by name ; a proof that these people have an intercourse with those of Amsterdam. They importuned us much to go towards their coast, letting us know, as we understood them, that we might anchor there. This was on the S.W. side of the island, where the coast seemed to be sheltered from the South and S.E. winds ; but as the day was far spent, I could not attempt to go in there, as it would have been necessary to have sent first a boat in to examine it. I therefore stood for the north side of the island, where we anchored about three-fourths of a mile from shore ; the extremes of it bearing S. 88° East to S.W. a cove with a sandy beach at the bottom of it S. 50° East.

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CHAPTER II. — RECEPTION AT ANAMOCCA ; A ROBBERY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES, WITH A VARIETY OF OTHER INCIDENTS. DEPARTURE FROM THE ISLAND. A SAILING CANOE DESCRIBED. SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE NAVIGATION OF THESE ISLANDERS. A DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND, AND OF THOSE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE INHABITANTS, AND NAUTICAL REMARKS.

BEFORE we had well got to an anchor, the natives came off from all parts in canoes, bringing with them yams and shaddocks, which they exchanged for small nails and old rags. One man taking a vast liking to our lead and line, got hold of it, and, in spite of all the threats I could make use of, cut the line with a stone ; but a discharge of small shot made him return it. Early in the morning, I went ashore, with Mr. Gilbert, to look for fresh water. We landed in the cove above mentioned, and were received with great courtesy by the natives. After I had distributed some presents amongst them, I asked for water, and was conducted to a pond of it that was brackish, about three-fourths of a mile from the landing-place ; which I suppose to be the same that Tasman watered at. In the mean time, the people in the boat had laden her with fruit and roots, which the natives had brought down, and exchanged for nails and beads. On our return to the ship, I found the same sort of traffic carrying on there. After breakfast, I went ashore with two boats to trade with the people, accompanied by several of the gentlemen, and ordered the launch to follow with casks to be filled with water. The natives assisted us to roll them to and from the pond ; and a nail or a bead was the expense of their labour. Fruit and roots, especially shaddocks and yams, were brought down in such plenty, that the two boats were laden, sent off, cleared, and laden a second time, before noon ; by which time also the launch had got a full supply of water, and the botanical and shooting parties had all come in, except the surgeon, for whom we could not wait, as the tide was ebbing fast out of the cove ; consequently he was left behind. As there is no getting into the cove with a boat, from between half ebb to half flood, we could get off no water in the afternoon. However, there is a very good landing-place without it, near the southern point, where boats can get ashore at all times of the tide ; here some of the officers landed after dinner, where they found the surgeon, who had been robbed of his gun. Having come down to the shore some time after the boats had put off, he got a canoe to bring him on board ; but as he was getting into her, a fellow snatched hold of the gun, and ran off with it. After that no one would carry him to the ship, and they would have stripped him, as he imagined, had he not presented a toothpick case, which they, no doubt, thought was a little gun. As soon as I heard of this, I landed at the place above mentioned, and the few natives who were there fled at my approach. After landing, I went in search of the officers, whom I found in the cove, where we had been in the morning, with a good many of the natives about them. No step had been taken to recover the gun, nor did I think proper to take any ; but in this I was wrong. The easy manner of obtaining this gun, which they now, no doubt, thought secure in their possession, encouraged them to proceed in these tricks, as will soon appear. The alarm the natives had caught being soon over, they carried fruit, &c. to the boats, which got pretty well laden before night, when we all returned on board.

Early in the morning of the 28th, Lieutenant Clerke, with the Master and fourteen or

fifteen men, went on shore in the launch for water. I did intend to have followed in another boat myself, but rather unluckily deferred it till after breakfast. The launch was no sooner landed than the natives gathered about her, behaving in so rude a manner, that the officers were in some doubt if they should land the casks; but, as they expected me on shore soon, they ventured, and, with difficulty, got them filled, and into the boat again. In the doing of this, Mr. Clerke's gun was snatched from him, and carried off; as were also some of the cooper's tools; and several of the people were stripped of one thing or another. All this was done, as it were, by stealth; for they laid hold of nothing by main force. I landed just as the launch was ready to put off; and the natives, who were pretty numerous on the beach, as soon as they saw me, fled; so that I suspected something had happened. However, I prevailed on many to stay, and Mr. Clerke came, and informed me of all the preceding circumstances. I quickly came to a resolution to oblige them to make restitution; and, for this purpose, ordered all the marines to be armed, and sent on shore. Mr. Forster and his party being gone into the country, I ordered two or three guns to be fired from the ship, in order to alarm him; not knowing how the natives might act on this occasion. These orders being given, I sent all the boats off but one, with which I stayed, having a good many of the natives about me, who behaved with their usual courtesy. I made them so sensible of my intention, that long before the marines came, Mr. Clerke's musket was brought, but they used many excuses to divert me from insisting on the other. At length Mr. Edgecumbe arriving with the marines, this alarmed them so much, that some of them fled. The first step I took was to seize on two large double-sailing canoes which were in the cove. One fellow making resistance, I fired some small shot at him, and sent him limping off. The natives being now convinced that I was in earnest, all fled; but on my calling to them, many returned; and, presently after, the other musket was brought, and laid at my feet. That moment I ordered the canoes to be restored, to show them on what account they were detained. The other things we had lost being of less value, I was the more indifferent about them. By this time the launch was ashore for another turn of water, and we were permitted to fill the casks without any one daring to come near us; except one man, who had befriended us during the whole affair, and seemed to disapprove of the conduct of his countrymen.

On my returning from the pond to the cove, I found a good many people collected together, from whom we understood that the man I had fired at was dead. This story I treated as improbable, and addressed a man, who seemed of some consequence, for the restitution of a cooper's adze we had lost in the morning. He immediately sent away two men, as I thought, for it; but I soon found that we had greatly mistaken each other; for, instead of the adze, they brought the wounded man, stretched out on a board, and laid him down by me, to all appearance dead. I was much moved at the sight; but soon saw my mistake, and that he was only wounded in the hand and thigh. I therefore desired he might be carried out of the sun, and sent for the surgeon to dress his wounds. In the mean time, I addressed several people for the adze; for as I had now nothing else to do, I determined to have it. The one I applied the most to, was an elderly woman, who had always a great deal to say to me, from my first landing; but, on this occasion, she gave her tongue full scope. I understood but little of her eloquence; and all I could gather from her arguments was, that it was mean in me to insist on the return of so trifling a thing. But when she found I was determined, she and three or four more women went away; and soon after the adze was brought me, but I saw her no more. This I was sorry for, as I wanted to make her a present, in return for the part she had taken in all our transactions, private as well as public. For I was no sooner returned from the pond, the first time I landed, than this old lady presented to me a girl, giving me to understand she was at my service. Miss, who probably had received her instructions, wanted, as a preliminary article, a spike-nail, or a shirt, neither of which I had to give her, and soon made them sensible of my poverty. I thought, by that means, to have come off with flying colours; but I was mistaken; for they gave me to understand I might retire with her on credit. On my declining this proposal, the old lady began to argue with me, and then abuse me. Though I comprehended little of what she said, her actions were expressive enough, and showed that



her words were to this effect, sneering in my face, saying, what sort of a man are you, thus to refuse the embraces of so fine a young woman? For the girl certainly did not want beauty; which, however, I could better withstand, than the abuses of this worthy matron, and therefore hastened into the boat. They wanted me to take the young lady aboard; but this could not be done, as I had given strict orders, before I went ashore, to suffer no woman, on any pretence whatever, to come into the ship, for reasons which I shall mention in another place.

As soon as the surgeon got ashore, he dressed the man's wounds, and bled him; and was of opinion that he was in no sort of danger, as the shot had done little more than penetrate the skin. In the operation, some poultice being wanting, the surgeon asked for ripe plantains; but they brought sugar-cane, and having chewed it to a pulp, gave it him to apply to the wound. This being of a more balsamic nature than the other, proves that these people have some knowledge of simples. As soon as the man's wounds were dressed, I made him a present, which his master, or at least the man who owned the canoe, took most probably to himself. Matters being thus settled, apparently to the satisfaction of all parties, we repaired on board to dinner, where I found a good supply of fruit and roots, and therefore gave orders to get everything in readiness to sail.

I now was informed of a circumstance which was observed on board: several canoes being at the ship, when the great guns were fired in the morning, they all retired, but one man, who was baling the water out of his canoe, which lay alongside, directly under the guns. When the first was fired, he just looked up, and then, quite unconcerned, continued his work; nor had the second gun any other effect upon him; he did not stir till the water was all out of his canoe, when he paddled leisurely off. This man had several times been observed to take fruit and roots out of other canoes, and sell them to us. If the owners did not willingly part with them, he took them by force; by which he obtained the appellation of custom-house officer. One time, after he had been collecting tribute, he happened to be lying alongside of a sailing canoe which was on board. One of her people seeing him look another way, and his attention otherwise engaged, took the opportunity of stealing somewhat out of his canoe; they then put off, and set their sail; but the man, perceiving the trick they had played him, darted after them, and having soon got on board their canoe, beat him who had taken his things, and not only brought back his own but many other articles which he took from them. This man had likewise been observed making collections on shore at the trading-place. I remembered to have seen him there; and, on account of his gathering tribute, took him to be a man of consequence, and was going to make him a present; but some of their people would not let me, saying he was no *Areeke* (that is, chief). He had his hair always powdered with some kind of white dust.

As we had no wind to sail this afternoon, a party of us went ashore in the evening. We found the natives everywhere courteous and obliging; so that, had we made a longer stay, it is probable we should have had no more reason to complain of their conduct. While I was now on shore, I got the names of twenty islands which lie between the N.W. and N.E., some of them in sight. Two of them, which lie most to the West, viz. Amattafoa and Oghao, are remarkable on account of their great height. In Amattafoa, which is the westernmost, we judged there was a volcano, by the continual column of smoke we saw daily ascending from the middle of it.

Both Mr. Cooper and myself being on shore at noon, Mr. Wales could not wind up the watch at the usual time; and as we did not come on board till late in the afternoon, it was forgotten till it was down. This circumstance was of no consequence, as Mr. Wales had had several altitudes of the sun at this place before it went down, and also had opportunities of taking some after.

At daybreak on the 20th, having got under sail with a light breeze at west, we stood to the north for the two high islands; but the wind, scanting upon us, carried us in amongst the low isles and shoals, so that we had to ply to clear them. This gave time for a great many canoes, from all parts, to get up with us. The people in them brought for traffic various articles; some roots, fruits, and fowls, but of the latter not many. They took in exchange small nails and pieces of any kinds of cloth. I believe, before they went away,

they stripped the most of our people of the few clothes the ladies of Otaheite had left them ; for the passion for curiosities was as great as ever. Having got clear of the low isles, we made a stretch to the south, and did but fetch a little to windward of the south end of Anamocka ; so that we got little by this day's plying. Here we spent the night, making short boards over that space with which we made ourselves acquainted the preceding day. On the 30th, at daybreak, stretched out for Amattafoa, with a gentle breeze at W.S.W. Day no sooner dawned than we saw canoes coming from all parts. Their traffic was much the same as it had been the day before, or rather better ; for out of one canoe I got two pigs, which were scarce articles here. At four in the afternoon, we drew near the island of Amattafoa, and passed between it and Oghao, the channel being two miles broad, safe, and without soundings. While we were in the passage, we had little wind and calms. This gave time for a large sailing double canoe, which had been following us all the day, as well as some others with paddles, to come up with us.

I had now an opportunity to verify a thing I was before in doubt about ; which was, whether or not some of these canoes did not, in changing tacks, only shift the sail, and so proceed with that end foremost which before was the stern : the one we now saw wrought in this manner ; the sail is latteen, extended to a latteen yard above, and to a boom at the foot ; in one word, it is like a whole mizen, supposing the whole foot to be extended to a boom. The yard is slung nearly in the middle, or upon an equipoise. When they change tacks, they throw the vessel up in the wind, ease off the sheet, and bring the heel or tack-end of the yard to the other end of the boat, and the sheet in like manner : there are notches, or sockets, at each end of the vessel, in which the end of the yard fixes. In short, they work just as those do at the Ladrone Islands, according to Mr. Walter's description \*. When they want to sail large, or before the wind, the yard is taken out of the socket and squared. It must be observed, that all their sailing vessels are not rigged to sail in the same manner ; some, and those of the largest size, are rigged so as to tack about. These have a short, but pretty stout mast, which steps on a kind of roller that is fixed to the deck near the fore part. It is made to lean or incline very much forward ; the head is forked ; on the two points of



SAILING CANOES OF ANAMOCKA.

which the yard rests, as on two pivots, by means of two strong cleats of wood secured to each side of the yard, at about one-third its length from the tack or heel, which, when under sail, is confined down between the two canoes by means of two strong ropes, one to and passing through a hole at the head of each canoe ; for, it must be observed, that all the sailing vessels of this sort are double. The tack being thus fixed, it is plain that, in changing tacks, the vessels must be put about ; the sail and boom on the one tack will be clear of the mast, and on the other it will lie against it, just as a whole mizen. However, I am not

\* See Lord Anson's Voyage.



sure if they do not sometimes unlace that part of the sail from the yard which is between the tack and mast-head, and so shift both sail and boom leeward of the mast. The drawings which Mr. Hodges made of these vessels seem to favour this supposition, and will not only illustrate, but in a manner make the description of them unnecessary. The out-riggers and ropes used for shrouds &c. are all stout and strong: indeed, the sail, yard, and boom are all together of such an enormous weight, that strength is required.

The summit of Amattafoa was hid in the clouds the whole day, so that we were not able to determine with certainty whether there was a volcano or not; but everything we could see concurred to make us believe there was. This island is about five leagues in circuit: Oghao is not so much, but more round and peaked. They lie in the direction of N.N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. from Anamocka, eleven or twelve leagues distant: they are both inhabited, but neither of them seemed fertile. We were hardly through the passage before we got a fresh breeze at south. That moment, all the natives made haste to be gone, and we steered to the west, all sails set. I had some thoughts of touching at Amsterdam, as it lay not much out of the way; but, as the wind was now, we could not fetch it; and this was the occasion of my laying my design aside altogether.

Let us now return to Anamocka, as it is called by the natives. It is situated in the latitude of  $20^{\circ} 15' S.$ , longitude  $174^{\circ} 31' W.$ , and was first discovered by Tasman, and by him named Rotterdam. It is of a triangular form, each side whereof is about three and a half or four miles. A salt-water lake in the middle of it occupies not a little of its surface, and in a manner cuts off the S.E. angle. Round the island, that is, from the N.W. to the S., round by the N. and E., lie scattered a number of small isles, sand-banks, and breakers. We could see no end to their extent to the north; and it is not impossible that they reach as far south as Amsterdam or Tongatabu. These, together with Middleburg, or Eaoowee, and Pylstart, make a group, containing about three degrees of latitude and two of longitude, which I have named the Friendly Isles or Archipelago, as a firm reliance and friendship seems to subsist among their inhabitants, and their courteous behaviour to strangers entitles them to that appellation; under which we might perhaps extend their group much farther, even down to Boscawen and Keppel's Isles, discovered by Captain Wallis, and lying nearly under the same meridian, and in the latitude of  $15^{\circ} 53'$ ; for, from the little account I have had of the people of these two isles, they seem to have the same sort of friendly disposition we observed in our Archipelago.

The inhabitants, productions, &c. of Rotterdam and the neighbouring isles, are the same as at Amsterdam. Hogs and fowls are, indeed, much scarcer; of the former having got but six, and not many of the latter. Yams and shaddocks were what we got the most of; other fruits were not so plenty. Not half the isle is laid out in inclosed plantations as at Amsterdam; but the parts which are not inclosed are not less fertile or uncultivated. There is, however, far more waste land on this isle, in proportion to its size, than upon the other, and the people seem to be much poorer; that is, in cloth, matting, ornaments, &c., which constitute a great part of the riches of the South Sea islanders. The people of this isle seem to be more affected with the leprosy, or some scrofulous disorder, than any I have seen elsewhere. It breaks out in the face more than any other part of the body: I have seen several whose faces were ruined by it, and their noses quite gone. In one of my excursions, happening to peep into a house where one or more of them were, one man only appeared at the door, or hole by which I must have entered, and which he began to stop up, by drawing several parts of a cord across it; but the intolerable stench which came from his putrid face was alone sufficient to keep me out, had the entrance been ever so wide. His nose was quite gone, and his whole face in one continued ulcer, so that the very sight of him was shocking. As our people had not all got clear of a certain disease they had contracted at the Society Isles, I took all possible care to prevent its being communicated to the natives here; and I have reason to believe my endeavours succeeded.

Having mentioned a house, it may not be amiss to observe, that some here differ from those I saw at the other isles; being inclosed or walled on every side with reeds neatly put together, but not close. The entrance is by a square hole about two and a half feet each way. The form of these houses is an oblong square; the floor or foundation every way

shorter than the eve, which is about four feet from the ground. By this construction, the rain that falls on the roof is carried off from the wall ; which otherwise would decay and rot. We did not distinguish any king, or leading chief, or any person who took upon him the appearance of supreme authority. The man and woman before mentioned, whom I believed to be man and wife, interested themselves on several occasions in our affairs ; but it was easy to see they had no great authority. Amongst other things which I gave them as a reward for their service, was a young dog and bitch, animals which they have not, but are very fond of, and know very well by name. They have some of the same sort of earthen pots we saw at Amsterdam ; and I am of opinion they are of their own manufacture, or that of some neighbouring isle.

The road, as I have already mentioned, is on the north side of the isle, just to the southward of the southernmost cove ; for there are two on this side. The bank is of some extent, and the bottom free from rocks, with twenty-five and twenty fathoms water, one or two miles from the shore. Fire-wood is very convenient to be got at, and easy to be shipped off ; but the water is so brackish that it is not worth the trouble of carrying it on board ; unless one is in great distress for want of that article, and can get no better. There is, however, better, not only on this isle, but on others in the neighbourhood ; for the people brought us some in cocoa-nut shells, which was as good as need be ; but probably the springs are too trifling to water a ship.

I have already observed that the S.W. side of the island is covered by a reef or reefs of rocks and small isles. If there be a sufficient depth of water between them and the island, as there appeared to be, and a good bottom, this would be a much securer place for a ship to anchor in than that where we had our station.

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CHAPTER III.—THE PASSAGE FROM THE FRIENDLY ISLES TO THE NEW HEBRIDES ; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF TURTLE ISLAND, AND A VARIETY OF INCIDENTS WHICH HAPPENED, BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE SHIP ARRIVED IN PORT SANDWICH, IN THE ISLAND OF MALLICOLLO.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE PORT ; THE ADJACENT COUNTRY ; ITS INHABITANTS, AND MANY OTHER PARTICULARS.

On the 1st of July, at sunrise, Amattafoa was still in sight, bearing E. by N., distant twenty leagues. Continuing our course to the west, we, the next day at noon, discovered land bearing N.W. by W., for which we steered, and, upon a nearer approach, found it to be a small island. At 4 o'clock it bore, from N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. to N.W. by N., and, at the same time, breakers were seen from the mast-head, extending from W. to S.W. The day being too far spent to make farther discoveries, we soon after shortened sail, hauled the wind, and spent the night making short boards, which, at daybreak, we found had been so advantageous, that we were farther from the island than we expected, and it was eleven o'clock before we reached the N.W. or lee side, where anchorage and landing seemed practicable. In order to obtain a knowledge of the former, I sent the master with a boat to sound ; and, in the mean time, we stood on and off with the ship. At this time, four or five people were seen on the reef, which lies round the isle, and about three times that number on the shore. As the boat advanced, those on the reef retired, and joined the others ; and when the boat landed, they all fled to the woods. It was not long before the boat returned, when the master informed me that there were no soundings without the reef, over which, in one place only, he found a boat-channel of six feet water. Entering by it, he rowed in for the shore, thinking to speak with the people, not more than twenty in number, who were armed with clubs and spears ; but the moment he set his foot on shore, they retired to the woods. He left on the rocks some medals, nails, and a knife ; which they, no doubt, found, as some were seen near the place afterwards. This island is not quite a league in length, in the direction of N.E. and S.W., and not half that in breadth. It is covered with wood, and surrounded by a reef of coral rocks, which, in some places, extend two miles from the shore. It seems to be too small to contain many inhabitants ; and probably the few whom we saw may have come from some isle in the neighbourhood to fish for turtle ;



as many were seen near this reef, and occasioned that name to be given to the island, which is situated in latitude  $19^{\circ} 48' S.$ , longitude  $178^{\circ} 2' W.$

Seeing breakers to the S.S.W., which I was desirous of knowing the extent of before night, I left Turtle Isle, and stood for them. At two o'clock we found they were occasioned by a coral bank of about four or five leagues in circuit. By the bearing we had taken, we knew these to be the same breakers we had seen the preceding evening. Hardly any part of this bank or reef is above water at the reflux of the waves. The heads of some rocks are to be seen near the edge of the reef, where it is the shoalest; for in the middle is deep water. In short, this bank wants only a few little islets to make it exactly like one of the half-drowned isles so often mentioned. It lies S.W. from Turtle Island, about five or six miles, and the channel between it and the reef of that isle is three miles over. Seeing no more shoals or islands, and thinking there might be turtle on this bank, two boats were properly equipped and sent thither, but returned without having seen one.

The boats were now hoisted in, and we made sail to the west, with a brisk gale at east, which continued till the 9th, when we had, for a few hours, a breeze at N.W., attended with squalls of rain. This was succeeded by a steady fresh gale at S.E., with which we steered N.W., being at this time in the latitude of  $20^{\circ} 20' S.$ , longitude  $176^{\circ} 8' E.$  On the 15th at noon, being in the latitude of  $15^{\circ} 9' S.$ , longitude  $171^{\circ} 16' E.$ , I steered W. The next day the weather was foggy, and the wind blew in heavy squalls, attended with rain, which in this ocean, within the tropics, generally indicates the vicinity of some high land. This was verified at three in the afternoon, when high land was seen bearing S.W. Upon this we took in the small sails, reefed the top-sails, and hauling up for it, at half past five, we could see it extend from S.S.W. to N.W. by W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W. Soon after we tacked and spent the night, which was very stormy, in plying. Our boards were disadvantageous; for, in the morning, we found we had lost ground. This, indeed, was no wonder, for having an old suit of sails bent, the most of them were split to pieces; particularly a fore-top-sail, which was rendered quite useless. We got others to the yards, and continued to ply, being desirous of getting round the south ends of the lands, or at least so far to the south as to be able to judge of their extent in that direction. For no one doubted that this was the *Australia del Espiritu Santo* of Quiros, which M. de Bougainville calls the *Great Cyclades*, and that the coast we were now upon was the east side of *Aurora Island*, whose longitude is  $168^{\circ} 30' E.$

The gale kept increasing till we were reduced to our low sails; so that, on the 18th, at seven in the morning, I gave over plying, set the top-sails double-reefed, bore up for, and hauled round the north end of *Aurora Island*, and then stretched over for the *Isle of Lepers*, under close-reefed top-sails and courses, with a very hard gale at N.E.; but we had now the advantage of a smooth sea, having the *Isle of Aurora* to windward. At noon the north end of it bore N.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N., distant four leagues; our latitude, found by double altitudes, and reduced to this time, was  $15^{\circ} 1' 30'' S.$ , longitude  $168^{\circ} 14' E.$  At two o'clock P.M. we drew near the middle of the *Isle of Lepers*, and tacked about two miles from land; in which situation we had no soundings with a line of seventy fathoms. We now saw people on the shore, and many beautiful cascades of water pouring down the neighbouring hills. The next time we stood for this isle, we came to within half-a-mile of it, where we found thirty fathoms, a sandy bottom; but a mile off we had no soundings at seventy fathoms. Here two canoes came off to us, in one of which were three men, and in the other but one. Though we made all the signs of friendship, we could not bring them nearer than a stone's throw; and they made but a short stay before they retired ashore, where we saw a great number of people assembled in parties, and armed with bows and arrows. They are of a very dark colour, and, excepting some ornaments at their breast and arms, seemed to be entirely naked.

As I intended to get to the south, in order to explore the land which might lie there, we continued to ply between the *Isle of Lepers* and *Aurora*; and on the 19th, at noon, the south end of the last-mentioned isle bore south  $24^{\circ}$  east, and the north end north, distant twenty miles. Latitude observed,  $15^{\circ} 11''$ . The wind continued to blow strong at S.E.; so that what we got by plying in the day, we lost in the night. On the 20th, at sunrise,

we found ourselves off the south end of Aurora, on the N.W. side of which the coast forms a small bay. In this we made some trips to try for anchorage; but found no less than eighty fathoms water, the bottom a fine dark sand, at half-a-mile from shore. Nevertheless, I am of opinion that, nearer, there is much less depth, and secure riding; and in the neighbourhood is plenty of fresh water and wood for fuel. The whole isle, from the sea-shore to the summits of the hills, seemed to be covered with the latter; and every valley produced a fine stream of the former. We saw people on the shore, and some canoes on the coast, but none came off to us. Leaving the bay just mentioned, we stretched across the channel which divides Aurora from Whitsuntide island. At noon we were abreast of the north end of this latter, which bore E.N.E., and observed in  $15^{\circ} 28\frac{1}{2}'$ . The Isle of Aurora bore from N. to N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., and the Isle of Lepers from N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. to W. Whitsuntide Isle appeared joined to the land to the S. and S.W. of it; but in stretching to S.W. we discovered the separation. This was about four o'clock P.M., and then we tacked and stretched in for the island till near sunset, when the wind veering more to the east made it necessary to resume our course to the south. We saw people on the shore, smokes in many parts of the island, and several places which seemed to be cultivated. About midnight, drawing near the south land, we tacked and stretched to the north, in order to spend the remainder of the night.

At daybreak on the 21st, we found ourselves before the channel that divides Whitsuntide island from the south land, which is about two leagues over. At this time, the land to the southward extended from S. by E. round to the west farther than the eye could reach, and on the part nearest to us, which is of considerable height, we observed two very large columns of smoke, which, I judged, ascended from volcanoes. We now stood S.S.W. with a fine breeze at S.E., and, at ten o'clock, discovered this part of the land to be an island which is called by the natives Ambrym. Soon after an elevated land appeared open off the south end of Ambrym; and after that, another still higher, on which is a high peaked hill. We judged these lands to belong to two separate islands. The first came in sight at S.E., the second at E. by S., and they appeared to be ten leagues distant. Holding on our course for the land ahead, at noon it was five miles distant from us, extending from S.S.E. to N.W. by W., and appeared to be continued. The islands to the east bore from N.E. by E., to S.E. by E.; latitude observed  $16^{\circ} 17'$  South. As we drew nearer the shore we discovered a creek, which had the appearance of being a good harbour, formed by a low point or peninsula, projecting out to the north. On this a number of people were assembled, who seemed to invite us ashore; probably with no good intent, as the most of them were armed with bows and arrows. In order to gain room and time to hoist out and arm our boats, to reconnoitre this place, we tacked and made a trip off, which occasioned the discovery of another port about a league more to the south. Having sent two armed boats to sound, and look for anchorage, on their making the signal for the latter, we sailed in S.S.W. and anchored in eleven fathoms water, not two cables' length from the S.E. shore, and a mile within the entrance. We had no sooner anchored than several of the natives came off in canoes. They were very cautious at first; but, at last, trusted themselves alongside, and exchanged, for pieces of cloth, arrows; some of which were pointed with bone, and dipped in some green gummy substance, which we naturally suppose was poisonous. Two men having ventured on board, after a short stay I sent them away with presents. Others, probably induced by this, came off by moonlight; but I gave orders to permit none to come alongside; by which means we got clear of them for the night.

Next morning early, a good many came round us, some in canoes, and others swimming. I soon prevailed on one to come on board; which he no sooner did than he was followed by more than I desired; so that not only our deck but rigging was presently filled with them. I took four into the cabin, and gave them various articles, which they showed to those in the canoes, and seemed much pleased with their reception. While I was thus making friends with those in the cabin, an accident happened that threw all into confusion, but in the end, I believe, proved advantageous to us. A fellow in a canoe having been refused admittance into one of our boats that lay alongside, bent his bow to shoot a poisoned arrow at the boat-keeper. Some of his countrymen prevented his doing it that instant, and gave time to



acquaint me with it. I ran instantly on deck, and saw another man struggling with him ; one of those who had been in the cabin, and had leaped out of the window for this purpose. The other seemed resolved, shook him off, and directed his bow again to the boat-keeper ; but on my calling to him, pointed it at me. Having a musket in my hand, loaded with small-shot, I gave him the contents. This staggered him for a moment, but did not prevent him from holding his bow still in the attitude of shooting. Another discharge of the same nature made him drop it, and the others, who were in the canoe, to paddle off with all speed. At this time, some began to shoot arrows on the other side. A musket discharged in the air had no effect ; but a four-pound shot over their heads sent them off in the utmost confusion. Many quitted their canoes and swam on shore : those in the great cabin leaped out of the windows ; and those who were on the deck, and on different parts of the rigging, all leaped overboard. After this we took no farther notice of them, but suffered them to come off and pick up their canoes ; and some even ventured again alongside the ship. Immediately after the great gun was fired, we heard the beating of drums on shore ; which was, probably, the signal for the country to assemble in arms. We now got everything in readiness to land, to cut some wood, of which we were in want, and to try to get some refreshments, nothing of this kind having been seen in any of the canoes.

About nine o'clock, we put off in two boats, and landed in the face of four or five hundred people, who were assembled on the shore. Though they were all armed with bows and arrows, clubs and spears, they made not the least opposition. On the contrary, seeing me advance alone, with nothing but a green branch in my hand, one of them, who seemed to be a chief, giving his bow and arrows to another, met me in the water, bearing also a green branch, which having exchanged for the one I held, he then took me by the hand, and led me up to the crowd. I immediately distributed presents to them, and, in the mean time, the marines were drawn up on the beach. I then made signs (for we understood not a word of their language) that we wanted wood ; and they made signs to us to cut down the trees. By this time, a small pig being brought down and presented to me, I gave the bearer a piece of cloth, with which he seemed well pleased. This made us hope that we should soon have some more ; but we were mistaken. The pig was not brought to be exchanged for what we had, but on some other account ; probably as a peace-offering. For all we could say or do did not prevail on them to bring down, after this, above half-a-dozen cocoa-nuts, and a small quantity of fresh water. They set no value on nails, or any sort of iron tools ; nor indeed on anything we had. They would, now and then, exchange an arrow for a piece of cloth ; but very seldom would part with a bow. They were unwilling we should go off the beach, and very desirous we should return on board. At length, about noon, after sending what wood we had cut on board, we embarked ourselves ; and they all retired, some one way and some another.

Before we had dined, the afternoon was too far spent to do anything on shore ; and all hands were employed, setting up the rigging, and repairing some defects in it. But seeing a man bring along the strand a buoy, which they had taken in the night from the kedge-anchor, I went on shore for it, accompanied by some of the gentlemen. The moment we landed, it was put into the boat by a man who walked off again without speaking one word. It ought to be observed, that this was the only thing they took, or even attempted to take from us, by any means whatever. Being landed near some of their plantations and houses, which were just within the skirts of the woods, I prevailed on one man to conduct me to them ; but, though they suffered Mr. Forster to go with me, they were unwilling any more should follow. These houses were something like those of the other isles ; rather low, and covered with palm thatch ; some were inclosed, or walled round with boards ; and the entrance to these was by a square hole at one end, which at this time was shut up, and they were unwilling to open it for us to look in. There were here about six houses, and some small plantations of roots, &c. fenced round with reeds as at the Friendly Isles. There were, likewise, some bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and plantain trees ; but very little fruit on any of them. A good many fine yams were piled up upon sticks, or a kind of raised platform ; and about twenty pigs, and a few fowls, were running about loose. After making these observations, having embarked, we proceeded to the S.E. point of the harbour, where we again landed



and walked along the beach till we could see the islands to the S.E. already mentioned. The names of these we now obtained, as well as the name of that on which we were. This they called Mallicollo\*: the island that first appeared over the south end of Ambrym is called Apee; and the other, with the hill on it, Paoom. We found on the beach a fruit like an orange, called by them Abbi-mora, but whether it be fit for eating, I cannot say, as this was decayed.

Proceeding next to the other side of the harbour, we there landed, near a few houses, at the invitation of some people who came down to the shore; but we had not been there five minutes before they wanted us to be gone. We complied, and proceeded up the harbour in order to sound it, and to look for fresh water, of which, as yet, we had seen none, but the very little that the natives brought, which we knew not where they got. Nor was our search now attended with success; but this is no proof that there is not any. The day was too far spent to examine the place well enough to determine this point. Night having brought us on board, I was informed that no soul had been off to the ship; so soon was the curiosity of these people satisfied. As we were coming on board, we heard the sound of a drum, and, I think of some other instruments, and saw people dancing; but as soon as they heard the noise of the oars, or saw us, all was silent.

Being unwilling to lose the benefit of the moonlight nights, which now happened, at seven A. M. on the 23d we weighed, and, with a light air of wind, and the assistance of our boats, proceeded out of the harbour; the south end of which, at noon, bore W.S.W. distant about two miles. When the natives saw us under sail, they came off in canoes, making exchanges with more confidence than before, and giving such extraordinary proofs of their honesty as surprised us. As the ship at first had fresh way through the water, several of them dropped astern after they had received our goods, and before they had time to deliver theirs in return. Instead of taking advantage of this, as our friends at the Society Isles would have done, they used their utmost efforts to get up with us, and to deliver what they had already been paid for. One man, in particular, followed us a considerable time, and did not reach us till it was calm, and the thing was forgotten. As soon as he came alongside, he held up the thing which several were ready to buy; but he refused to part with it, till he saw the person to whom he had before sold it, and to him he gave it. The person not knowing him again, offered him something in return, which he refused, and showed him what he had given him before. Pieces of cloth and marble paper were in most esteem with them; but edge-tools, nails, and beads, they seemed to disregard. The greatest number of canoes we had alongside at once did not exceed eight, and not more than four or five people in each; who would frequently retire to the shore all on a sudden, before they had disposed of half their things, and then others would come off.

At the time we came out of the harbour, it was about low water, and great numbers of people were then on the shoals or reefs which lie along the shore, looking, as we supposed, for shell and other fish. Thus our being on their coast, and in one of their ports, did not hinder them from following the necessary employments. By this time they might be satisfied we meant them no harm; so that, had we made a longer stay, we might soon have been upon good terms with this ape-like nation; for, in general, they are the most ugly, ill-proportioned people I ever saw, and in every respect different from any we had met with in this sea. They are a very dark-coloured and rather diminutive race; with long heads, flat faces, and monkey countenances. Their hair, mostly black or brown, is short and curly; but not quite so soft and woolly as that of a negro. Their beards are very strong, crisp, and bushy, and generally black and short. But what most adds to their deformity, is a belt, or cord, which they wear round the waist, and tie so tight over the belly that the shape of their bodies is not unlike that of an overgrown pismire. The men go quite naked, except a piece of cloth or leaf used as a wrapper†.

\* Or Mallicolla. Some of our people pronounced it Manicolo or Manicola, and thus it is also written in Quiros's Memorial, as printed by Dalrymple, vol. ii. p. 146.

† The particular manner of applying the wrapper may

be seen in Wafer's Voyage, who mentions this singular custom as existing, though with some little variation, amongst the Indians of the Isthmus of Darien. See Wafer's Voyage, p. 140.



We saw but few women, and they were not less ugly than the men: their heads, faces, and shoulders are painted red; they wear a kind of petticoat; and some of them had something over their shoulders like a bag, in which they carry their children. None of them came off to the ship, and they generally kept at a distance when we were on shore. Their ornaments are ear-rings, made of tortoiseshell, and bracelets. A curious one of the latter, four or five inches broad, wrought with thread or cord, and studded with shells, is worn by them just above the elbow. Round the right wrist they wear hogs' tusks bent circular and rings made of shells; and round their left, a round piece of wood, which we judged was to ward off the bow-string. The bridge of the nose is pierced, in which they wear a piece of white stone, about an inch and a half long, and in this shape. As signs of friendship they present a green branch, and sprinkle water with the hand over the head.

Their weapons are clubs, spears, and bows and arrows. The two former are made of hard or iron wood. Their bows are about four feet long, made of a stick split down the middle, and are not circular, but in this form. The arrows, which are a sort of reeds, are sometimes armed with a long and sharp point, made of the hard wood, and sometimes with a very hard point made of bone; and these points are all covered with a substance which we took for poison. Indeed, the people themselves confirmed our suspicions, by making signs to us not to touch the point, and giving us to understand, that if we were pricked by them we should die. They are very careful of them themselves, and keep them always wrapped up in a quiver. Some of these arrows are armed with two or three points, each with small prickles on the edges, to prevent the arrow being drawn out of the wound.

The people of Mallicollo seemed to be a quite different nation from any we had yet met with, and speak a different language. Of about eighty words which Mr. Forster collected, hardly one bears any affinity to the language spoken at any other island or place I had ever been at. The letter R is used in many of their words; and frequently two or three being joined together, such words we found difficult to pronounce. I observed that they could pronounce most of our words with great ease. They express their admiration by hissing like a goose.

To judge of the country by the little we saw of it, it must be fertile; but I believe their fruits are not so good as those of the Society or Friendly Isles. Their cocoa-nut trees, I am certain, are not; and their bread-fruit and plantains did not seem much better. But their yams appeared to be very good. We saw no other animals than those I have already mentioned. They have not so much as a name for a dog, and consequently have none; for which reason we left them a dog and a bitch; and there is no doubt they will be taken care of, as they were very fond of them. After we had got to sea, we tried what effect one of the poisoned arrows would have on a dog. Indeed we had tried it in the harbour the very first night, but we thought the operation had been too slight, as it had no effect. The surgeon now made a deep incision in the dog's thigh, into which he laid a large portion of the poison just as it was scraped from the arrows, and then bound up the wound with a bandage. For several days after, we thought the dog was not so well as he had been before; but whether this was really so, or only suggested by imagination, I know not. He was afterwards as if nothing had been done to him, and lived to be brought home to England. However, I have no doubt of this stuff being of a poisonous quality, as it could answer no other purpose. The people seemed not unacquainted with the nature of poisons; for when they brought us water on shore, they first tasted it, and then gave us to understand we might with safety drink it.

This harbour, which is situated on the N.E. side of Mallicollo, not far from the S.E. end, in latitude  $16^{\circ} 25' 20''$  S., longitude  $167^{\circ} 57' 23''$  E., I named Port Sandwich. It lies in S.W. by S. about one league, and is one-third of a league broad. A reef of rocks extends out a little way from each point; but the channel is of a good breadth, and hath in it from forty to twenty-four fathoms water. In the port, the depth of water is from twenty to four fathoms; and it is so sheltered that no winds can disturb a ship at anchor there. Another great advantage is, you can lie so near the shore as to cover your people who may be at work upon it.

CHAPTER IV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF SEVERAL ISLANDS, AN INTERVIEW AND SKIRMISH WITH THE INHABITANTS UPON ONE OF THEM. THE ARRIVAL OF THE SHIP AT TANNA, AND THE RECEPTION WE MET WITH THERE.

Soon after we got to sea, we had a breeze at E.S.E. with which we stood over for Ambrym till three o'clock in the afternoon, when the wind veering to E.N.E. we tacked and stretched to the S.E. and weathered the S.E. end of Mallicollo, off which we discovered three or four small islands, that before appeared to be connected. At sunset the point bore S.  $77^{\circ}$  west, distant three leagues, from which the coast seemed to trend away west. At this time the isle of Ambrym extended from N.  $30^{\circ}$  E. to N.  $65^{\circ}$  E. The isle of Paoom from N.  $76^{\circ}$  E. to S.  $88^{\circ}$  E. and the isle of Apee from S.  $83^{\circ}$  E. to S.  $43^{\circ}$  east. We stood for this last isle, which we reached by midnight, and then brought to till daybreak on the 24th, when we made sail to the S.E. with a view of plying up to the eastward on the south side of Apee. At sunrise, we discovered several more islands, extending from the S.E. point of Apee to the south as far as S.E. by S. The nearest to us we reached by ten o'clock, and not being able to weather it, we tacked a mile from its shore in fourteen fathoms water. This island is about four leagues in circuit, is remarkable by having three high peaked hills upon it, by which it has obtained that name. In the P.M. the wind veering more to the north, we resumed our course to the east; and having weathered Threehills, stood for the group of small isles which lie off the S.E. point of Apee. These I called Shepherd's Isles, in honour of my worthy friend Dr. Shepherd, Plumian professor of astronomy at Cambridge. Having a fine breeze, I had thoughts of going through between them; but the channels being narrow, and seeing broken water in the one we were steering for, I gave up the design, and bore up, in order to go without, or to the south of them. Before this could be accomplished, it fell calm, and we were left to the mercy of the current, close to the isles, where we could find no soundings with a line of a hundred and eighty fathoms. We had now lands or islands in every direction, and were not able to count the number which lay round us. The mountain on Paoom was seen over the east end of Apee, bearing N.N.W. at eight o'clock. A breeze at S.E. relieved us from the anxiety the calm had occasioned; and we spent the night making short boards.

The night before we came out of Port Sandwich, two reddish fish, about the size of large bream, and not unlike them, were caught with hook and line. On these fish most of the officers, and some of the petty officers, dined the next day. The night following, every one who had eaten of them was seized with violent pains in the head and bones, attended with a scorching heat all over the skin, and numbness in the joints. There remained no doubt that this was occasioned by the fish being of a poisonous nature, and having communicated its bad effects to all who partook of them; even to the hogs and dogs. One of the former died about sixteen hours after; it was not long before one of the latter shared the same fate; and it was a week or ten days, before all the gentlemen recovered. These must have been the same sort of fish mentioned by Quiros\*, under the name of Pargos, which poisoned the crews of his ships, so that it was some time before they recovered; and we should, doubtless, have been in the same situation, had more of them been eaten.

At daybreak on the 25th, we made a short stretch to the east of Shepherd's Isles till after sunrise, when, seeing no more land in that direction, we tacked and stood for the island we had seen in the south, having a gentle breeze at S.E. We passed to the east of Threehills, and likewise of a low isle, which lies on the S.E. side of it, between a remarkable peaked rock which obtained the name of Monument, and a small island named Twohills, on account of two peaked hills upon it, disjoined by a low and narrow isthmus. The channel between this island and the Monument is near a mile broad, and twenty-four fathoms deep. Except this rock, which is only accessible to birds, we did not find an island on which people were not seen. At noon, we observed, in latitude  $17^{\circ} 18' 30''$  longitude, made from Port Sand-

\* Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 140, 141.



wich, 45' east. In this situation the Monument bore N. 16° east, distant two miles; Two-hills bore N. 25° west, distant two miles, and in a line with the S.W. part of Threehills; and the islands to the south extended from S. 16° 30' E. to S. 42° west.

Continuing our course to the south, at five P.M. we drew near the southern lands, which we found to consist of one large island, whose southern and western extremities extended beyond our sight, and three or four smaller ones, lying off its north side. The two northernmost are much the largest, have a good height, and lie in the direction of E. by S. and W. by N. from each other, distant two leagues. I named the one Montagu, and the other Hinchinbrook, and the large island Sandwich, in honour of my noble patron the earl of Sandwich. Seeing broken water a-head between Montagu and Hinchinbrook Isles, we tacked; and soon after it fell calm. The calm continued till seven o'clock the next morning, when it was succeeded by a breeze from the westward. During the calm, having been carried by the currents and a S.E. swell, four leagues to the W.N.W., we passed Hinchinbrook Isle, saw the western extremity of Sandwich Island, bearing S.S.W. about five leagues distant, and at the same time discovered a small island to the west of this direction. After getting the westerly breeze, I steered S.E. in order to pass between Montagu Isle and the north end of Sandwich Island. At noon we were in the middle of the channel, and observed in latitude 17° 31' S. The distance from one island to the other is about four or five miles; but the channel is not much above half that breadth, being contracted by breakers. We had no soundings in it with a line of forty fathoms.

As we passed Montagu Isle several people came down to the sea-side, and, by signs, seemed to invite us ashore. Some were also seen on Sandwich Island, which exhibited a most delightful prospect, being spotted with woods and lawns, agreeably diversified, over the whole surface. It hath a gentle slope from the hills, which are of a moderate height, down to the sea-coast. This is low and guarded by a chain of breakers, so that there is no approaching it at this part. But more to the west, beyond Hinchinbrook Island, there seemed to run in a bay, sheltered from the reigning winds. The examining it not being so much an object with me as the getting to the south, in order to find the southern extremity of the archipelago, with this view I steered S.S.E., being the direction of the coast of Sandwich Island. We had but just got through the passage, before the west wind left us to variable light airs and calms; so that we were apprehensive of being carried back again by the currents, or rather of being obliged to return in order to avoid being driven on the shoals, as there was no anchorage, a line of a hundred and sixty fathoms not reaching to the bottom. At length a breeze springing up at S.W., we stood to S.E., and at sunset the Monument bore N. 14° 30' W., and Montagu Island N. 28° W., distant three leagues. We judged we saw the S.E. extremity of Sandwich Island bearing about S. by E.

We continued to stand to S.E. till four A.M. on the 27th, when we tacked to the west. At sunrise having discovered a new land bearing south, and making in three hills, this occasioned us to tack and stand towards it. At this time Montagu Isle bore N. 52° W., distant thirteen leagues; at noon it was nearly in the same direction, and the new land extended from S.  $\frac{1}{2}$ ° E. to S. by W., and three hills seemed to be connected. Our latitude, by observation, was 18° 1' S., and the longitude, made from Port Sandwich, 1° 23' E. We continued to stand to the S.E. with a gentle breeze at S.W. and S.S.W. till the 28th at sunrise, when, the wind veering to the south, we tacked and stood to the west. The three hills mentioned above, we now saw belonged to one island, which extended from S. 35° to 71° W., distant about ten or twelve leagues.

Retarded by contrary winds, calms, and the currents that set to N.W., we were three days in gaining this space; in which time we discovered an elevated land to the south of this. It first appeared in detached hummocks, but we judged it to be connected. At length, on the 1st of August, about ten A.M. we got a fine breeze at E.S.E. which soon after veered to N.E., and we steered for the N.W. side of the island. Reaching it about two P.M., we ranged the west coast at one mile from shore, on which the inhabitants appeared in several parts, and by signs invited us to land. We continued to sound without finding bottom, till we came before a small bay, or bending of the coast, where, near a mile from

shore, we found thirty and twenty-two fathoms water, a sandy bottom. I had thoughts of anchoring here, but the wind almost instantly veered to N.W., which being nearly on shore, I laid this design aside. Besides, I was unwilling to lose the opportunity that now offered of getting to the south-east, in order first to explore the lands which lay there. I therefore continued to range the coast to the south, at about the same distance from shore; but we soon got out of soundings. About a league to the south of this bay, which hath about two miles extent, is another more extensive. Towards the evening, the breeze began to abate, so that it was sunset before we got the length of it. I intended not to stop here, and stand to the south under an easy sail all night, but at eight o'clock, as we were steering S.S.E., we saw a light a-head. Not knowing but it might be on some low detached isle, dangerous to approach while dark, we hauled the wind, and spent the night standing off and on, or rather driving to and fro; for we had but very little wind.

At sunrise on the 2nd, we saw no more land than the coast we were upon; but found that the currents had carried us some miles to the north, and we attempted, to little purpose, to regain what we had lost. At noon we were about a league from the coast, which extended from S.S.E. to N.E. Latitude observed  $18^{\circ} 46'$  S. In the afternoon, finding the ship to drift, not only to the north, but in shore also, and being yet to the south of the bay we passed the day before, I had thoughts of getting to an anchor before night, while we had it in our power to make choice of a place. With this view, having hoisted out two boats, one of them was sent a-head to tow the ship; in the other Mr. Gilbert went to sound for anchorage. Soon after, the towing boat was sent to assist him. So much time was spent in sounding this bay, that the ship drove past, which made it necessary to call the boats on board to tow her off from the northern point. But this service was performed by a breeze of wind, which, that moment, sprung up at S.W., so that as the boats got on board, we hoisted them in, and then bore up for the north side of the island, intending once more to try to get round by the east. Mr. Gilbert informed me that, at the south part of the bay, he found no soundings till close to a steep stone beach, where he landed to taste a stream of water he saw there, which proved to be salt. Some people were seen there, but they kept at a distance. Farther down the coast, that is to the north, he found twenty, twenty-four, and thirty fathoms, three-fourths of a mile, or a mile from shore, the bottom a fine dark sand.

On the 3rd, at sunrise, we found ourselves abreast a lofty promontory on the S.E. side of the island, and about three leagues from it. Having but little wind, and that from the south, right in our teeth, and being in want of fire-wood, I sent Lieutenant Clerke with two boats to a small islet which lies off the promontory, to endeavour to get some. In the mean time we continued to ply up with the ship; but what we gained by our sails, we lost by the current. At length, towards noon, we got a breeze at E.S.E. and E. with which we could lie up for the head; and soon after Mr. Clerke returned, having not been able to land, on account of a high surf on the shore. They met with no people on the isle; but saw a large bat, and some birds, and caught a water-snake. At six o'clock P.M. we got in with the land, under the N.W. side of the head, where we anchored in seventeen fathoms water, the bottom a fine dark sand, half-a-mile from shore; the point of the head bearing N.  $18^{\circ}$  E., distant half a league; the little islet before-mentioned N.E. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., and the N.W. point of the bay N.  $32^{\circ}$  W. Many people appeared on the shore, and some attempted to swim off to us; but having occasion to send the boat a-head to sound, they retired as she drew near them. This, however gave us a favourable idea of them.

On the 4th, at daybreak, I went with two boats to examine the coast, to look for a proper landing-place, wood, and water. At this time the natives began to assemble on the shore, and by signs invited us to land. I went first to a small beach, which is towards the head, where I found no good landing, on account of some rocks which everywhere lined the coast. I, however, put the boat's bow to the shore, and gave cloth, medals, &c. to some people who were there. For this treatment they offered to haul the boats over the breakers to the sandy beach, which I thought a friendly offer, but had reason afterwards to alter my opinion. When they found I would not do as they desired, they made signs for us to go down into the bay, which we accordingly did, and they ran along shore abreast of us, their



number increasing prodigiously. I put into the shore in two or three places, but, not liking the situation, did not land. By this time, I believe, the natives conceived what I wanted, as they directed me round a rocky point, where, on a fine sandy beach, I stepped out of the boat without wetting a foot, in the face of a vast multitude, with only a green branch in my hand, which I had before got from one of them. I took but one man out of the boat with me, and ordered the other boat to lie to a little distance off. They received me with great courtesy and politeness, and would retire back from the boat on my making the least motion with my hand. A man whom I took to be a chief, seeing this, made them form a semicircle round the boat's bow, and beat such as attempted to break through this order. This man I loaded with presents, giving likewise to others, and asked by signs for



ERROMANGO.

fresh water, in hopes of seeing where they got it. The chief immediately sent a man for some, who ran to a house, and presently returned with a little in a bamboo; so that I gained but little information by this. I next asked, by the same means, for something to eat; and they as readily brought me a yam and some cocoa-nuts. In short, I was charmed with their behaviour; and the only thing which could give the least suspicion was, that most of them were armed with clubs, spears, darts, and bows and arrows. For this reason I kept my eye continually upon the chief, and watched his looks as well as his actions. He made many signs to me to haul the boat up upon the shore, and at last slipped into the crowd, where I observed him speak to several people, and then return to me, repeating signs to haul the boat up, and hesitating a good deal before he would receive some spike-nails which I then offered him. This made me suspect something was intended, and immediately I stepped into the boat, telling them by signs that I should soon return. But they were not for parting so soon, and now attempted, by force, what they could not obtain by gentler means. The gang-board happened unluckily to be laid out for me to come into the boat. I say unluckily, for if it had not been out, and if the crew had been a little quicker in getting the boat off, the natives might not have had time to put their design in execution, nor would the following disagreeable scene have happened. As we were putting off the boat, they laid hold of the gang-board, and unhooked it off the boat's stern, but as they did not take it away, I thought this had been done by accident, and ordered the boat in again to take it up. Then they themselves hooked it over the boat's stern, and attempted to haul her ashore; others, at the same time, snatched the oars out of the people's hands. On my pointing a musket at them, they in some measure desisted, but returned in an instant, seemingly determined to haul the boat ashore. At the head of this party was the chief; the others, who could not come at the boat, stood behind with darts, stones, and bows and arrows in hand, ready to support them. Signs and threats having no effect, our own safety

became the only consideration; and yet I was unwilling to fire on the multitude, and resolved to make the chief alone fall a victim to his own treachery; but my musket at this critical moment missed fire. Whatever idea they might have formed of the arms we held in our hands, they must now have looked upon them as childish weapons, and began to let us see how much better theirs were, by throwing stones and darts, and by shooting arrows. This made it absolutely necessary for me to give orders to fire. The first discharge threw them into confusion; but a second was hardly sufficient to drive them off the beach; and, after all, they continued to throw stones from behind the trees and bushes, and, every now and then, to pop out and throw a dart. Four lay, to all appearance dead, on the shore; but two of them afterwards crawled into the bushes. Happy it was for these people, that not half our muskets would go off, otherwise many more must have fallen. We had one man wounded in the cheek with a dart, the point of which was as thick as my finger, and yet it entered above two inches; which shows that it must have come with great force, though indeed we were very near them. An arrow struck Mr. Gilbert's naked breast, who was about thirty yards off; but probably it had struck something before; for it hardly penetrated the skin. The arrows were pointed with hard wood.

As soon as we got on board, I ordered the anchor to be weighed, with a view of anchoring near the landing-place. While this was doing, several people appeared on the low rocky point, displaying two oars we had lost in the scuffle. I looked on this as a sign of submission, and of their wanting to give us the oars. I was, nevertheless, prevailed on to fire a four-pound shot at them, to let them see the effect of our great guns. The ball fell short, but frightened them so much, that none were seen afterwards; and they left the oars standing up against the bushes. It was now calm; but the anchor was hardly at the bow before a breeze sprung up at north, of which we took the advantage, set our sails, and plied out of the bay, as it did not seem capable of supplying our wants, with that convenience I wished to have. Besides, I always had it in my power to return to this place, in case I should find none more convenient farther south.

These islanders seemed to be a different race from those of Mallicollo, and spoke a different language. They are of the middle size, have a good shape, and tolerable features. Their colour is very dark, and they paint their faces, some with black, and others with red pigment. Their hair is very curly and crisp, and somewhat woolly. I saw a few women, and I thought them ugly; they wore a kind of petticoat made of palm leaves, or some plant like it. But the men, like those of Mallicollo, were in a manner naked; having only the belt about the waist, and the piece of cloth, or leaf, used as a wrapper\*. I saw no canoes with these people, nor were any seen in any part of this island. They live in houses covered with thatch, and their plantations are laid out by line, and fenced round.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, we were clear of the bay, bore up round the head, and steered S.S.E. for the south end of the island, having a fine breeze at N.W. On the S.W. side of the head is a pretty deep bay, which seemed to run in behind the one on the N.W. side. Its shores are low, and the adjacent lands appeared very fertile. It is exposed to the S.E. winds; for which reason, until it be better known, the N.W. bay is preferable, because it is sheltered from the reigning winds; and the winds to which it is open, viz. from N.W. by N. to E. by N. seldom blow strong. The promontory, or peninsula, which disjoins these two bays, I named Traitor's Head, from the treacherous behaviour of its inhabitants. It is the N.E. point of the island, situated in the latitude  $18^{\circ} 43'$  south, longitude  $169^{\circ} 28'$  east, and terminates in a saddle hill which is of height sufficient to be seen sixteen or eighteen leagues. As we advanced to S.S.E., the new island we had before discovered began to appear over the S.E. point of the one near us, bearing S.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. distant ten or twelve leagues. After leaving this one, we steered for the east end of the other, being directed by a great light we saw upon it.

At one o'clock the next morning, drawing near the shore, we tacked, and spent the remainder of the night making short boards. At sun-rise, we discovered a high table land (an island) bearing E. by S., and a small low isle in the direction of N.N.E. which we had

\* See the note, p. 499.



passed in the night without seeing it. Traitor's Head was still in sight, bearing N. 20° West, distant fifteen leagues, and the island to the south extended from S. 7° West to S. 87° West, distant three or four miles. We then found that the light we had seen in the night was occasioned by a volcano, which we observed to throw up vast quantities of fire and smoke, with a rumbling noise heard at a great distance. We now made sail for the island; and, presently after, discovered a small inlet which had the appearance of being a good harbour. In order to be better informed, I sent away two armed boats under the command of Lieutenant Cooper, to sound it; and, in the mean while, we stood on and off with the ship, to be ready to follow, or give them any assistance they might want. On the east point of the entrance, we observed a number of people, and several houses and canoes; and when our boats entered the harbour they launched some, and followed them, but came not near. It was not long before Mr. Cooper made the signal for anchorage; and we stood in with the ship. The wind being at west, and our course S.S.W. we borrowed close to the west point, and passed over some sunken rocks, which might have been avoided by keeping a little more to the east, or about one-third channel over. The wind left us as soon as we were within the entrance, and obliged us to drop an anchor in four fathoms water. After this, the boats were sent again to sound; and, in the mean time, the launch was hoisted out, in order to carry out anchors to warp in by, as soon as we should be acquainted with the channel.

While we were thus employed, many of the natives got together in parties, on several parts of the shore, all armed with bows, spears, &c. Some swam off to us, others came in canoes. At first they were shy, and kept at the distance of a stone's throw; they grew insensibly bolder; and at last, came under our stern, and made some exchanges. The people in one of the first canoes, after coming as near as they durst, threw towards us some cocoa-nuts. I went into a boat and picked them up, giving them in return some cloth and other articles. This induced others to come under the stern, and alongside, where their behaviour was insolent and daring. They wanted to carry off everything within their reach; they got hold of the fly of the ensign, and would have torn it from the staff; others attempted to knock the rings off the rudder; but the greatest trouble they gave us was to look after the buoys of our anchors, which were no sooner thrown out of the boats, or let go from the ship, than they got hold of them. A few muskets fired in the air had no effect; but a four-pounder frightened them so much, that they quitted their canoes that instant, and took to the water. But as soon as they found themselves unhurt, they got again into their canoes; gave us some halloos; flourished their weapons; and returned once more to the buoys. This put us to the expense of a few musketoon shot, which had the desired effect. Although none were hurt, they were afterwards afraid to come near the buoys; very soon all retired on shore; and we were permitted to sit down to dinner undisturbed.

During these transactions, a friendly old man in a small canoe made several trips between us and the shore, bringing off each time a few cocoa-nuts, or a yam, and taking in exchange whatever we gave him. Another was on the gangway, when the great gun was fired, but I could not prevail on him to stay there long. Towards the evening, after the ship was moored, I landed at the head of the harbour, in the S.E. corner, with a strong party of men, without any opposition being made by a great number of the natives who were assembled in two parties, the one on our right, the other on our left, armed with clubs, darts, spears, slings and stones, bows and arrows, &c. After distributing to the old people, (for we could distinguish no chief,) and some others, presents of cloth, medals, &c., I ordered two casks to be filled with water out of a pond about twenty paces behind the landing-place; giving the natives to understand that this was one of the articles we wanted. Besides water, we got from them a few cocoa-nuts, which seemed to be in plenty on the trees; but they could not be prevailed upon to part with any of their weapons. These they held in constant readiness, and in the proper attitudes of offence and defence; so that little was wanting to make them attack us; at least we thought so, by their pressing so much upon us, and in spite of our endeavours to keep them off. Our early re-embarking probably disconcerted their scheme; and after that, they all retired. The friendly old man before mentioned was in one of these parties; and we judged, from his conduct, that his temper was pacific.

## CHAPTER V.—AN INTERCOURSE ESTABLISHED WITH THE NATIVES ; SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND ; AND A VARIETY OF INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED DURING OUR STAY AT IT.

As we wanted to take in a large quantity both of wood and water, and as, when I was on shore, I had found it practicable to lay the ship much nearer the landing-place than she now was, which would greatly facilitate that work, as well as overawe the natives, and enable us better to cover and protect the working party on shore ; with this view, on the 6th, we went to work to transport the ship to the place I designed to moor her in. While we were about this, we observed the natives assembling from all parts, and forming themselves into two parties, as they did the preceding evening, one on each side the landing-place, to the amount of some thousands, armed as before. A canoe, sometimes conducted by one, and at other times by two or three men, now and then came off, bringing a few cocoa-nuts or plantains. These they gave us without asking for any return ; but I took care that they should always have something. Their chief design seemed to be to invite us on shore. One of those who came off was the old man who had already ingratiated himself into our favour. I made him understand, by signs, that they were to lay aside their weapons, took those which were in the canoe and threw them overboard, and made him a present of a large piece of cloth. There was no doubt that he understood me, and made my request known to his countrymen. For as soon as he landed we observed him to go first to the one party, and then to the other ; nor was he, ever after, seen by us with any thing like a weapon in his hand. After this, three fellows came in a canoe under the stern, one of them brandishing a club, with which he struck the ship's side, and committed other acts of defiance, but at last offered to exchange it for a string of beads, and some other trifles. These were sent down to him by a line ; but the moment they were in his possession, he and his companions paddled off in all haste, without giving the club, or anything else, in return. This was what I expected, and indeed what I was not sorry for, as I wanted an opportunity to show the multitude on shore the effect of our fire-arms, without materially hurting any of them. Having a fowling-piece loaded with small shot, (No. 3,) I gave the fellow the contents ; and, when they were above musket-shot off, I ordered some of the musketoons, or wall-pieces, to be fired, which made them leap out of the canoe, keep under her off side, and swim with her ashore. This transaction seemed to make little or no impression on the people there. On the contrary, they began to halloo, and to make sport of it.

After mooring the ship, by four anchors, with her broadside to the landing-place, hardly a musket-shot off, and placing our artillery in such a manner as to command the whole harbour, I embarked with the marines, and a party of seamen, in three boats, and rowed in for the shore. It hath been already mentioned, that the two divisions of the natives were drawn up on each side the landing-place. They had left a space between them of about thirty or forty yards, in which were laid, to the most advantage, a few small bunches of plantains, a yam, and two or three roots. Between these and the water were stuck upright in the sand, for what purpose I never could learn, four small reeds, about two feet from each other, in a line at right angles to the shore, where they remained for two or three days after. The old man before mentioned, and two more, stood by these things, inviting us by signs to land ; but I had not forgot the trap I was so near being caught in at the last island ; and this looked something like it. We answered, by making signs for the two divisions to retire farther back, and give us more room. The old man seemed to desire them so to do, but no more regard was paid to him than to us. More were continually joining them, and, except two or three old men, not one unarmed. In short, everything conspired to make us believe they meant to attack us as soon as we should be on shore ; the consequence of which was easily supposed ; many of them must have been killed and wounded, and we should hardly have escaped unhurt ; two things I equally wished to prevent. Since, therefore, they would not give us the room we required, I thought it was better to frighten them into it, than to oblige them by the deadly effect of our fire-arms. I accordingly ordered a musket to be fired over the party on our right, which was by far the strongest body ; but the alarm it gave them was momentary. In an instant they recovered themselves, and began to display their weapons. One fellow showed us his backside, in a manner which plainly



conveyed his meaning. After this I ordered three or four muskets to be fired. This was the signal for the ship to fire a few great guns, which presently dispersed them; and then we landed, and marked out the limits, on the right and left, by a line. Our old friend stood his ground, though deserted by his two companions, and I rewarded his confidence with a present. The natives came gradually to us, seemingly in a more friendly manner; some even without their weapons, but by far the greatest part brought them; and when we made signs to lay them down, they gave us to understand that we must lay down ours first. Thus all parties stood armed. The presents I made to the old people, and to such as seemed to be of consequence, had little effect on their conduct. They indeed climbed the cocoa-nut trees, and threw us down the nuts, without requiring any thing for them; but I took care that they should always have somewhat in return. I observed that many were afraid to touch what belonged to us; and they seemed to have no notion of exchanging one thing for another. I took the old man, whose name we now found to be Paowang, to the woods, and made him understand I wanted to cut down some trees to take on board the ship; cutting some down at the same time, which we put into one of our boats, together with a few small casks of water, with a view of letting the people see what it was we chiefly wanted. Paowang very readily gave his consent to cut wood; nor was there any one who made the least objection. He only desired the cocoa-nut trees might not be cut down. Matters being thus settled, we embarked and returned on board to dinner, and immediately after they all dispersed. I never learnt that any one was hurt by our shot, either on this or the preceding day; which was a very happy circumstance. In the afternoon, having landed again, we loaded the launch with water, and having made three hauls with the seine, caught upwards of three hundred pounds of mullet and other fish. It was some time before any of the natives appeared, and not above twenty or thirty at last, amongst whom was our trusty friend Paowang, who made us a present of a small pig, which was the only one we got at this isle, or that was offered us.

During the night, the volcano, which was about four miles to the west of us, vomited up vast quantities of fire and smoke, as it had also done the night before; and the flames were seen to rise above the hill which lay between us and it. At every eruption, it made a long rumbling noise like that of thunder, or the blowing up of large mines. A heavy shower of rain, which fell at this time, seemed to increase it; and the wind blowing from the same quarter, the air was loaded with its ashes, which fell so thick that every thing was covered with the dust. It was a kind of fine sand or stone, ground or burnt to powder, and was exceedingly troublesome to the eyes.

Early in the morning of the 7th, the natives began again to assemble near the watering-place, armed as usual, but not in such numbers as at first. After breakfast we landed, in order to cut wood and fill water. I found many of the islanders much inclined to be friends with us, especially the old people; on the other hand, most of the younger were daring and insolent, and obliged us to keep to our arms. I staid till I saw no disturbance was like to happen, and then returned to the ship, leaving the party under the command of Lieutenants Clerke and Edgcumbe. When they came on board to dinner, they informed me that the people continued to behave in the same inconsistent manner as in the morning; but more especially one man, whom Mr. Edgcumbe was obliged to fire at, and believed he had struck with a swan-shot. After that, the others behaved with more discretion; and as soon as our people embarked, they all retired. While we were sitting at dinner, an old man came on board, looked into many parts of the ship, and then went ashore again.

In the afternoon, only a few of those who lived in the neighbourhood, with whom we were now upon a tolerable footing, made their appearance at the watering-place. Paowang brought us an axe which had been left by our people, either in the woods or on the beach, and found by some of the native. A few other articles were afterwards returned to us which either they had stolen, or we had lost by our negligence. So careful were they now not to offend us in this respect. Early the next morning I sent the launch, protected by a party of marines in another boat, to take in ballast, which we wanted. This work was done before breakfast; and after it, she was sent for wood and water, and with her the people employed in this service under the protection of a serjeant's guard, which was now

thought sufficient, as the natives seemed to be pretty well reconciled to us. I was told, that they asked our people to go home with them, on condition they stripped naked as they were. This shows that they had no design to rob them, whatever other they might have.

On the 9th, I sent the launch for more ballast, and the guard and wooders to the usual place. With these I went myself, and found a good many of the natives collected together, whose behaviour, though armed, was courteous and obliging; so that there was no longer any occasion to mark out the limits by a line; they observed them without this precaution. As it was necessary for Mr. Wales's instruments to remain on shore all the middle of the day, the guard did not return to dinner, as they had done before, till relieved by others. When I came off, I prevailed on a young man, whose name was Wha-a-gou, to accompany me. Before dinner I showed him every part of the ship; but did not observe that any one thing fixed his attention a moment, or caused in him the least surprise. He had no knowledge of goats, dogs, or cats, calling them all hogs (*Booga* or *Boogas*). I made him a present of a dog and a bitch, as he showed a liking to that kind of animal. Soon after he came on board, some of his friends followed in a canoe, and inquired for him, probably doubtful of his safety. He looked out of the quarter-gallery, and having spoken to them, they went ashore, and quickly returned with a cock, a little sugar-cane, and a few cocoa-nuts, as a present to me. Though he sat down with us, he did but just taste our salt pork, but ate pretty heartily of yam, and drank a glass of wine. After dinner I made him presents, and then conducted him ashore.

As soon as we landed, the youth and some of his friends took me by the hand with a view, as I understood, to conduct me to their habitations. We had not gone far, before some of them, for what reason I know not, were unwilling I should proceed; in consequence of which the whole company stopped; and, if I was not mistaken, a person was despatched for something or other to give me; for I was desired to sit down and wait, which I accordingly did. During this interval, several of our gentlemen passed us, at which they showed great uneasiness, and importuned me so much to order them back, that I was at last obliged to comply. They were jealous of our going up the country, or even along the shore of the harbour. While I was waiting here, our friend Paowang came with a present of fruit and roots, carried by about twenty men; in order, as I supposed, to make it appear the greater. One had a small bunch of plantains, another a yam, a third a cocoa-nut, &c.: but two men might have carried the whole with ease. This present was in return for something I had given him in the morning; however, I thought the least I could do now was to pay the porters. After I had despatched Paowang, I returned to Wha-a-gou and his friends, who were still for detaining me. They seemed to wait with great impatience for something, and to be unwilling and ashamed to take away the two dogs, without making me a return. As night was approaching, I pressed to be gone; with which they complied, and so we parted.

The preceding day, Mr. Forster learnt from the people the proper name of the island, which they call Tanna; and this day I learnt from them the names of those in the neighbourhood. The one we touched at last is called Erromango\*; the small isle which we discovered the morning we landed here, Immer; the Table Island to the east, discovered at the same time, Erronan or Foottoona; and an island which lies to the S.E. Annattom. All these islands are to be seen from Tanna.

They gave us to understand, in a manner which I thought admitted of no doubt, that they eat human flesh, and that circumcision was practised among them. They began the subject of eating human flesh of their own accord, by asking us if we did; otherwise I

\* It was at this island that the well-known missionary John Williams lost his life in 1839, in a fray occasioned by a misunderstanding with the natives. This excellent and indefatigable minister of the Gospel was bred a smith; but notwithstanding the disadvantages of his early life, his zeal and energy enabled him to surmount those difficulties, and not only to qualify himself for a preacher, but to attain considerable skill in other branches of knowledge, which under the guidance of the strong

common sense which was his peculiar characteristic, rendered him one of the most efficient instructors of the heathen that has ever adventured upon that difficult task. His work, entitled "Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands," is not only interesting from its immediate subject, but is attractive from its plain and nervous style, and from the variety of information it contains. The notices on the language and races of the inhabitants are very valuable.—Ed.



should never have thought of asking them such a question. I have heard people argue that no nation could be cannibals, if they had other flesh to eat, or did not want food; thus deriving the custom from necessity. The people of this island can be under no such necessity; they have fine pork and fowls, and plenty of roots and fruits. But since we have not actually seen them eat human flesh, it will admit of doubt with some, whether they are cannibals.

When I got on board, I learnt that, when the launch was on the west side of the harbour taking in ballast, one of the men employed on this work had scalded his fingers in taking a stone up out of some water. This circumstance produced the discovery of several hot springs at the foot of the cliff, and rather below high-water mark. This day, Mr. Wales and two or three of the officers advanced a little, for the first time, into the island. They met with a straggling village, the inhabitants of which treated them with great civility; and the next morning, Mr. Forster and his party, and some others, made another excursion inland. They met with several fine plantations of plantains, sugar-canes, yams, &c.; and the natives were courteous and civil. Indeed, by this time, the people, especially those in our neighbourhood, were so well reconciled to us, that they showed not the least dislike at our rambling about in the skirts of the woods, shooting, &c. In the afternoon, some boys having got behind thickets, and having thrown two or three stones at our people, who were cutting wood, they were fired at by the petty officers present on duty. Being ashore at the time, I was alarmed at hearing the report of the muskets, and seeing two or three boys run out of the wood. When I knew the cause, I was much displeased at so wanton a use being made of our fire-arms, and took measures to prevent it for the future.



VIEW IN THE ISLAND OF TANNA.

Wind southerly, with heavy showers of rain. During the night, and also all the 11th, the volcano was exceedingly troublesome, and made a terrible noise, throwing up prodigious columns of fire and smoke at each explosion, which happened every three or four minutes; and at one time, great stones were seen high in the air. Besides the necessary work of wooding and watering, we struck the maintopmast to fix new trestle-trees and back-stays. Mr. Forster and his party went up the hill on the west side of the harbour, where he found three places from whence smoke of a sulphureous smell issued, through cracks or fissures in the earth. The ground about these was exceedingly hot, and parched or burnt, and they seemed to keep pace with the volcano,

for at every explosion of the latter, the quantity of smoke or steam in these was greatly increased, and forced out so as to rise in small columns, which we saw from the ship, and had taken for common fires made by the natives. At the foot of this hill are the hot springs before mentioned. In the afternoon Mr. Forster, having begun his botanical researches on the other side of the harbour, fell in with our friend Paowang's house, where he saw most of the articles I had given him, hanging on the adjoining trees and bushes, as if they were not worthy of being under his roof.

On the 12th, some of the officers accompanied Mr. Forster to the hot places he had been at the preceding day. A thermometer placed in a little hole made in one of them rose from 80, at which it stood in the open air, to 170. Several other parts of the hill emitted smoke or steam all the day, and the volcano was unusually furious, insomuch that the air was loaded with its ashes. The rain which fell at this time was a compound of water, sand, and earth; so that it properly might be called showers of mire. Whichever way the wind was, we were plagued with the ashes; unless it blew very strong indeed from the opposite direction. Notwithstanding the natives seemed well enough satisfied with the few expeditions we had made in the neighbourhood, they were unwilling we should extend them farther. As a proof of this, some undertook to guide the gentlemen, when they were in the country, to a place where they might see the mouth of the volcano. They very readily embraced the offer, and were conducted down to the harbour before they perceived the cheat.

The 13th, wind at N.E., gloomy weather. The only thing worthy of note this day was, that Paowang being at dinner with us on board, I took the opportunity to show him several parts of the ship, and various articles, in hopes of finding out something which they might value, and be induced to take from us in exchange for refreshments; for what we got of this kind was trifling. But he looked on everything that was shown him with the utmost indifference; nor did he take notice of any one thing except a wooden sand-box, which he seemed to admire, and turned two or three times over in his hand.

Next morning, after breakfast, a party of us set out for the country, to try if we could not get a nearer and better view of the volcano. We went by the way of one of those hot smoking places before mentioned, and dug a hole in the hottest part, into which a thermometer of Fahrenheit's construction was put; and the mercury presently rose to 100°. It remained in the hole two minutes and a half without either rising or falling. The earth about this place was a kind of white clay, had a sulphureous smell, and was soft and wet, the surface only excepted, over which was spread a thin dry crust, that had upon it some sulphur, and a vitriolic substance, tasting like alum. The place affected by the heat was not above eight or ten yards square; and near it were some fig-trees, which spread their branches over a part of it, and seemed to like their situation. We thought that this extraordinary heat was caused by the steam of boiling water, strongly impregnated with sulphur. I was told that some of the other places were larger than this; though we did not go out of the road to look at them, but proceeded up the hill through a country so covered with trees, shrubs, and plants, that the bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, which seem to have been planted here by nature, were in a manner choked up. Here and there we met with a house, some few people, and plantations. These latter we found in different states; some of long standing, others lately cleared, and some only clearing, and before anything had been planted. The clearing a piece of ground for a plantation seemed to be a work of much labour considering the tools they had to work with, which, though much inferior to those at the Society Isles, are of the same kind. Their method is, however, judicious, and as expeditious as it can well be. They lop off the small branches of the large trees, dig under the roots, and there burn the branches and small shrubs and plants which they root up. The soil in some parts is a rich black mould; in other parts it seemed to be composed of decayed vegetables and of the ashes the volcano sends forth throughout all its neighbourhood. Happening to turn out of the common path, we came into a plantation, where we found a man at work, who, either out of good-nature, or to get us the sooner out of his territories, under-



took to be our guide. We followed him accordingly, but had not gone far before we came to the junction of two roads, in one of which stood another man with a sling and a stone, which he thought proper to lay down when a musket was pointed at him. The attitude in which we found him, the ferocity appearing in his looks, and his behaviour after, convinced us that he meant to defend the path he stood in. He in some measure gained his point; for our guide took the other road, and we followed; but not without suspecting he was leading us out of the common way. The other man went with us likewise, counting us several times over, and hallooing, as we judged, for assistance; for we were presently joined by two or three more, among whom was a young woman with a club in her hand. By these people we were conducted to the brow of a hill, and shown a road leading down to the harbour, which they wanted us to take. Not choosing to comply, we returned to that we had left, which we pursued alone, our guide refusing to go with us. After ascending another ridge, as thickly covered with wood as those we had come over, we saw yet other hills between us and the volcano, which seemed as far off as at our first setting out. This discouraged us from proceeding farther, especially as we could get no one to be our guide. We therefore came to a resolution to return; and had but just put this in execution, when we met between twenty and thirty people, whom the fellow before mentioned had collected together, with a design, as we judged, to oppose our advancing into the country; but as they saw us returning, they suffered us to pass unmolested. Some of them put us into the right road, accompanied us down the hill, made us stop by the way to entertain us with cocoa-nuts, plantains, and sugar-cane; and what we did not eat on the spot they brought down the hill with us. Thus, we found these people hospitable, civil, and good-natured, when not prompted to a contrary conduct by jealousy; a conduct I cannot tell how to blame them for, especially when I consider the light in which they must view us. It was impossible for them to know our real design; we enter their ports without their daring to oppose; we endeavour to land in their country as friends, and it is well if this succeeds; we land nevertheless, and maintain the footing we have got, by the superiority of our fire-arms. Under such circumstances, what opinion are they to form of us? Is it not as reasonable for them to think that we come to invade their country, as to pay them a friendly visit? Time, and some acquaintance with us, can only convince them of the latter. These people are yet in a rude state; and, if we may judge from circumstances and appearances, are frequently at war, not only with their neighbours, but among themselves; consequently must be jealous of every new face. I will allow there are some exceptions to this rule to be found in this sea; but there are few nations who would willingly suffer visitors like us to advance far into their country.

Before this excursion, some of us had been of opinion that these people were addicted to an unnatural passion, because they had endeavoured to entice some of our men into the woods; and, in particular, I was told, that one who had the care of Mr. Forster's plant-bag, had been, once or twice, attempted. As the carrying of bundles, &c., is the office of the women in this country, it had occurred to me, and I was not singular in this, that the natives might mistake him, and some others, for women. My conjecture was fully verified this day: for this man, who was one of the party, and carried the bag as usual, following me down the hill, by the words which I understood of the conversation of the natives, and by their actions, I was well assured that they considered him as a female; till, by some means, they discovered their mistake, on which they cried out *Erramange! Erramange!* "It's a man! It's a man!" The thing was so palpable that every one was obliged to acknowledge, that they had before mistaken his sex; and that, after they were undeceived, they seemed not to have the least notion of what we had suspected. This circumstance will show how liable we are to form wrong conjectures of things, among people whose language we are ignorant of. Had it not been for this discovery, I make no doubt that these people would have been charged with this vile custom.

In the evening I took a walk, with some of the gentlemen, into the country on the other side of the harbour, where we had very different treatment from what we had met with in

the morning. The people we now visited, among whom was our friend Paowang, being better acquainted with us, showed a readiness to oblige us in everything in their power. We came to the village which had been visited on the 9th. It consisted of about twenty houses, the most of which need no other description than comparing them to the roof of a thatched house in England taken off the walls and placed on the ground. Some were open at both ends, others partly closed with reeds; and all were covered with palm thatch. A few of them were thirty or forty feet long, and fourteen or sixteen broad. Besides these, they have other mean hovels, which, I conceived, were only to sleep in. Some of these stood in a plantation, and I was given to understand that in one of them lay a dead corpse. They made signs that described sleep, or death; and circumstances pointed out the latter. Curious to see all I could, I prevailed on an elderly man to go with me to the hut, which was separated from the others by a reed fence, built quite round it, at the distance of four or five feet. The entrance was by a space in the fence, made so low as to admit one to step over. The two sides and one end of the hut were closed or built up in the same manner, and with the same materials, as the roof. The other end had been open, but was now well closed up with mats, which I could not prevail on the man to remove, or suffer me to do it. There hung at this end of the hut a matted bag or basket, in which was a piece of roasted yam, and some sort of leaves, all quite fresh. I had a strong desire to see the inside of the hut, but the man was peremptory in refusing this, and even showed an unwillingness to permit me to look into the basket. He wore round his neck, fastened to a string, two or three locks of human hair; and a woman present had several about her neck. I offered something in exchange for them; but they gave me to understand they could not part with them, as it was the hair of the person who lay in the hut. Thus I was led to believe that these people dispose of their dead in a manner similar to that of Otaheite. The same custom of wearing the hair is observed by the people of that island, and also by the New Zealanders. The former make *Tamau* of the hair of their deceased friends, and the latter make ear-rings and necklaces of their teeth.

Near most of their large houses were fixed upright in the ground the stems of four cocoa-nut trees, in a square position, about three feet from each other. Some of our gentlemen, who first saw them, were inclined to believe they were thus placed on a religious account; but I was now satisfied that it was for no other purpose but to hang cocoa-nuts on to dry. For when I asked, as well as I could, the use of them, a man took me to one, loaded with cocoa-nuts from the bottom to the top; and no words could have informed me better. Their situation is well chosen for this use, as most of their large houses are built in an open airy place, or where the wind has a free passage, from whatever direction it blows. Near most, if not all of them, is a large tree or two, whose spreading branches afford an agreeable retreat from the scorching sun. This part of the island was well cultivated, open, and airy; the plantations were laid out by line, abounding with plantains, sugar-canes, yams, and other roots, and stocked with fruit-trees. In our walk we met with our old friend Paowang, who, with some others, accompanied us to the water-side, and brought with them, as a present, a few yams and cocoa-nuts.

On the 15th, having finished wooding and watering, a few hands only were on shore making brooms, the rest being employed on board, setting up the rigging, and putting the ship in a condition for sea. Mr. Forster, in his botanical excursion this day, shot a pigeon, in the claw of which was a wild nutmeg. He took some pains to find the tree, but his endeavours were without success. In the evening a party of us walked to the eastern sea-shore, in order to take the bearing of Annatom, and Erronan or Foottoona. The horizon proved so hazy that I could see neither; but one of the natives gave me, as I afterwards found, the true direction of them. We observed that in all, or most of their sugar plantations, were dug holes or pits, four feet deep, and five or six in diameter; and on our inquiring their use, we were given to understand that they caught rats in them. These animals, which are very destructive to the canes, are here in great plenty. The canes, I observed, were planted as thick as possible round the edge of these pits, so that the rats in coming at them are the more liable to tumble in.





RATS AND TRAP.

Next morning we found the tiller sprung in the rudder-head, and, by some strange neglect, we had not a spare one on board, which we were ignorant of till now it was wanting. It knew but of one tree in the neighbourhood fit for this purpose, which I sent the carpenter on shore to look at, and an officer, with a party of men, to cut it down, provided he could obtain leave of the natives; if not, he was ordered to acquaint me. He understood that no one had any objection, and set the people to work accordingly. But as the tree was large, this required some time; and before it was down, word was brought me that our friend Paowang was not pleased. Upon this I gave orders to desist, as we found that, by scarfing a piece to the inner end of the tiller, and letting it farther into the rudder-head, it would still perform its office. But as it was necessary to have a spare one on board, I went on shore, sent for Paowang, made him a present of a dog and a piece of cloth, and then explained to him that our great steering paddle was broken, and that I wanted that tree to make a new one. It was easy to see how well pleased every one present was with the means I took to obtain it. With one voice they gave their consent, Paowang joining his also, which he perhaps could not have done without the others; for I do not know that he had either more property or more authority than the rest. This point being obtained, I took our friend on board to dinner, and after it was over went with him on shore, to pay a visit to an old chief, who was said to be king of the island, which was a doubt with me. Paowang took little or no notice of him. I made him a present, after which he immediately went away, as if he had got all he came for. His name was Geogy, and they gave him the title of *Areeke*. He was very old, but had a merry, open countenance. He wore round his waist a broad red and white checkered belt, the materials and manufacture of which seemed the same as that of Otaheite cloth; but this was hardly a mark of distinction. He had with him a son, not less than forty-five or fifty years of age. A great number of people were at this time at the landing-place; most of them from distant parts. The behaviour of many was friendly, while others were daring and insolent, which I thought proper to put up with, as our stay was nearly at an end.

On the 17th, about ten o'clock, I went ashore, and found in the crowd old Geogy and his son, who soon made me understand that they wanted to dine with me; and accordingly I brought them and two more on board. They all called them *Areekees* (or kings); but I doubt if any of them had the least pretensions to that title over the whole island. It had been remarked that one of these kings had not authority enough to order one of the people up into a cocoa-nut tree to bring him down some nuts. Although he spoke to several, he was at last obliged to go himself, and by way of revenge, as it was thought, left not a nut on the

tree, taking what he wanted himself, and giving the rest to some of our people. When I got them on board, I went with them all over the ship, which they viewed with uncommon surprise and attention. We happened to have for their entertainment a kind of pie or pudding made of plantains, and some sort of greens which we had got from one of the natives. On this, and on yams, they made a hearty dinner; for as to the salt beef and pork, they would hardly taste them. In the afternoon, having made each of them a present of a hatchet, a spike-nail, and some medals, I conducted them ashore.

Mr. Forster and I then went over to the other side of the harbour, and having tried, with Fahrenheit's thermometer, the head of one of the hot springs, we found that the mercury rose to  $191^{\circ}$ . At this time the tide was up within two or three feet of the spring, so that we judged it might, in some degree, be cooled by it. We were mistaken, however; for, on repeating the experiment next morning, when the tide was out, the mercury rose no higher than  $187^{\circ}$ ; but at another spring, where the water bubbled out of the sand from under the rock at the S.W. corner of the harbour, the mercury, in the same thermometer, rose to  $202\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , which is but little colder than boiling water. The hot places before mentioned are from about three to four hundred feet perpendicular above these springs, and on the slope of the same ridge with the volcano; that is, there are no valleys between them but such as are formed in the ridge itself; nor is the volcano on the highest part of the ridge, but on the S.E. side of it. This is, I have been told, contrary to the general opinion of philosophers, who say that volcanoes must be on the summits of the highest hills. So far is this from being the case on this island, that some of its hills are more than double the height of that on which the volcano is, and close to it. To these remarks I must add, that, in wet or moist weather, the volcano was most violent. There seems to be room for some philosophical reasoning on these phenomena of nature; but not having any talent that way, I must content myself with stating facts as I found them, and leave the causes to men of more abilities.

The tiller was now finished; but as the wind was unfavourable for sailing, the guard was sent on shore on the 19th, as before, and a party of men to cut up and bring off the remainder of the tree from which we had got the tiller. Having nothing else to do, I went on shore with them, and finding a good number of the natives collected about the landing-place as usual, I distributed among them all the articles I had with me, and then went on board for more. In less than an hour I returned, just as our people were getting some large logs into the boat. At the same time four or five of the natives stepped forward to see what we were about, and as we did not allow them to come within certain limits, unless to pass along the beach, the sentry ordered them back, which they readily complied with. At this time, having my eyes fixed on them, I observed the sentry present his piece (as I thought at these men), and was just going to reprove him for it, because I had observed that, whenever this was done, some of the natives would hold up their arms, to let us see they were equally ready. But I was astonished beyond measure when the sentry fired, for I saw not the least cause. At this outrage most of the people fled: it was only a few I could prevail on to remain. As they ran off, I observed one man to fall; and he was immediately lifted up by two others, who took him into the water, washed his wound, and then led him off. Presently after, some came and described to me the nature of his wound; and, as I found he was not carried far, I sent for the surgeon. As soon as he arrived, I went with him to the man, whom we found expiring. The ball had struck his left arm, which was much shattered, and then entered his body by the short ribs, one of which was broken. The rascal who fired pretended that a man had laid an arrow across his bow, and was going to shoot at him, so that he apprehended himself in danger. But this was no more than they had always done, and with no other view than to show they were armed as well as we; at least I have reason to think so, as they never went farther. What made this incident the more unfortunate, was, it not appearing to be the man who bent the bow that was shot, but one who stood by him. This affair threw the natives into the utmost consternation; and the few that were prevailed on to stay ran to the plantations and brought cocoa-nuts, &c. which they laid down at our feet. So soon were these daring people humbled! When I went on board to dinner they all retired, and only a few appeared in the afternoon, amongst whom were Paowang and Wha-a-gou. I had not seen this young man since the day he dined on board. Both he and Paowang promised to bring me fruit, &c. the next morning, but our early departure put it out of their power.



CHAPTER VI.—DEPARTURE FROM TANNA ; WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF ITS INHABITANTS,  
THEIR MANNERS, AND ARTS.

DURING the night the wind had veered round to S.E. As this was favourable for getting out of the harbour, at four o'clock in the morning of the 20th we began to unmoor, and at eight, having weighed our last anchor, put to sea. As soon as we were clear of the land, I brought to, waiting for the launch which was left behind to take up a kedge-anchor and hawser we had out, to cast by. About day-break a noise was heard in the woods, nearly abreast of us, on the east side of the harbour, not unlike singing of psalms. I was told that the like had been heard at the same time every morning, but it never came to my knowledge till now, when it was too late to learn the occasion of it. Some were of opinion, that at the east point of the harbour (where we observed, in coming in, some houses, boats, &c.) was something sacred to religion, because some of our people had attempted to go to this point, and were prevented by the natives. I thought, and do still think, it was only owing to a desire they showed, on every occasion, of fixing bounds to our excursions. So far as we had once been, we might go again, but not farther with their consent ; but by encroaching a little every time, our country expeditions were insensibly extended without giving the least umbrage. Besides, these morning ceremonies, whether religious or not, were not performed down at that point, but in a part where some of our people had been daily.

I cannot say what might be the true cause of these people showing such dislike to our going up into their country : it might be owing to a naturally jealous disposition, or perhaps to their being accustomed to hostile visits from their neighbours, or quarrels among themselves. Circumstances seemed to show that such must frequently happen ; for we observed them very expert in arms, and well accustomed to them, seldom or never travelling without them. It is possible all this might be on our account, but I hardly think it. We never gave them the least molestation, nor did we touch any part of their property, not even the wood and water, without first having obtained their consent. The very cocoa-nuts, hanging over the heads of the workmen, were as safe as those in the middle of the island. It happened, rather fortunately, that there were so many cocoa-nut trees near the skirts of the harbour, which seemed not to be private property ; so that we could generally prevail on the natives to bring us some of these nuts, when nothing would induce them to bring any out of the country.

We were not wholly without refreshments ; for besides the fish, which our seine now and then provided us with, we procured daily some fruits or roots from the natives, though but little in proportion to what we could consume. The reason why we got no more might be our having nothing to give them in exchange which they thought valuable. They had not the least knowledge of iron ; consequently, nails and iron tools, beads, &c., which had so great a run at the more eastern isles, were of no consideration here ; and cloth can be of no use to people who go naked.

The produce of this island is bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, a fruit like a nectarine, yams, terra, a sort of potatoe, sugar-cane, wild figs, a fruit like an orange, which is not eatable, and some other fruit and nuts whose names I have not. Nor have I any doubt that the nutmeg before mentioned was the produce of this island. The bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and plantains : are neither so plentiful nor so good as at Otaheite ; on the other hand, sugar-canes and yams are not only in greater plenty, but of superior quality, and much larger. We got one of the latter which weighed fifty-six pounds, every ounce of which was good. Hogs did not seem to be scarce, but we saw not many fowls : these are the only domestic animals they have. Land-birds are not more numerous than at Otaheite and the other islands ; but we met with some small birds, with a very beautiful plumage, which we had never seen before. There is as great a variety of trees and plants here as at any island we touched at, where our botanists had time to examine. I believe these people live chiefly on the produce of the land, and that the sea contributes but little to their subsistence. Whether this arises from the coast not abounding with fish, or from their being bad fishermen, I know not ; both

causes perhaps concur. I never saw any sort of fishing-tackle amongst them, nor any one out fishing, except on the shoals, or along the shores of the harbour, where they would watch to strike with a dart such fish as came within their reach ; and in this they were expert. They seemed much to admire our catching fish with the seine, and, I believe, were not well pleased with it at last. I doubt not they have other methods of catching fish besides striking them.

We understood that the little isle of Immer was chiefly inhabited by fishermen, and that the canoes we frequently saw pass, to and from that isle and the east point of the harbour, were fishing-canoes. These canoes were of unequal sizes, some thirty feet long, two broad, and three deep ; and they are composed of several pieces of wood clumsily sewed together with bandages. The joints are covered on the outside by a thin batten champhered off at the edges, over which the bandages pass. They are navigated either by paddles or sails : the sail is latteen, extended to a yard and boom, and hoisted to a short mast. Some of the large canoes have two sails, and all of them outriggers.

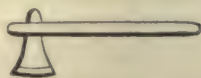
At first we thought the people of this island, as well as those of Erromango, were a race between the natives of the Friendly Islands and those of Mallicollo ; but a little acquaintance with them convinced us that they had little or no affinity to either, except it be in their hair, which is much like what the people of the latter island have. The general colours of it are black and brown, growing to a tolerable length, and very crisp and curly. They separate it into small locks, which they woold or cue round with the rind of a slender plant, down to about an inch of the ends ; and, as the hair grows, the woolding is continued. Each of these cues or locks is somewhat thicker than common whipeord, and they look like a parcel of small strings hanging down from the crown of their heads. Their beards, which are strong and bushy, are generally short. The women do not wear their hair so, but cropped ; nor do the boys, till they approach manhood. Some few men, women, and children were seen who had hair like ours ; but it was obvious that these were of another nation ; and I think we understood they came from Erronan. It is to this island they ascribe one of the two languages which they speak, and which is nearly, if not exactly, the same as that spoken at the Friendly Isles. It is, therefore, more than probable that Erronan was peopled from that nation, and that, by long intercourse with Tanna and the other neighbouring islands, each hath learnt the other's language, which they use indiscriminately. The other language which the people of Tanna speak, and, as we understood, those of Erromango and Annattom, is properly their own. It is different from any we had before met with, and bears no affinity to that of Mallicollo ; so that, it should seem, the people of these islands are a distinct nation of themselves. Mallicollo, Apee, &c., were names entirely unknown to them ; they even knew nothing of Sandwich Island, which is much the nearer. I took no small pains to know how far their geographical knowledge extended, and did not find that it exceeded the limits of their horizon.

These people are of the middle size, rather slender than otherwise ; many are little, but few tall or stout ; the most of them have good features, and agreeable countenances ; are like all the tropical race, active and nimble ; and seem to excel in the use of arms, but not to be fond of labour. They never would put a hand to assist in any work we were carrying on, which the people of the other islands used to delight in. But what I judge most from, is their making the females do the most laborious work, as if they were pack-horses. I have seen a woman carrying a large bundle on her back, or a child on her back and a bundle under her arm, and a fellow strutting before her with nothing but a club or spear, or some such thing. We have frequently observed little troops of women pass, to and fro, along the beach, laden with fruit and roots, escorted by a party of men under arms ; though, now and then, we have seen a man carry a burden at the same time, but not often. I know not on what account this was done, nor that an armed troop was necessary. At first, we thought they were moving out of the neighbourhood with their effects ; but we afterwards saw them both carry out and bring in every day.

I cannot say the women are beauties ; but I think them handsome enough for the men, and too handsome for the use that is made of them. Both sexes are of a very dark colour, but not black ; nor have they the least characteristic of the negro about them. They make themselves blacker than they really are, by painting their faces with a pigment of the colour



of black lead. They also use another sort which is red, and a third sort brown, or a colour between red and black. All these, but especially the first, they lay on, with a liberal hand, not only on the face, but on the neck, shoulders, and breast. The men wear nothing but a belt, and the wrapping leaf as at Mallicollo \*. The women have a kind of petticoat made of the filaments of the plantain-tree, flags, or some such thing, which reaches below the knee. Both sexes wear ornaments, such as bracelets, ear-rings, necklaces, and amulets. The bracelets are chiefly worn by the men; some made of sea-shells, and others of those of the cocoa-nut. The men also wear amulets; and those of most value being made of a greenish stone, the green stone of New Zealand is valued by them for this purpose. Necklaces are chiefly used by the women, and made mostly of shells. Ear-rings are common to both sexes, and those valued most are made of tortoise-shell. Some of our people having got some at the Friendly Islands, brought it to a good market here, where it was of more value than anything we had besides; from which I conclude that these people catch but few turtle, though I saw one in the harbour, just as we were getting under sail. I observed that, towards the latter end of our stay, they began to ask for hatchets, and large nails; so that it is likely they had found that iron is more serviceable than stone or shells, of which all their tools I have seen are made. Their stone hatchets, at least all those I saw, are not in the shape of adzes, as at the other islands, but more like an axe, in the form conjoined. In the helve, which is pretty thick, is made a hole into which the stone is fixed.



These people, besides the cultivation of ground, have few other arts worth mentioning. They know how to make a coarse kind of matting, and a coarse cloth of the bark of a tree, which is used chiefly for belts. The workmanship of their canoes, I have before observed, is very rude; and their arms, with which they take the most pains in point of neatness, come far short of some others we had seen. Their weapons are clubs, spears, or darts, bows and arrows, and stones. The clubs are of three or four kinds, and from three to five feet long. They seem to place most dependence on the darts, which are pointed with three bearded edges. In throwing them they make use of a becket, that is, a piece of stiff plaited cord about six inches long, with an eye in one end and a knot at the other. The eye is fixed on the fore-finger of the right hand, and the other end is hitched round the dart, where it is nearly on an equipoise. They hold the dart between the thumb and remaining fingers, which serve only to give it direction, the velocity being communicated by the becket and fore-finger. The former flies off from the dart the instant its velocity becomes greater than that of the hand, but it remains on the finger ready to be used again. With darts they kill both birds and fish, and are sure of hitting a mark, within the compass of the crown of a hat, at the distance of eight or ten yards; but, at double that distance, it is chance if they hit a mark the size of a man's body, though they will throw the weapon sixty or seventy yards. They always throw with all their might, let the distance be what it will. Darts, bows and arrows, are to them what muskets are to us. The arrows are made of reeds pointed with hard wood: some are bearded and some not, and those for shooting birds have two, three, and sometimes four points. The stones they use are, in general, the branches of coral rocks from eight to fourteen inches long, and from an inch to an inch and a half in diameter. I know not if they employ them as missive weapons; almost every one of them carries a club, and besides that, either darts, or a bow and arrows, but never both: those who had stones kept them generally in their belts.

I cannot conclude this account of their arms without adding an entire passage out of Mr. Wales's journal. As this gentleman was continually on shore amongst them, he had a better opportunity of seeing what they could perform than any of us. The passage is as follows: "I must confess I have been often led to think the feats which Homer represents his heroes as performing with their spears a little too much of the marvellous to be admitted into an heroic poem; I mean when confined within the strait stays of Aristotle. Nay, even so great an advocate for him as Mr. Pope acknowledges them to be *surprising*. But since I have seen what these people can do with their wooden spears, and those badly pointed, and not of a very hard nature, I have not the least exception to any one passage in that great

\* See note p. 499.

poet on this account. But, if I see fewer exceptions, I can find infinitely more beauties in him ; as he has, I think, scarce an action, circumstance, or description of any kind whatever, relating to a spear, which I have not seen and recognised among these people ; as their whirling motion, and whistling noise, as they fly ; their quivering motion, as they stick in the ground when they fall ; their meditating their aim, when they are going to throw ; and their shaking them in their hand as they go along, &c. &c."

I know no more of their cookery, than that it consists of roasting and baking ; for they have no vessel in which water can be boiled. Nor do I know that they have any other liquor but water and the juice of the cocoa-nut. We are utter strangers to their religion, and but little acquainted with their government. They seem to have chiefs among them ; at least some were pointed out to us by that title ; but, as I before observed, they appeared to have very little authority over the rest of the people. Old Geogy was the only one the people were ever seen to take the least notice of ; but whether this was owing to high rank or old age I cannot say. On several occasions I have seen the old men respected and obeyed. Our friend Paowang was so ; and yet I never heard him called chief, and have many reasons to believe that he had not a right to any more authority than many of his neighbours, and few, if any, were bound to obey him, or any other person in our neighbourhood ; for if there had been such a one, we certainly should, by some means, have known it. I named the harbour Port Resolution, after the ship, she being the first which ever entered it. It is situated on the north side of the most eastern point of the island, and about E.N.E. from the volcano ; in the latitude of  $19^{\circ} 32' 25'' \frac{1}{2}$  South, and in the longitude of  $169^{\circ} 44' 35''$  East. It is no more than a little creek running in S. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. three quarters of a mile, and is about half that in breadth. A shoal of sand and rocks lying on the east side makes it still narrower. The depth of water in the harbour is from six to three fathoms, and the bottom is sand and mud. No place can be more convenient for taking in wood and water ; for both are close to the shore. The water stunk a little after it had been a few days on board, but it afterwards turned sweet ; and, even when it was at the worst, the tin machine would, in a few hours, recover a whole cask. This is an excellent contrivance for sweetening water at sea, and is well known in the navy.

Mr. Wales, from whom I had the latitude and longitude, found the variation of the needle to be  $7^{\circ} 14' 12''$  East, and the dip of its south end  $45^{\circ} 2\frac{1}{2}'$ . He also observed the time of high water, on the full and change days, to be about 5h. 45m., and the tide to rise and fall three feet.

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#### CHAPTER VII.—THE SURVEY OF THE ISLANDS CONTINUED, AND A MORE PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF THEM.

As soon as the boats were hoisted in, we made sail, and stretched to the eastward, with a fresh gale at S.E., in order to have a nearer view of Erronan, and to see if there was any land in its neighbourhood. We stood on till midnight, when, having passed the island, we tacked, and spent the remainder of the night making two boards. At sunrise on the 21st, we stood to S.W. in order to get to the south of Tanna, and nearer to Anatom, to observe if any more land lay in that direction ; for an extraordinary clear morning had produced no discovery of any to the east. At noon having observed in latitude  $20^{\circ} 33' 30''$ , the situation of the lands around us was as follows. Port Resolution bore  $86^{\circ}$  West, distant six and a half leagues ; the island of Tanna extended from S.  $88^{\circ}$  West, to N.  $64^{\circ}$  West ; Traitor's Head N.  $58^{\circ}$  West, distant twenty leagues ; the island of Erronan N.  $86^{\circ}$  East, distant five leagues ; and Anatom from S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. to S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., distant ten leagues. We continued to stretch to the south till two o'clock P.M. when, seeing no more land before us, we bore up round the S.E. end of Tanna ; and, with a fine gale at E.S.E., ran along the south coast at one league from shore. It seemed a bold one, without the guard of any rocks ; and the country full as fertile as in the neighbourhood of the harbour, and making a fine appearance : At six o'clock the high land of Erromango appeared over the west end of Tanna in the direction of N.  $16^{\circ}$  West ; at eight o'clock we were past the island, and steered N.N.W. for



Sandwich Island, in order to finish the survey \* of it, and of the isles to the N.W. On the 22nd, at four o'clock P.M., we drew near the S.E. end, and ranging the south coast, found it to trend in the direction of W. and W.N.W. for about nine leagues. Near the middle of this length, and close to the shore, are three or four small isles, behind which seemed to be a safe anchorage. But not thinking I had any time to spare to visit this fine island, I continued to range the coast to its western extremity, and then steered N.N.W. for the S.E. end of Mallicollo, which, at half past six o'clock next morning, bore N.  $14^{\circ}$  East, distant seven or eight leagues, and Three-Hills Island S.  $82^{\circ}$  East. Soon after, we saw the islands Apee, Paoom, and Ambrym. What we had comprehended under the name of Paoom appeared now to be two isles, something like a separation being seen between the hill and the land to the West of it. We approached the S.W. side of Mallicollo to within half a league, and ranged it at that distance. From the S.E. point, the direction of the land is west, a little southerly, for six or seven leagues, and then N.W. by W. three leagues, to a pretty high point or head-land, situated in latitude  $16^{\circ} 29'$ , and which obtained the name of South-West Cape. The coast, which is low, seemed to be indented into creeks and projecting points; or else, these points were small isles lying under the shore. We were sure of one, which lies between two and three leagues east of the Cape. Close to the west side or point of the Cape lies, connected with it by breakers, a round rock or islet, which helps to shelter a fine bay, formed by an elbow in the coast, from the reigning winds.

The natives appeared in troops on many parts of the shore, and some seemed desirous to come off to us in canoes; but they did not: and, probably, our not shortening sail was the reason. From the South-West Cape, the direction of the coast is N. by W., but the most advanced land bore from it N.W. by N. at which the land seemed to terminate. Continuing to follow the direction of the coast, at noon it was two miles from us; and our latitude, by observation, was  $16^{\circ} 22' 30''$  South. This is nearly the parallel to Port Sandwich, and our never-failing guide, the watch, showed that we were  $26'$  W. of it; a distance which the breadth of Mallicollo cannot exceed in this parallel. The South-West Cape bore S.  $26^{\circ}$  East, distant seven miles; and the most advanced point of land, for which we steered, bore N.W. by N. At three o'clock we were the length of it, and found the land continued, and trending more and more to the north. We coasted it to its northern extremity, which we did not reach till after dark, at which time we were near enough the shore to hear the voices of people, who were assembled round a fire they had made on the beach. There we sounded, and found twenty fathoms and a bottom of sand; but, on edging off from the shore, we soon got out of sounding, and then made a trip back to the south till the moon got up. After this we stood again to the north, hauled round the point, and spent the night in Bougainville's passage; being assured of our situation before sunset, by seeing the land, on the north side of the passage, extending as far as N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. The south coast of Mallicollo, from the S.E. end to the S.W. Cape, is luxuriantly clothed with wood, and other productions of nature, from the sea-shore to the very summits of the hills. To the N.W. of the Cape the country is less woody, but more agreeably interspersed with lawns, some of which appeared to be cultivated. The summits of the hills seemed barren; and the highest lies between Port Sandwich and the S.W. Cape. Farther north, the land falls insensibly lower, and is less covered with wood. I believe it is a very fertile island, and well inhabited; for we saw smoke by day, and fire by night, in all parts of it.

Next morning at sunrise, we found ourselves nearly in the middle of the passage, the N.W. end of Mallicollo extending from S.  $30^{\circ}$  East, to S.  $58^{\circ}$  West; the land to the north from N.  $70^{\circ}$  West, to N.  $4^{\circ}$  East; and the Isle of Lepers bearing N.  $30^{\circ}$  East, distant eleven or twelve leagues. We now made sail, and steered N. by E., and afterwards north, along the east coast of the northern land, with a fine breeze at S.E. We found that this coast, which at first appeared to be continued, was composed of several low woody isles, the most of them of small extent, except the southernmost, which, on account of the day, I named St. Bartholomew. It is six or seven leagues in circuit, and makes the N.E. point of

\* The word Survey is not here to be understood in its literal sense. Surveying a place, according to my idea, is taking a geometrical plan of it, in which every place is to have its true situation, which cannot be done in a work of this nature.

Bougainville's Passage. At noon the breeze began to slacken. We were at this time between two and three miles from the land, and observed, in latitude  $15^{\circ} 23'$ , the Isle of Lepers bearing from E. by N. to E. by S., distant seven leagues; and a high bluff-head, at which the coast we were upon seemed to terminate, N.N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., distant ten or eleven leagues; but from the mast-head we could see land to the east. This we judged to be an island, and it bore N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W.

As we advanced to N.N.W. along a fine coast covered with woods, we perceived low land that extended off from the bluff-head towards the island above mentioned, but did not seem to join it. It was my intention to have gone through the channel, but the approach of night made me lay it aside, and steer without the island. During the afternoon we passed some small isles lying under the shore, and observed some projecting points of unequal height, but were not able to determine whether or not they were connected with the main land. Behind them was a ridge of hills which terminated at the bluff-head. There were cliffs, in some places of the coast, and white patches, which we judged to be chalk. At ten o'clock, being the length of the isle which lies off the head, we shortened sail, and spent the night making short boards. At daybreak on the 25th, we were on the north side of the island (which is of a moderate height, and three leagues in circuit), and steered west for the bluff-head along the low land under it. At sunrise an elevated coast came in sight beyond the bluff-head, extending to the north as far as N.W. by W. After doubling the head we found the land to trend south, a little easterly, and to form a large, deep bay, bounded on the west by the coast just mentioned.

Everything conspired to make us believe this was the bay of St. Philip and St. Jago, discovered by Quiros in 1606. To determine this point it was necessary to proceed farther up; for at this time we saw no end to it. The wind being at south, we were obliged to ply, and first stretched over for the west shore, from which we were three miles at noon, when our latitude was  $14^{\circ} 55' 30''$  south, longitude  $167^{\circ} 3'$  east; the mouth of the bay extending from N.  $64^{\circ}$  west to S.  $86^{\circ}$  east, which last direction was the bluff-head, distant three leagues. In the afternoon, the wind veering to the E.S.E., we could look up to the head of the bay; but as the breeze was faint, a N.E. swell hurled us over to the west shore; so that at half-past four o'clock P.M. we were no more than two miles from it, and tacked in one hundred and twenty fathoms water, a soft muddy bottom. The bluff-head, or east point of the bay, bore N.  $53^{\circ}$  east.

We had no sooner tacked than it fell calm, and we were left to the mercy of the swell, which continued to hurtle us towards the shore, where large troops of people were assembled. Some ventured off in two canoes; but all the signs of friendship we could make did not induce them to come alongside, or near enough to receive any present from us. At last they took sudden fright at something, and returned ashore. They were naked, except having some long grass, like flags, fastened to a belt, and hanging down before and behind, nearly as low as the knee. Their colour was very dark, and their hair woolly; or cut short, which made it seem so. The canoes were small, and had out-riggers. The calm continued till near eight o'clock, in which time we drove into eighty-five fathoms water, and so near the shore that I expected we should be obliged to anchor. A breeze of wind sprung up at E.S.E., and first took us on the wrong side; but, contrary to all our expectations, and when we had hardly room to veer, the ship came about, and having filled on the larboard tack, we stood off N.E. Thus we were relieved from the apprehensions of being forced to anchor in a great depth, on a lee shore, and in a dark and obscure night.

We continued to ply upwards, with variable light breezes between E.S.E. and S., till ten next morning, when it fell calm. We were, at this time, about seven or eight miles from the head of the bay, which is terminated by a low beach; and behind that is an extensive flat covered with wood, and bounded on each side by a ridge of mountains. At noon we found the latitude to be  $15^{\circ} 5'$  south, and were detained here by the calm till one o'clock P.M., when we got a breeze at N. by W., with which we steered up to within two miles of the head of the bay; and then I sent Mr. Cooper and Mr. Gilbert to sound and reconnoitre the coast, while we stood to and fro with the ship. This gave time to three sailing canoes, which had been following us some time, to come up. There were five or six men in each;



and they approached near enough to receive such things as were thrown to them fastened to a rope, but would not advance alongside. They were the same sort of people as those we had seen the preceding evening; indeed we thought they came from the same place. They seemed to be stouter and better shaped men than those of Mallicollo; and several circumstances concurred to make us think they were of another nation. They named the numerals as far as five or six, in the language of Anamocka, and understood us when we asked the names of the adjacent lands in that language. Some, indeed, had black short frizzled hair, like the natives of Mallicollo; but others had it long, tied up on the crown of the head, and ornamented with feathers, like the New Zealanders. Their other ornaments were bracelets and necklaces; one man had something like a white shell on his forehead; and some were painted with a blackish pigment. I did not see that they had any other weapon but darts and gigs, intended only for striking of fish. Their canoes were much like those of Tanna, and navigated in the same manner, or nearly so. They readily gave us the names of such parts as we pointed to: but we could not obtain from them the name of the island. At length, seeing our boats coming, they paddled in for the shore, notwithstanding all we could say or do to detain them.

When the boats returned, Mr. Cooper informed me, that they had landed on the beach which is at the head of the bay, near a fine river, or stream of fresh water, so large and deep, that they judged boats might enter it at high water. They found three fathoms depth close to the beach, and fifty-five and fifty, two cables' length off. Farther out they did not sound; and where we were with the ship, we had no soundings with a hundred and seventy fathoms line. Before the boats got on board, the wind had shifted to S.S.E. As we were in want of nothing, and had no time to spare, I took the advantage of this shift of wind, and steered down the bay. During the fore-part of the night, the country was illuminated with fires, from the sea-shore to the summits of the mountains; but this was only on the west side of the shore. I cannot pretend to say what was the occasion of these fires, but have no idea of their being on our account. Probably they were burning or clearing the ground for new plantations. At daybreak on the 27th, we found ourselves two-thirds down the bay; and, as we had but little wind, it was noon before we were the length of the N.W. point, which at this time bore N. 82° west, distant five miles. Latitude observed, 14° 39' 30".

Some of our gentlemen were doubtful of this being the bay of St. Philip and St. Jago, as there was no place which they thought could mean the port of Vera Cruz. For my part, I found general points to agree so well with Quiros's description, that I had not the least doubt about it. As to what he calls the port of Vera Cruz, I understand that to be the anchorage at the head of the bay, which in some places may extend farther off than where our boats landed. There is nothing in his account of the port which contradicts this supposition\*. It was but natural for his people to give a name to the place, independent of so large a bay, where they lay so long at anchor. A port is a vague term, like many others in geography, and has been very often applied to places far less sheltered than this. Our officers observed that grass and other plants grew on the beach close to high-water mark; which is always a sure sign of pacific anchorage, and an undeniable proof that there never is a great surf on the shore. They judged that the tide rose about four or five feet, and that boats and such craft might, at high water, enter the river, which seemed to be pretty deep and broad within; so that this, probably, is one of those mentioned by Quiros; and, if we were not deceived, we saw the other.

The bay hath twenty leagues sea-coast; six on the east side, which lies in the direction of S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  west, and N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  east; two at the head, and twelve on the west side, the direction of which is S. by E. and N. by W. from the head down to two-thirds of its length, and then N.W. by N. to the N.W. point. The two points which form the entrance lie in the direction of S. 53° east, and N. 53° west, from each other distant ten leagues. The bay is everywhere free from danger, and of unfathomable depth, except near the shores, which are for the most part low. This, however, is only a very narrow strip between the sea-shore and the foot of the hills; for the bay, as well as the flat land at the head of it, is

\* See Quiros's Voyage, in Dalrymple's Collection, vol. i. p. 136, 137.

bounded on each side by a ridge of hills, one of which, that to the west, is very high, and double, extending the whole length of the island. An uncommonly luxuriant vegetation was everywhere to be seen; the sides of the hills were checkered with plantations, and every valley watered by a stream. Of all the productions of nature this country was adorned with, the cocoa-nut trees were the most conspicuous. The columns of smoke we saw by day, and the fires by night, all over the country, led us to believe that it is well inhabited and very fertile. The east point of this bay, which I name Cape Quiros, in memory of its first discoverer, is situated in latitude  $14^{\circ} 56'$  south, longitude  $167^{\circ} 13'$  east. The N.W. point, which I named Cape Cumberland, in honour of his Royal Highness the Duke, lies in the latitude of  $14^{\circ} 38' 45''$  south, longitude  $166^{\circ} 49\frac{1}{2}'$  east, and is the N.W. extremity of this archipelago; for, after doubling it, we found the coast to trend gradually round to the S. and S.S.E.

On the 28th and 29th we had light airs and calms, so that we advanced but little. In this time we took every opportunity, when the horizon was clearer than usual, to look out for more land; but none was seen. By Quiros's track to the north, after leaving the bay above mentioned, it seems probable that there is none nearer than Queen Charlotte's Island, discovered by Captain Carteret, which lies about ninety leagues N.N.W. from Cape Cumberland, and I take to be the same with Quiros's Santa Cruz. On the 30th the calm was succeeded by a fresh breeze at S.S.E., which enabled us to ply up the coast. At noon we observed in  $15^{\circ} 20'$ ; afterwards we stretched in east, to within a mile of the shore, and then tacked, in seventy-five fathoms, before a sandy flat, on which several of the natives made their appearance. We observed, on the sides of the hills, several plantations that were laid out by line, and fenced round. On the 31st, at noon, the S. or S.W. point of the island bore N.  $62^{\circ}$  east, distant four leagues. This forms the N.W. point of what I call Bougainville's Passage; the N.E. point, at this time, bore N.  $85^{\circ}$  east, and the N.W. end of Mollicollo from S.  $54^{\circ}$  east to S.  $72^{\circ}$  east. Latitude observed,  $15^{\circ} 45'$  S. In the afternoon, in stretching to the east, we weathered the S.W. point of the island, from which the coast trends east northerly. It is low, and seemed to form some creeks or coves; and, as we got farther into the passage, we perceived some small low isles lying along it, which seemed to extend behind St. Bartholomew Island.

Having now finished the survey of the whole archipelago, the season of the year made it necessary for me to return to the south, while I had yet some time left to explore any land I might meet with between this and New Zealand; where I intended to touch, that I might refresh my people, and recruit our stock of wood and water for another southern course. With this view, at five P.M. we tacked, and hauled to the southward, with a fresh gale at S.E. At this time the N.W. point of the passage, or the S.W. point of the island Tierra del Espiritu Santo, the only remains of Quiros's continent, bore N.  $82^{\circ}$  west, distant three leagues. I named it Cape Lisburne, and its situation is in latitude  $15^{\circ} 40'$ , longitude  $165^{\circ} 59'$  east.

The foregoing account of these islands, in the order in which we explored them, not being particular enough either as to situation or description, it may not be improper now to give a more accurate view of them, which, with the chart, will convey to the reader a better idea of the whole group.

The northern islands of this archipelago were first discovered by that great navigator, Quiros, in 1606; and, not without reason, were considered as part of the southern continent, which, at that time, and until very lately, was supposed to exist. They were next visited by M. de Bougainville, in 1768; who, besides landing on the Isle of Lapers, did no more than discover that the land was not connected, but composed of islands, which he called the Great Cyclades. But as, besides ascertaining the extent and situation of these islands, we added to them several new ones which were not known before, and explored the whole, I think we have obtained a right to name them; and shall in future distinguish them by the name of the New Hebrides. They are situated between the latitude of  $14^{\circ} 29'$  and  $20^{\circ} 4'$  south, and between  $166^{\circ} 41'$  and  $170^{\circ} 21'$  east longitude, and extend an hundred and twenty-five leagues in the direction of N.N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  west, and S.S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  east.

The most northern island is that called by M. de Bougainville Peak of the Etoile. It is



situated, according to his account, in latitude  $14^{\circ} 29'$ , longitude  $168^{\circ} 9'$ ; and, N. by W., eight leagues from Aurora. The next island, which lies farthest north, is that of *Tierra del Espiritu Santo*. It is the most western and largest of all the *Hebrides*, being twenty-two leagues long, in the direction of N.N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  west, and S.S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  east, twelve in breadth, and sixty in circuit. We have obtained the true figure of this island very accurately. The land of it, especially the west side, is exceedingly high and mountainous; and, in many places, the hills rise directly from the sea. Except the cliffs and beaches, every other part is covered with wood, or laid out in plantations. Besides the Bay of St. Philip and St. Jago, the isles which lie along the south and east coast cannot, in my opinion, fail of forming some good bays or harbours.

The next considerable island is that of *Mallicollo*, to the S.E. It extends N.W. and S.E., and is eighteen leagues long in that direction. Its greatest breadth, which is at the S.E. end, is eight leagues. The N.W. end is two-thirds this breadth; and nearer the middle, one-third. This contraction is occasioned by a wide and pretty deep bay on the S.W. side. To judge of this island from what we saw of it, it must be very fertile and well inhabited. The land on the sea-coast is rather low, and lies with a gentle slope from the hills which are in the middle of the island. Two-thirds of the N.E. coast were only seen at a great distance; therefore the delineations of it on the chart can have no pretensions to accuracy; but the other parts, I apprehend, are without any material errors. *St. Bartholomew* lies between the S.E. end of *Tierra del Espiritu Santo*, and the north end of *Mallicollo*; and the distance between it and the latter is eight miles. This is the passage through which *M. de Bougainville* went; and the middle of it is in latitude  $15^{\circ} 48'$ . The *Isle of Lepers* lies between *Espiritu Santo* and *Aurora Island*, eight leagues from the former, and three from the latter, in latitude  $15^{\circ} 22'$ , and nearly under the same meridian as the S.E. end of *Mallicollo*. It is of an egg-like figure, very high, and eighteen or twenty leagues in circuit. Its limits were determined by several bearings; but the lines of the shore were traced out by guess, except the N.E. part, where is anchorage half a mile from the land.

*Aurora*, *Whitsuntide*, *Ambrym*, *Paoom*, and its neighbour *Apee*, *Threehills*, and *Sandwich Islands*, lie all nearly under the meridian of  $167^{\circ} 29'$  or  $30'$  east, extending from the latitude of  $14^{\circ} 51' 30''$ , to  $17^{\circ} 53' 30''$ . The island of *Aurora* lies N. by W. and S. by E., and is eleven leagues long in that direction; but I believe it hardly anywhere exceeds two or two and a half in breadth. It hath a good height, its surface hilly, and everywhere covered with wood, except where the natives have their dwellings and plantations. *Whitsuntide Isle*, which is one league and a half to the south of *Aurora*, is of the same length, and lies in the direction of north and south, but is something broader than *Aurora Island*. It is considerably high, and clothed with wood, except such parts as seemed to be cultivated, which were pretty numerous.

From the south end of *Whitsuntide Island* to the north side of *Ambrym* is two leagues and a half. This is about seventeen leagues in circuit; its shores are rather low, but the land rises with an unequal ascent to a tolerably high mountain in the middle of the island, from which ascended great columns of smoke; but we were not able to determine whether this was occasioned by a volcano or not. That it is fertile and well inhabited seems probable, from the quantities of smoke which we saw rise out of the woods, in such parts of the island as came within the compass of our sight; for it must be observed, that we did not see the whole of it. We saw much less still of *Paoom*, and its neighbourhood. I can say no more of this island than that it towers up to a great height, in the form of a round haystack; and the extent of it, and of the adjoining isle (if there are two) cannot exceed three or four leagues in any direction; for the distance between *Ambrym* and *Apee* is hardly five; and they lie in this space, and east from *Port Sandwich*, distant about seven or eight leagues. The island of *Apee* is not less than twenty leagues in circuit; its longest direction is about eight leagues N.W. and S.E.; it is of considerable height, and hath a hilly surface, diversified with woods and lawns, the west and south parts especially; for the others we did not see.

*Shepherd's Isles* are a group of small ones of unequal size, extending off from the S.E. point of *Apee* about five leagues, in the direction of S.E. The island *Threehills* lies south four

leagues from the coast of Apee, and S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S., distant seventeen leagues from Port Sandwich: to this, and what has been already said of it, I shall only add, that W. by N., five miles from the west point, is a reef of rocks on which the sea continually breaks.

Nine leagues, in the direction of south, from Threehills, lies Sandwich Island. Twohills, the Monument, and Montagu Islands, lie to the east of this line, and Hinchinbrook to the west, as also two or three small isles which lie between it and Sandwich Island, to which they are connected by breakers. Sandwich Island is twenty-five leagues in circuit; its greatest extent is ten leagues; and it lies in the direction of N.W. by W., and S.E. by E. The N.W. coast of this island we only viewed at a distance; therefore the chart in this part may be faulty, so far as it regards the line of the coast, but no farther. The distance from the south end of Mallicollo to the N.W. end of Sandwich Island is twenty-two leagues in the direction of S.S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E.

In the same direction lie Erromango, Tanna, and Annattom. The first is eighteen leagues from Sandwich Island, and is twenty-four or twenty-five leagues in circuit. The middle of it lies in the latitude of  $18^{\circ} 54'$ , longitude  $169^{\circ} 19'$  E., and it is of a good height, as may be gathered from the distance we were off when we first saw it. Tanna lies six leagues from the south side of Erromango, extending S.E. by S. and N.W. by N., about eight leagues long in that direction, and everywhere about three or four leagues broad.

The Isle of Immer lies in the direction of N. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., four leagues from Port Resolution in Tanna; and the island of Erronan or Footoon east, in the same direction, distant eleven leagues. This, which is the most eastern island of all the Hebrides, did not appear to be above five leagues in circuit, but of a considerable height, and flat at top. On the N.E. side is a little peak, seemingly disjoined from the isle, but we thought it was connected by low land. Annattom, which is the southernmost island, is situated in the latitude of  $20^{\circ} 3'$ , longitude  $170^{\circ} 4'$ , and S.  $30^{\circ}$  E., eleven or twelve leagues from Port Resolution. It is of a good height, with a hilly surface; and more I must not say of it.

Here follow the lunar observations by Mr. Wales, for ascertaining the longitude of these islands, reduced by the watch to Port Sandwich in Mallicollo and Port Resolution in Tanna.

PORT SANDWICH,	Mean of 10 sets of observ. before . . .		167° 56' 33" $\frac{1}{4}$	} E. Long.
	. . . 2 Ditto . . . . . at		168 2 37 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	. . . 20 Ditto . . . . . after		167 52 57	
	Mean of those means . . . . .		167 57 22 $\frac{3}{4}$	
PORT RESOLUTION,	Mean of 20 sets of observ. before . . .		169 37 35	} E. Long.
	. . . 5 Ditto . . . . . at		169 48 48	
	. . . 20 Ditto . . . . . after		169 47 22 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	Mean of those means . . . . .		169 44 35	

It is necessary to observe, that each set of observations, consisting of between six and ten observed distances of the sun and moon, or moon and stars, the whole number amounts to several hundreds; and these have been reduced, by means of the watch, to all the islands; so that the longitude of each is as well ascertained as that of the two ports above mentioned. As a proof of this, I shall only observe, that the longitude of the two ports, as pointed out by the watch and by the observations, did not differ two miles. This also shows what degree of accuracy these observations are capable of, when multiplied to a considerable number, made with different instruments, and with the sun and stars, on both sides of the moon. By this last method, the errors, which may be either in the instruments or lunar tables, destroy one another, and likewise those which may arise from the observer himself; for some men may observe closer than others. If we consider the number of observations that may be obtained in the course of a month (if the weather is favourable), we shall perhaps find this method of finding the longitude of places as accurate as most others; at least, it is the most easy, and attended with the least expense to the observer. Every ship that goes to foreign parts is, or may be, supplied with a sufficient number of quadrants at a small expense; I mean good ones, proper for making these observations. For the difference of the price between a good and bad one, I apprehend, can never be an



object with an officer. The most expensive article, and what is in some measure necessary in order to arrive at the utmost accuracy, is a good watch; but for common use, and where that strict accuracy is not required, this may be dispensed with. I have observed before, in this journal, that this method of finding the longitude is not so difficult but that any man, with proper application, and a little practice, may soon learn to make these observations as well as the astronomers themselves. I have seldom known any material difference between the observations made by Mr. Wales, and those made by the officers at the same time\*.

In observing the variation of the magnetic needle, we found, as usual, our compasses differ among themselves, sometimes near  $2^{\circ}$ ; the same compass, too, would sometimes make nearly this difference in the variation on different days, and even between the morning and evening of the same day, when our change of situation has been but very little. By the mean of the observations which I made about Erromango, and the S.E. part of these islands, the variation of the compass was  $10^{\circ} 5' 48''$  east; and the mean of those made about Tierra del Espiritu Santo gave  $10^{\circ} 5' 30''$  east. This is considerably more than Mr. Wales found it to be at Tanna. I cannot say what might occasion this difference in the variation observed at sea and on shore, unless it be influenced by the land; for I must give the preference to that found at sea, as it is agreeable to what we observed before we made the islands, and after we left them.

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CHAPTER VIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF NEW CALEDONIA, AND THE INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED WHILE THE SHIP LAY IN BALADE.

At sunrise on the 1st of September, after having stood to S.W. all night, no more land was to be seen. The wind remaining in the S.E. quarter, we continued to stand to S.W. On the 2nd, at five o'clock P.M., being in the latitude  $18^{\circ} 22'$ , longitude  $165^{\circ} 26'$ , the variation was  $10^{\circ} 50'$  east; and at the same hour on the 3rd, it was  $10^{\circ} 51'$ , latitude at that time  $19^{\circ} 14'$ , longitude  $165^{\circ}$  east. The next morning, in the latitude of  $19^{\circ} 49'$ , longitude  $164^{\circ} 53'$ , the amplitude gave  $10^{\circ} 21'$ , and the azimuths  $10^{\circ} 7'$  east. At eight o'clock, as we were steering to the south, land was discovered bearing S.S.W., and at noon it extended from S.S.E. to W. by S., distant about six leagues. We continued to steer for it with a light breeze at east, till five in the evening, when we were stopped by a calm. At this time we were three leagues from the land, which extended from S.E. by S. to W. by N., round by the S.W. Some openings appeared in the west, so that we could not tell whether it was one connected land or a group of islands. To the S.E. the coast seemed to terminate in a high promontory, which I named Cape Colnett, after one of my midshipmen, who first discovered this land. Breakers were seen about half-way between us and the shore; and, behind them, two or three canoes under sail, standing out to sea, as if their design had been to come off to us; but a little before sunset they struck their sails, and we saw them no more. After a few hours' calm, we got a breeze at S.E., and spent the night standing off and on.

On the 5th, at sunrise, the horizon being clear, we could see the coast extend to the S.E. of Cape Colnett, and round by the S.W. to N.W. by W. Some gaps or openings were yet to be seen to the west; and a reef, or breakers, seemed to lie all along the coast, connected with those we discovered the preceding night. It was a matter of indifference to me whether we plied up the coast to the S.E. or bore down to N.W. I chose the latter; and after running two leagues down the outside of the reef (for such it proved), we came before an opening that had the appearance of a good channel, through which we might go in for the land. I wanted to get at it, not only to visit it, but also to have an opportunity to observe an eclipse of the sun which was soon to happen. With this view we brought to, hoisted out two armed boats, and sent them to sound the channel, ten or twelve large sailing canoes being then near us. We had observed them coming off from the shore, all the morning, from different parts; and some were lying on the reef, fishing as we supposed. As soon as

\* See page 443.

they all got together, they came down to us in a body, and were pretty near when we were hoisting out our boats, which probably gave them some alarm; for, without stopping, they hauled in for the reef, and our boats followed them. We now saw that what we had taken for openings in the coast was low land, and that it was all connected, except the western extremity, which was an island, known by the name of Balabea, as we afterwards learnt.

The boats having made a signal for a channel, and one of them being placed on the point of the reef, on the weather side of it, we stood in with the ship, and took up the other boat in our way, when the officer informed me, that where we were to pass, was sixteen and fourteen fathoms water, a fine sandy bottom, and that, having put alongside two canoes, he found the people very obliging and civil. They gave him some fish; and, in return, he presented them with medals, &c. In one was a stout robust young man, whom they understood to be a chief. After getting within the reef, we hauled up S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. for a small low sandy isle that we observed lying under the shore, being followed by all the canoes. Our sounding, in standing in, was from fifteen to twelve fathoms (a pretty even fine sandy bottom), for about two miles; then we had six, five, and four fathoms. This was on the tail of a shoal which lies a little without the small isle to the N.E. Being over it, we found seven and eight fathoms water, which shallowed gradually, as we approached the shore, to three fathoms, when we tacked, stood off a little, and then anchored in five fathoms, the bottom a fine sand mixed with mud. The little sandy isle bore E. by S., three quarters of a mile distant; and we were one mile from the shore of the main, which extended from S.E. by E. round by the south to W.N.W. The island of Balabea bore N.W. by N., and the channel, through which we came, north, four miles distant. In this situation we were extremely well sheltered from the reigning winds, by the sandy isle and its shoals, and by the shoal without them.

We had hardly got to an anchor before we were surrounded by a great number of the natives, in sixteen or eighteen canoes, the most of whom were without any sort of weapons. At first they were shy of coming near the ship; but in a short time we prevailed on the people in one boat to get close enough to receive some presents. These we lowered down to them by a rope; to which, in return, they tied two fish that stunk intolerably, as did those they gave us in the morning. These mutual exchanges bringing on a kind of confidence, two ventured on board the ship; and presently after she was filled with them, and we had the company of several at dinner in the cabin. Our pea-soup, salt beef, and pork, they had no curiosity to taste; but they ate of some yams, which we happened to have yet left, calling them *Oobee*. This name is not unlike *Oofee*, as they are called at most of the islands, except Mallicollo; nevertheless we found these people spoke a language new to us. Like all the nations we had lately seen, the men were almost naked, having hardly any other covering but such a wrapper as is used at Mallicollo\*. They were curious in examining every part of the ship, which they viewed with uncommon attention. They had not the least knowledge of goats, hogs, dogs, or cats, and had not even a name for one of them. They seemed fond of large spike-nails, and pieces of red cloth, or indeed of any other colour; but red was their favourite.

After dinner I went on shore with two armed boats, having with us one of the natives who had attached himself to me. We landed on a sandy beach before a vast number of people, who had got together with no other intent than to see us; for many of them had not a stick in their hands; consequently we were received with great courtesy, and with the surprise natural for people to express at seeing men and things so new to them as we must be. I made presents to all those my friend pointed out, who were either old men, or such as seemed to be of some note; but he took not the least notice of some women who stood behind the crowd, holding my hand when I was going to give them some beads and medals. Here we found the same chief who had been seen in one of the canoes in the morning. His name, we now learnt, was Teabooma; and we had not been on shore above ten minutes, before he called for silence. Being instantly obeyed by every individual present, he made a short speech; and soon after another chief having called for silence, made a speech also. It was pleasing to see with what attention they were heard. Their speeches were composed of

\* See the note at page 499.



short sentences ; to each of which two or three old men answered, by nodding their heads, and giving a kind of grunt, significant, as I thought, of approbation. It was impossible for us to know the purport of these speeches ; but we had reason to think they were favourable to us, on whose account they doubtless were made. I kept my eyes fixed on the people all the time, and saw nothing to induce me to think otherwise. While we were with them, having inquired, by signs, for fresh water, some pointed to the east, and others to the west. My friend undertook to conduct us to it, and embarked with us for that purpose. We rowed about two miles up the coast to the east, where the shore was mostly covered with mangrove trees ; and entering amongst them, by a narrow creek or river, which brought us to a little straggling village above all the mangroves, there we landed, and were shown fresh water. The ground near this village was finely cultivated, being laid out in plantations of sugar-canes, plantains, yams, and other roots ; and watered by little rills, conducted by art from the main stream, whose source was in the hills. Here were some cocoa-nut trees, which did not seem burdened with fruit. We heard the crowing of cocks, but saw none. Some roots were baking on a fire, in an earthen jar, which would have held six or eight gallons ; nor did we doubt its being their own manufacture. As we proceeded up the creek, Mr. Forster having shot a duck flying over our heads, which was the first use these people saw made of our fire-arms, my friend begged to have it ; and when he landed, told his countrymen in what manner it was killed. The day being far spent, and the tide not permitting us to stay longer in the creek, we took leave of the people, and got on board a little after sunset. From this little excursion, I found that we were to expect nothing from these people but the privilege of visiting their country undisturbed. For it was easy to see they had little else than good-nature to bestow. In this they exceeded all the nations we had yet met with ; and, although it did not satisfy the demands of nature, it at once pleased and left our minds at ease.

Next morning we were visited by some hundreds of the natives ; some coming in canoes, and others swimming off ; so that before ten o'clock, our decks, and all other parts of the ship, were quite full with them. My friend, who was of the number, brought me a few roots, but all the others came empty in respect to eatables. Some few had with them their arms, such as clubs and darts, which they exchanged for nails, pieces of cloth, &c. After breakfast, I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill with two armed boats to look for fresh water ; for what we found the day before was by no means convenient for us to get on board. At the same time, Mr. Wales, accompanied by Lieutenant Clerke, went to the little isle to make preparations for observing the eclipse of the sun, which was to be in the afternoon. Mr. Pickersgill soon returning, informed me that he had found a stream of fresh water, pretty convenient to come at. I therefore ordered the launch to be hoisted out to complete our water, and then went to the isle to assist in the observation.

About one P.M. the eclipse came on. Clouds interposed, and we lost the first contact, but were more fortunate in the end, which was observed as follows :—

By Mr. Wales with Dollond's $3\frac{1}{2}$ foot achromatic refractor, at	3h 28' 49 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	} Apparent time.
By Mr. Clerke with Bird's 2 foot reflector, at	3 28 52 $\frac{1}{2}$	
And by me with an 18 inch reflector, made by Watkins	3 28 53 $\frac{1}{2}$	

Latitude of the isle or place of observation,  $20^{\circ} 17' 39''$  south.

Longitude per distance of the sun and moon, and moon and stars,  $164^{\circ} 41' 21''$  E.

Ditto per watch . . . . . 163 58 0

Mr. Wales measured the quantity eclipsed by a Hadley's quadrant, a method never before thought of. I am of opinion it answers the purpose of a micrometer to a great degree of certainty, and is a great addition to the use of this most valuable instrument. After all was over, we returned on board, where I found Teaboona the chief, who soon after slipped out of the ship without my knowledge, and by that means lost the present I had made up for him. In the evening I went ashore to the watering-place, which was at the head of a little creek, at a fine stream that came from the hills. It was necessary to have a small boat in the creek to convey the casks from and to the beach over which they were rolled, and then put into the launch ; as only a small boat could enter the creek, and that only at high water.

Excellent wood for fuel was here far more convenient than water, but this was an article we did not want. About seven o'clock this evening, died Simon Monk, our butcher, a man much esteemed in the ship; his death being occasioned by a fall down the fore-hatchway the preceding night.

Early in the morning of the 7th, the watering-party, and a guard, under the command of an officer, were sent ashore; and soon after, a party of us went to take a view of the country. As soon as we landed, we made known our design to the natives, and two of them undertaking to be our guides, conducted us up the hills by a tolerably good path. In our route we met several people, most of whom turned back with us; so that at last our train was numerous. Some we met who wanted us to return; but we paid no regard to their signs, nor did they seem uneasy when we proceeded. At length we reached the summit of one of the hills, from which we saw the sea in two places, between some advanced hills on the opposite or S.W. side of the land. This was a useful discovery, as it enabled us to judge of the breadth of the land, which, in this part, did not exceed ten leagues. Between those advanced hills and the ridge we were upon, was a large valley, through which ran a serpentine river. On the banks of this were several plantations, and some villages, whose inhabitants we had met on the road, and found more on the top of the hill gazing at the ship, as might be supposed. The plain or flat land, which lies along the shore we were upon, appeared from the hills to a great advantage; the winding streams which ran through it, the plantations, the little straggling villages, the variety in the woods, and the shoals on the coast, so variegating the scene, that the whole might afford a picture for romance. Indeed, if it were not for those fertile spots on the plains, and some few on the sides of the mountains, the whole country might be called a dreary waste. The mountains and other high places are, for the most part, incapable of cultivation, consisting chiefly of rocks, many of which are full of mundicks. The little soil that is upon them is scorched and burnt up with the sun; it is, nevertheless, coated with coarse grass and other plants, and here and there trees and shrubs. The country in general bore great resemblance to some parts of New Holland under the same parallel of latitude, several of its natural productions seeming to be the same, and the woods being without underwood, as in that country. The reefs on the coast, and several other similarities, were obvious to every one who had seen both countries. We observed all the N.E. coast to be covered with shoals and breakers, extending to the northward, beyond the isle of Balabea, till they were lost in the horizon. Having made these observations, and our guides not choosing to go farther, we descended the mountains by a road different from that by which we ascended. This brought us down through some of their plantations in the plains, which I observed were laid out with great judgment, and cultivated with much labour. Some of them were lying in fallow; some seemingly lately laid down, and others of longer date, pieces of which they were again beginning to dig up. The first thing I observed they did, was to set fire to the grass, &c. which had over-run the surface. Recruiting the land by letting it lie some years untouched, is observed by all the nations in the sea; but they seem to have no notion of manuring it, at least I have nowhere seen it done. Our excursion was finished by noon, when we returned on board to dinner; and one of our guides having left us, we brought the other with us, whose fidelity was rewarded at a small expense.

In the afternoon, I made a little excursion alongshore to the westward, in company with Mr. Wales. Besides making observations on such things as we met, we got the names of several places, which I then thought were islands; but, upon farther inquiry, I found they were districts upon this same land. This afternoon, a fish being struck by one of the natives near the watering-place, my clerk purchased it, and sent it to me after my return on board. It was of a new species, something like a sun-fish, with a large, long, ugly head. Having no suspicion of its being of a poisonous nature, we ordered it to be dressed for supper; but, very luckily, the operation of drawing and describing took up so much time, that it was too late, so that only the liver and roe were dressed, of which the two Mr. Forsters and myself did but taste. About three o'clock in the morning, we found ourselves seized with an extraordinary weakness and numbness all over our limbs: I had almost lost the sense of feeling, nor could I distinguish between light and heavy bodies, of such as I had strength to move;



a quart pot full of water and a feather being the same in my hand. We each of us took an emetic, and after that a sweat, which gave us much relief. In the morning, one of the pigs which had eaten the entrails was found dead. When the natives came on board, and saw the fish hang up, they immediately gave us to understand it was not wholesome food, and expressed the utmost abhorrence of it; though no one was observed to do this when the fish was to be sold, or even after it was purchased.

On the 8th, the guard and a party of men were on shore as usual. In the afternoon, I received a message from the officer, acquainting me that Teabooma, the chief, was come with a present, consisting of a few yams and sugar-canes. In return I sent him, amongst other articles, a dog and a bitch, both young, but nearly full-grown. The dog was red and white, but the bitch was all red, or the colour of an English fox. I mention this, because they may prove the Adam and Eve of their species in that country. When the officer returned on board in the evening, he informed me that the chief came attended by about twenty men, so that it looked like a visit of ceremony. It was some time before he would believe the dog and bitch were intended for him; but as soon as he was convinced, he seemed lost in an excess of joy, and sent them away immediately. Next morning early, I despatched Lieutenant Pickersgill and Mr. Gilbert, with the launch and cutter, to explore the coast to the west; judging this would be better effected in the boats than in the ship, as the reefs would force the latter several leagues from land. After breakfast, a party of men was sent ashore to make brooms; but myself and the two Mr. Forsters were confined on board, though much better, a good sweat having had a happy effect. In the afternoon, a man was seen, both ashore and alongside the ship, said to be as white as any European. From the account I had of him (for I did not see him), his whiteness did not proceed from hereditary descent, but from chance or some disease; and such have been seen at Otaheite and the Society Isles\*. A fresh easterly wind, and the ship lying a mile from the shore, did not hinder these good-natured people from swimming off to us in shoals of twenty or thirty, and returning the same way.

On the 10th, a party was on shore as usual; and Mr. Forster so well recovered as to go out botanizing. In the evening of the 11th the boats returned, when I was informed of the following circumstances. From an elevation which they reached the morning they set out, they had a view of the coast. Mr. Gilbert was of opinion that they saw the termination of it to the west, but Mr. Pickersgill thought not; though both agreed that there was no passage for the ship that way. From this place, accompanied by two of the natives, they went to Balabea, which they did not reach till after sunset, and left again next morning before sunrise; consequently this was a fruitless expedition, and the two following days were spent in getting up to the ship. As they went down to the isle, they saw abundance of turtle, but the violence of the wind and sea made it impossible to strike any. The cutter was near being lost, by suddenly filling with water, which obliged them to throw several things overboard before they could free her and stop the leak she had sprung. From a fishing canoe, which they met coming in from the reefs, they got as much fish as they could eat; and they were received by Teabi, the chief of the isle of Balabea, and the people, who came in numbers to see them, with great courtesy. In order not to be too much crowded, our people drew a line on the ground, and gave the others to understand they were not to come within it. This restriction they observed; and one of them, soon after, turned it to his own advantage: for happening to have a few cocoa-nuts, which one of our people wanted to buy, and he was unwilling to part with, he walked off, and was followed by the man who wanted them. On seeing this, he sat down on the sand, made a circle round him, as he had seen our people do, and signified that the other was not to come within it; which was accordingly observed. As this story was well attested, I thought it not unworthy of a place in this journal.

Early in the morning of the 12th, I ordered the carpenter to work, to repair the cutter, and the water to be replaced which we had expended the three preceding days. As Tea-

\* Wafer met with Indians in the Isthmus of Darien of the colour of a white horse. See his *Description of the Isthmus*, p. 134. See also Mr. de Paw's Philosophical

Inquiries concerning the Americans, where several other instances of this remarkable whiteness are mentioned, and the causes of it attempted to be explained.

booma, the chief, had not been seen since he got the dogs, and I wanted to lay a foundation for stocking the country with hogs also, I took a young boar and sow with me in the boat, and went up the mangrove creek to look for my friend, in order to give them to him. But when we arrived there, we were told that he lived at some distance, and that they would send for him. Whether they did or not, I cannot say; but, he not coming, I resolved to give them to the first man of note I met with. The guide we had to the hills happening to be there, I made him understand that I intended to leave the two pigs on shore, and ordered them out of the boat for that purpose. I offered them to a grave old man, thinking he was a proper person to entrust them with; but he shook his head, and he, and all present, made signs to take them into the boat again. When they saw I did not comply, they seemed to consult with one another what was to be done; and then our guide told me to carry them to the *Alekee* (chief). Accordingly I ordered them to be taken up, and we were conducted by him to a house wherein were seated, in a circle, eight or ten middle-aged persons. To them I and my pigs being introduced, with great courtesy they desired me to sit down; and then I began to expatiate on the merits of the two pigs, explaining to them how many young ones the female would have at one time, and how soon these would multiply to some hundreds. My only motive was to enhance their value, that they might take the more care of them; and I had reason to think I, in some measure, succeeded. In the mean time, two men having left the company, soon returned with six yams, which were presented to me; and then I took leave and went on board.

I have already observed, that here was a little village; I now found it much larger than I expected, and about it a good deal of cultivated land, regularly laid out, planted and planting with taro or eddy root, yams, sugar-canes, and plantains. The taro plantations were prettily watered by little rills, continually supplied from the main channel at the foot of the mountains, from whence these streams were conducted in artful meanders. They have two methods of planting these roots; some are in square or oblong patches, which lie perfectly horizontal, and sink below the common level of the adjacent land; so that they can let in on them as much water as they think necessary. I have generally seen them covered two or three inches deep; but I do not know that this is always necessary. Others are planted in ridges about three or four feet broad, and two or two and a half high. On the middle or top of the ridge is a narrow gutter, in and along which is conveyed, as above described, a little rill that waters the roots planted in the ridge on each side of it; and these plantations are so judiciously laid out, that the same stream waters several ridges. These ridges are sometimes the divisions to the horizontal plantations; and when this method is used, which is for the most part observed where a pathway or something of that sort is requisite, not an inch of ground is lost. Perhaps there may be some difference in the roots, which may make these two methods of raising them necessary. Some are better tasted than others, and they are not all of a colour; but be this as it may, they are a very wholesome food, and the tops make good greens, and are eaten as such by the natives. On these plantations, men, women, and children were employed.

In the afternoon I went on shore, and, on a large tree, which stood close to the shore, near the watering-place, had an inscription cut, setting forth the ship's name, date, &c., as a testimony of our being the first discoverers of this country, as I had done at all others at which we had touched, where this ceremony was necessary. This being done, we took leave of our friends, and returned on board, when I ordered all the boats to be hoisted in, in order to be ready to put to sea in the morning.

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CHAPTER IX.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS; THEIR MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND ARTS.

I SHALL conclude our transactions at this place with some account of the country and its inhabitants. They are strong, robust, active, well-made people, courteous and friendly, and not in the least addicted to pilfering, which is more than can be said of any other nation in this sea. They are nearly of the same colour as the natives of Tanna, but have better



features, more agreeable countenances, and are a much stouter race; a few being seen who measured six feet four inches. I observed some who had thick lips, flat noses, and full cheeks, and, in some degree, the features and look of a negro. Two things contributed to the forming of such an idea: first, their rough mop heads; and secondly, their besmearing their faces with black pigment. Their hair and beards are in general black. The former is very much frizzled; so that at first sight it appears like that of a negro. It is, nevertheless, very different, though both coarser and stronger than ours. Some, who wear it long, tie it up on the crown of the head; others suffer only a large lock to grow on each side, which they tie up in clubs; many others, as well as all the women, wear it cropped short. These rough heads most probably want frequent scratching, for which purpose they have a most excellent instrument. This is a kind of comb made of sticks of hard wood, from seven to nine inches long, and about the thickness of knitting-needles. A number of these, seldom exceeding twenty, but generally fewer, are fastened together at one end, parallel to, and near 1-10th of an inch from each other. The other ends, which are a little pointed, will spread out or open like the sticks of a fan, by which means they can beat up the quarters of a hundred lice at a time. These combs or scratchers—for I believe they serve both purposes—they always wear in their hair, on one side their head. The people of Tanna have an instrument of this kind, for the same use; but theirs is forked, I think never exceeding three or four prongs; and sometimes only a small pointed stick. Their beards, which are of the same crisp nature as their hair, are, for the most part, worn short. Swelled and ulcerated legs and feet are common among the men, as also a swelling of the scrotum. I know not whether this is occasioned by disease, or by the mode of applying the wrapper before mentioned, and which they use as at Tanna and Mallicollo. This is their only covering, and is made generally of the bark of a tree, but sometimes of leaves. The small pieces of cloth, paper, &c., which they got from us, were commonly applied to this use. We saw coarse garments amongst them, made of a sort of matting; but they seemed never to wear them, except when out in their canoes, and unemployed. Some had a kind of concave, cylindrical, stiff black cap, which appeared to be a great ornament among them, and, we thought, was only worn by men of note, or warriors. A large sheet of strong paper, when they got one from us, was generally applied to this use.

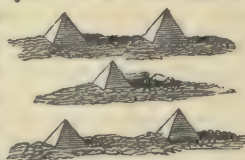
The women's dress is a short petticoat, made of the filaments of the plantain-tree laid over a cord, to which they are fastened, and tied round the waist. The petticoat is made at least six or eight inches thick, but not one inch longer than necessary for the use designed. The outer filaments are dyed black; and, as an additional ornament, the most of them have a few pearl oyster-shells fixed on the right side. The general ornaments of both sexes are ear-rings of tortoise-shell, necklaces or amulets, made both of shells and stones, and bracelets, made of large shells, which they wear above the elbow. They have punctures, or marks on the skin, on several parts of the body; but none, I think, are black as at the eastern islands. I know not if they have any other design than ornament; and the people of Tanna are marked much in the same manner.

Were I to judge of the origin of this nation, I should take them to be a race between the people of Tanna and of the Friendly Isles; or between those of Tanna and the New Zealanders, or all three; their language, in some respects, being a mixture of them all. In their disposition they are like the natives of the Friendly Isles, but in affability and honesty they excel them. Notwithstanding their pacific inclination, they must sometimes have wars, as they are well provided with offensive weapons, such as clubs, spears, darts, and slings for throwing stones. The clubs are about two feet and a half long, and variously formed; some like a scythe, others like a pick-axe; some have a head like a hawk, and others have round heads; but all are neatly made. Many of their darts and spears are no less neat, and ornamented with carvings. The slings are as simple as possible; but they take some pains to form the stones that they use into a proper shape, which is something like an egg, supposing both ends to be like the small one. They use a becket in the same manner as at Tanna, in throwing the dart, which, I believe, is much used in striking fish, &c. In this they seem very dexterous; nor, indeed, do I know that they have any other method of catching large fish; for I neither saw hooks nor lines among them. It is needless

to mention their working tools, as they are made of the same materials, and nearly in the same manner, as at the other islands. Their axes, indeed, are a little different—some, at least—which may be owing to fancy as much as custom.

Their houses, or at least most of them, are circular ; something like a beehive, and full as close and warm. The entrance is by a small door, or long square hole, just big enough to admit a man bent double. The side-walls are about four feet and a half high ; but the roof is lofty, and peaked to a point at the top, above which is a post or stick of wood, which is generally ornamented either with carving or shells, or both. The framing is of small spars, reeds, &c., and both sides and roof are thick, and close covered with thatch, made of coarse long grass. In the inside of the house are set up posts, to which cross spars are fastened and platforms made, for the conveniency of laying anything on. Some houses have two floors, one above the other. The floor is laid with dry grass, and here and there mats are spread for the principal people to sleep or sit on. In most of them we found two fire-places ; and commonly a fire burning ; and, as there was no vent for the smoke but by the door, the whole house was both smoky and hot, insomuch that we, who are not used to such an atmosphere, could hardly endure it a moment. This may be the reason why we found these people so chilly when in the open air and without exercise. We frequently saw them make little fires anywhere, and hustle round them, with no other view than to warm themselves. Smoke within doors may be a necessary evil, as it prevents the musquitoes from coming in, which are pretty numerous here. In some respects their habitations are neat ; for, besides the ornaments at top, I saw some with carved door-posts. Upon the whole, their houses are better calculated for a cold than a hot climate ; and as there are no partitions in them, they can have little privacy.

They have no great variety of household utensils ; the earthen jars before mentioned being the only article worth notice. Each family has, at least, one of them, in which they bake their roots, and perhaps their fish, &c. The fire by which they cook their victuals is on the outside of each house, in the open air. There are three or five pointed stones fixed in the ground, their pointed ends being about six inches above the surface, in the form conjoined. Those of three stones are only for one jar, those of five stones for two. The jars do not stand on their bottoms, but lie inclined on their sides. The use of these stones is, obviously, to keep the jars from resting on the fire, in order that it may burn the better. They subsist chiefly on roots and fish, and the bark of a tree, which, I am told, grows also in the West Indies. This they roast, and are almost continually chewing. It has a sweetish, insipid taste, and was liked by some of our people. Water is their only liquor ; at least I never saw any other made use of. Plantains and sugar-canes are by no means in plenty. Bread-fruit is very scarce, and the cocoa-nut trees are small, and but thinly planted ; and neither one nor the other seems to yield much fruit.



To judge merely by the numbers of the natives we saw every day, one might think the island very populous ; but I believe that at this time the inhabitants were collected from all parts on our account. Mr. Pickersgill observed, that down the coast, to the west, there were but few people ; and we knew they came daily from the other side of the land, over the mountains, to visit us. But although the inhabitants, upon the whole, may not be numerous, the island is not thinly peopled on the sea-coast, and in the plains and valleys that are capable of cultivation. It seems to be a country unable to support many inhabitants. Nature has been less bountiful to it than to any other tropical island we know in this sea. The greatest part of its surface, or at least what we saw of it, consists of barren, rocky mountains ; and the grass, &c., growing on them, is useless to people who have no cattle. The sterility of the country will apologize for the natives not contributing to the wants of the navigator. The sea may, perhaps, in some measure compensate for the deficiency of the land ; for a coast surrounded by reefs and shoals as this is, cannot fail of being stored with fish.

I have before observed, that the country bears great resemblance to New South Wales, or New Holland, and that some of its natural productions are the same. In particular, we



found here the tree which is covered with a soft white ragged bark, easily peeled off, and is, as I have been told, the same that in the East Indies is used for caulking of ships. The wood is very hard; the leaves are long and narrow, of a pale dead green and a fine aromatic; so that it may properly be said to belong to that continent. Nevertheless, here are several plants, &c., common to the eastern and northern islands, and even a species of the passion-flower, which, I am told, has never before been known to grow wild anywhere but in America. Our botanists did not complain for want of employment at this place; every day bringing something new in botany or other branches of natural history. Land-birds, indeed, are not numerous, but several are new. One of these is a kind of crow—at least, so we called it, though it is not half so big, and its feathers are tinged with blue. They also have some very beautiful turtle-doves, and other small birds, such as I never saw before.

All our endeavours to get the name of the whole island proved ineffectual. Probably, it is too large for them to know by one name. Whenever we made this inquiry, they always gave us the name of some district or place, which we pointed to; and, as before observed, I got the names of several, with the name of the king or chief of each. Hence, I conclude that the country is divided into several districts, each governed by a chief; but we know nothing of the extent of his power. Balade was the name of the district we were at, and Tea Booma the chief. He lived on the other side of the ridge of hills, so that we had but little of his company, and therefore could not see much of his power. *Tea* seems a title prefixed to the names of all or most of their chiefs or great men. My friend honoured me by calling me *Tea Cook*.

They deposit their dead in the ground. I saw none of their burying-places; but several of the gentlemen did. In one, they were informed, lay the remains of a chief, who was slain in battle; and his grave, which bore some resemblance to a large mole-hill, was decorated with spears, darts, paddles, &c., all stuck upright in the ground round about it. The canoes which these people use are somewhat like those of the Friendly Isles, but the most heavy, clumsy vessels I ever saw. They are what I call double canoes, made out of two large trees hollowed out, having a raised gunnel about two inches high, and closed at each end with a kind of bulk-head of the same height; so that the whole is like a long square trough, about three feet shorter than the body of the canoe; that is, a foot and a half at each end. Two canoes, thus fitted, are secured to each other, about three feet asunder, by means of cross spars, which project about a foot over each side. Over these spars is laid a deck or very heavy platform, made of plank and small round spars, on which they have a fire-hearth, and generally a fire burning; and they carry a pot or jar to dress their victuals in. The space between the two canoes is laid with plank, and the rest with spars. On one side of the deck, and close to the edge, is fixed a row of knees, pretty near to each other, the use of which is to keep the mast, yards, &c. from rolling overboard. They are navigated by one or two latteen sails, extended to a small latteen yard, the end of which fixes in a notch or hole in the deck. The foot of the sail is extended to a small boom. The sail is composed of pieces of matting; the ropes are made of the coarse filaments of the plantain-tree, twisted into cords of the thickness of a finger; and three or four more such cords, marled together, serve them for shrouds, &c. I thought they sailed very well; but they are not at all calculated for rowing or paddling. Their method of proceeding, when they cannot sail, is by sculling; and for this purpose there are holes in the boarded deck or platform. Through these they put the sculls, which are of such a length, that, when the blade is in the water, the loom or handle is four or five feet above the deck. The man who works it stands behind, and with both his hands sculls the vessel forward. This method of proceeding is very slow, and for this reason the canoes are but ill calculated for fishing, especially for striking of turtle, which, I think, can hardly ever be done in them. Their fishing implements, such as I have seen, are turtle-nets, made, I believe, of the filaments of the plantain-tree twisted; and small hand-nets with very minute meshes made of fine twine, and fish-gigs. Their general method of fishing, I guess, is to lie on the reefs in shoal water, and to strike the fish that may come in their way. They may, however, have other methods, which we had no opportunity to see, as no boat went out while we were here, all their time and attention being taken up with us. Their canoes are about thirty feet long,

and the deck or platform about twenty-four in length, and ten in breadth. We had not, at this time, seen any timber in the country so large as that of which their canoes were made, It was observed, that the holes made in the several parts, in order to sew them together, were burnt through, but with what instrument we never learnt; most probably it was of stone; which may be the reason why they were so fond of large spikes, seeing at once they would answer this purpose. I was convinced they were not wholly designed for edge-tools; because every one showed a desire for the iron belaying pins which were fixed in the quarter-deck rail, and seemed to value them far more than a spike-nail, although it might be twice as big. These pins, which are round, perhaps have the very shape of the tool they wanted to make of the nails. I did not find that a hatchet was quite so valuable as a large spike. Small nails were of little or no value; and beads, looking-glasses, &c., they did not admire.

The women of this country, and likewise those of Tanna, are, so far as I could judge, far more chaste than those of the more eastern islands. I never heard that one of our people obtained the least favour from any one of them. I have been told, that the ladies here would frequently divert themselves, by going a little aside with our gentlemen, as if they meant to be kind to them, and then would run away laughing at them. Whether this was chastity or coquetry, I shall not pretend to determine; nor is it material, since the consequences were the same.

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CHAPTER X.—PROCEEDINGS ON THE COAST OF NEW CALEDONIA, WITH GEOGRAPHICAL AND NAUTICAL OBSERVATIONS.

EVERYTHING being in readiness to put to sea, at sunrise, on the 13th of September, we weighed, and with a fine gale at E. by S., stood out for the same channel we came in by. At half-past seven we were in the middle of it. Observatory Isle bore S.  $5^{\circ}$  E., distant four miles, and the Isle of Balabea W.N.W. As soon as we were clear of the reef, we hauled the wind on the starboard tack, with a view of plying in to the S.E.; but as Mr. Gilbert was of opinion that he had seen the end or N.W. extremity of the land, and that it would be easier to get round by the N.W., I gave over plying, and bore up along the outside of the reef, steering N.N.W., N.W., and N.W. by W. as it trended. At noon the island of Balabea bore S. by W., distant thirteen miles; and what we judged to be the west end of the great land, bore S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S.; and the direction of the reef was N.W. by W.; latitude observed,  $19^{\circ} 53' 20''$ . Longitude from Observatory Isle,  $14'$  W. We continued to steer N.W. by W. along the outside of the reef till three o'clock, at which time the Isle of Balabea bore S. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. In this direction we observed a partition in the reef, which we judged to be a channel, by the strong tide which set out of it. From this place the reef inclined to the north, for three or four leagues, and then to N.W. We followed its direction, and as we advanced to N.W., raised more land, which seemed to be connected with what we had seen before; so that Mr. Gilbert was mistaken, and did not see the extremity of the coast. At five o'clock this land bore W. by N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N., distant twenty miles; but what we could see of the reef trended in the direction of N.W. by N.

Having hauled the wind on the starboard tack, and spent the night plying, on the 14th, at sunrise, the island of Balabea bore S.  $6^{\circ}$  E., and the land seen the preceding night west; but the reef still trended N.W., along which we steered with a light breeze at E.S.E. At noon we observed in latitude  $19^{\circ} 28'$ , longitude from Observatory Isle  $27'$  W. We had now no sight of Balabea; and the other land, that is, the N.W. part of it, bore W. by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S.; but we were not sure if this was one continued coast, or separate islands. For though some partitions were seen, from space to space, which made it look like the latter, a multitude of shoals rendered a nearer approach to it exceedingly dangerous, if not impracticable. In the afternoon, with a fine breeze at E.S.E., we ranged the outside of these shoals, which we found to trend in the direction of N.W. by W., N.W. by N., and N.N.E. At three o'clock we passed a low sandy isle, lying on the outer edge of the reef, in latitude  $19^{\circ} 25'$ , and in the direction of N.E. from the north-westernmost land, six or seven leagues distant. So much as we could see of this space was strewed with shoals, seemingly detached



from each other ; and the channel leading in amongst them appeared to be on the S.E. side of the sandy isle ; at least there was a space where the sea did not break. At sunset, we could but just see the land, which bore S.W. by S., about ten leagues distant. A clear horizon produced the discovery of no land to the westward of this direction ; the reef, too, trended away W. by N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N., and seemed to terminate in a point which was seen from the mast-head. Thus everything conspired to make us believe that we should soon get round these shoals ; and with these flattering expectations we hauled the wind, which was at E.N.E., and spent the night making short boards.

Next morning, at sunrise, seeing neither land nor breakers, we bore away N.W. by W., and two hours after saw the reef extending N.W. farther than the eye could reach ; but no land was to be seen. It was therefore probable that we had passed its N.W. extremity ; and, as we had seen from the hills of Balade its extent to the S.W., it was necessary to know how far it extended to the E. or S.E., while it was in our power to recover the coast. For, by following the direction of the shoals, we might have been carried so far to leeward as not to be able to beat back without considerable loss of time. We were already far out of sight of land ; and there was no knowing how much farther we might be carried, before we found an end to them. These considerations, together with the risk we must run in exploring a sea strewn with shoals, and where no anchorage, without them, is to be found, induced me to abandon the design of proceeding round by the N.W., and to ply up to the S.E., in which direction I knew there was a clear sea. With this view, we tacked and stood to the S.E., with the wind at N.E. by E., a gentle breeze. At this time we were in the latitude of  $19^{\circ} 7' S.$ , longitude  $163^{\circ} 57' E.$

In standing to S.E. we did but just weather the point of the reef we had passed the preceding evening. To make our situation the more dangerous, the wind began to fail us ; and at three in the afternoon it fell calm, and left us to the mercy of a great swell, setting directly on the reef, which was hardly a league from us. We sounded, but found no bottom, with a line of 200 fathoms. I ordered the pinnace and cutter to be hoisted out to tow the ship ; but they were of little use against so great a swell. We, however, found that the ship did not draw near the reef so fast as might be expected ; and at seven o'clock, a light air at N.N.E. kept her head to the sea ; but it lasted no longer than midnight, when it was succeeded by a dead calm. At daybreak, on the 16th, we had no sight of the reef ; and at eleven, a breeze springing up at S.S.W., we hoisted in the boats, and made sail to S.E. At noon we observed in  $19^{\circ} 35'$  south, which was considerably more to the south than we expected, and showed that a current or tide had been in our favour all night, and accounted for our getting so unexpectedly clear of the shoals. At two o'clock P.M. we had again a calm, which lasted till nine, when it was succeeded by a light air from E.N.E. and E., with which we advanced but slowly.

On the 17th, at noon, we observed in latitude  $19^{\circ} 54'$ , when the Isle of Balabea bore S.  $60^{\circ} W.$ , ten and a half leagues distant. We continued to ply, with variable light winds, between N.E. and S.E., without meeting with anything remarkable till the 20th at noon, when Cape Colnet bore N.  $78^{\circ} W.$ , distant six leagues. From this cape the land extended round by the south to E.S.E. till it was lost in the horizon ; and the country appeared with many hills and valleys. Latitude observed  $20^{\circ} 41'$ , longitude made from Observatory Isle  $1^{\circ} 8' E.$  We stood in-shore with a light breeze at east till sunset, when we were between two and three leagues off. The coast extended from S.  $42^{\circ} \frac{1}{2} E.$  to N.  $59^{\circ} W.$  Two small islets lay without this last direction, distant from us four or five miles ; some others lay between us and the shore, and to the east, where they seemed to be connected by reefs, in which appeared some openings from space to space. The country was mountainous, and had much the same aspect as about Balade. On one of the western small isles was an elevation like a tower ; and, over a low neck of land within the isle, were seen many other elevations resembling the masts of a fleet of ships. Next day, at sunrise, after having stood off all night with a light breeze at S.E., we found ourselves about six leagues from the coast ; and in this situation we were kept by a calm till ten in the evening, when we got a faint land-breeze at S.W., with which we steered S.E. all night.

On the 22d, at sunrise, the land was clouded ; but it was not long before the clouds went

off, and we found, by our land-marks, that we had made a good advance. At ten o'clock, the land-breeze being succeeded by a sea-breeze at E. by S., this enabled us to stand in for the land, which at noon extended from N.  $78^{\circ}$  W. to S.  $31\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  E. round by the south. In this last direction the coast seemed to trend more to the south in a lefty promontory, which, on account of the day, received the name of Cape Coronation. Latitude  $22^{\circ} 2'$ , longitude  $167^{\circ} 7\frac{1}{2}'$  E. Some breakers lay between us and the shore, and probably they were connected with those we had seen before. During the night we had advanced about two leagues to S.E.; and at daybreak, on the 23d, an elevated point appeared in sight beyond Cape Coronation, bearing S.  $23^{\circ}$  E. It proved to be the S.E. extremity of the coast, and obtained the name of Queen Charlotte's Foreland. Latitude  $22^{\circ} 16'$  S., longitude  $167^{\circ} 14'$  E. About noon, having got a breeze from the N.E., we stood to S.S.E., and, as we drew towards Cape Coronation, saw, in a valley to the south of it, a vast number of those elevated objects before mentioned; and some low land under the Foreland was wholly covered with them. We could not agree in our opinions of what they were. I supposed them to be a singular sort of trees, being too numerous to resemble anything else; and a great deal of smoke kept rising all the day from amongst those near the Cape. Our philosophers were of opinion that this was the smoke of some internal and perpetual fire. My representing to them that there was no smoke here in the morning, would have been of no avail, had not this eternal fire gone out before night, and no more smoke been seen after. They were still more positive that the elevations were pillars of basaltes, like those which compose the Giant's Causeway in Ireland. At sunset, the wind veering round to the south, we tacked and stood off, it not being safe to approach the shore in the dark. At daybreak we stood in again, with a faint land-breeze between E.S.E. and S.S.E. At noon observed in latitude  $21^{\circ} 59' 30''$ , Cape Coronation bearing west southerly, distant seven leagues, and the Foreland S.  $38^{\circ}$  west. As we advanced to S.S.W. the coast beyond the Foreland began to appear in sight; and, at sunset, we discovered a low island lying S.S.E., about seven miles from the Foreland. It was one of those which are generally surrounded with shoals and breakers. At the same time a round hill was seen bearing S.  $24^{\circ}$  E., twelve leagues distant. During night, having had variable light winds, we advanced but little either way.

On the 25th, about ten o'clock A.M., having got a fair breeze at E.S.E., we stood to S.S.W., in hopes of getting round the Foreland; but, as we drew near, we perceived more low isles beyond the one already mentioned, which at last appeared to be connected by breakers, extending towards the Foreland, and seeming to join the shore. We stood on till half-past three o'clock, when we saw, from the deck, rocks just peeping above the surface of the sea, on the shoal above mentioned. It was now time to alter the course, as the day was too far spent to look for a passage near the shore, and we could find no bottom to anchor in during the night. We, therefore, stood to the south, to look for a passage without the small isles. We had a fine breeze at E.S.E., but it lasted no longer than five o'clock, when it fell to a dead calm. Having sounded, a line of 170 fathoms did not reach the bottom, though we were but a little way from the shoals, which, instead of following the coast to S.W., took a S.E. direction towards the hill we had seen the preceding evening, and seemed to point out to us that it was necessary to go round that land. At this time the most advanced point on the main bore S.  $68^{\circ}$  W., distant nine or ten leagues. About seven o'clock we got a light breeze at north, which enabled us to steer out E.S.E., and to spend the night with less anxiety. On some of the low isles were many of those elevations already mentioned. Every one was now satisfied they were trees, except our philosophers, who still maintained that they were basaltes.

About daybreak, on the 26th, the wind having shifted to S.S.W., we stretched to S.E. for the hill before mentioned. It belonged to an island, which at noon extended from S.  $16^{\circ}$  E. to S.  $7^{\circ}$  W., distant six leagues. Latitude observed  $22^{\circ} 16'$  South. In the P.M. the wind freshened, and, veering to S.S.E., we stretched to the east till two A.M. on the 27th, when we tacked and stood to S.W. with hopes of weathering the island; but we fell about two miles short of our expectations, and had to tack about a mile from the east side of the island, the extremes bearing from N.W. by N. to S.W., the hill W., and some low isles, lying off the S.E. point, S. by W. These seemed to be connected with the large island by breakers.



We sounded when in stays, but had no ground with a line of eighty fathoms. The skirts of this is land were covered with the elevations more than once mentioned. They had much the appearance of tall pines, which occasioned my giving that name to the island. The round hill, which is on the S.W. side, is of such a height as to be seen fourteen or sixteen leagues. The island is about a mile in circuit, and situated in latitude  $22^{\circ} 38' S.$ , longitude  $167^{\circ} 40' East$ . Having made two attempts to weather the Isle of Pines before sunset, with no better success than before, this determined me to stretch off till midnight. This day, at noon, the thermometer was at  $68^{\circ}$ , which is lower than it had been since the 27th of February.

Having tacked at midnight, assisted by the currents, and a fresh gale at E.S.E. and S.E., next morning, at daybreak, we found ourselves several leagues to windward of the Isle of Pines, and bore away large, round the S.E. and south sides. The coast from the S.E., round by the south to the west, was strewed with sandbanks, breakers, and small low isles, most of which were covered with the same lofty trees that ornamented the borders of the greater one. We continued to range the outside of these small isles and breakers, at three-fourths of a league distance, and as we passed, one raised another; so that they seemed to form a chain extending to the isles which lie off the Foreland. At noon we observed, in latitude  $22^{\circ} 41' 36'' S.$ , the Isle of Pines, extending from N. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. to E. by N., and Cape Coronation N.  $32^{\circ} 30' W.$ , distant seventeen leagues. In the afternoon, with a fine gale at E., we steered N.W. by W. along the outside of the shoals, with a view of falling in with the land a little to S.W. of the Foreland. At two o'clock P.M., two low islets were seen bearing W. by S.; and as they were connected by breakers, which seemed to join those on our starboard, this discovery made it necessary to haul off S.W. in order to get clear of them all. At three, more breakers appeared, extending from the low isles towards the S.E. We now hauled out close to the wind, and in an hour and a half were almost on board the breakers, and obliged to tack. From the mast-head they were seen to extend as far as E.S.E., and the smoothness of the sea made it probable that they extended to the north of east, and that we were in a manner surrounded by them. At this time the hill on the Isle of Pines bore N.  $71\frac{1}{2}^{\circ} E.$ , the Foreland N.  $\frac{1}{4} W.$ , and the most advanced point of land on the S.W. coast bore N.W., distant fifteen or sixteen leagues. This direction of the S.W. coast, which was rather within the parallel of the N.E., assured us that this land extended no farther to the S.W. After making a short trip to N.N.E., we stood again to the south, in expectation of having a better view of the shoals before sunset. We gained nothing by this but the prospect of a sea strewed with shoals, which we could not clear but by returning in the track by which we came. We tacked nearly in the same place where we had tacked before, and on sounding found a bottom of fine sand. But anchoring in a strong gale, with a chain of breakers to leeward, being the last resource, I rather chose to spend the night in making short boards over that space we had, in some measure, made ourselves acquainted with in the day. And thus it was spent; but under the terrible apprehension, every moment, of falling on some of the many dangers which surrounded us.

Daylight showed that our fears were not ill-founded, and that we had been in the most imminent danger, having had breakers continually under our lee, and at a very little distance from us. We owed our safety to the interposition of Providence, a good look-out, and the very brisk manner in which the ship was managed; for, as we were standing to the north, the people on the lee gangway and forecastle saw breakers under the lee-bow, which we escaped by quickly tacking the ship. I was now almost tired of a coast which I could no longer explore but at the risk of losing the ship and ruining the whole voyage. I was, however, determined not to leave it till I knew what trees those were which had been the subject of our speculation; especially as they appeared to be of a sort useful to shipping, and had not been seen anywhere but in the southern part of this land. With this view, after making a trip to the south, to weather the shoals under our lee, we stood to the north, in hopes of finding anchorage under some of the islets on which these trees grew. We were stopped by eight o'clock by the shoals which lie extended between the Isle of Pines and Queen Charlotte's Foreland, and found soundings off them in fifty-five, forty, and thirty-six fathoms, a fine sandy bottom. The nearer we came to these shoals, the more we saw of them, and we were not able to say if there was any passage between the two lands.



Being now but a few miles to windward of the low isles lying off the Foreland, mentioned on the 25th and 26th, I bore down to the one next to us. As we drew near it, I perceived that it was unconnected with the neighbouring shoals, and that it is probable we might get to an anchor under its lee or west side. We therefore stood on, being conducted by an officer at the mast-head; and after hauling round the point of the reef which surrounds the isle, we attempted to ply to windward, in order to get nearer the shore. Another reef to the north confined us to a narrow channel, through which ran a current against us, that rendered this attempt fruitless; so that we were obliged to anchor in thirty-nine fathoms water, the bottom fine coral sand; the isle bearing W. by N., one mile distant. As soon as this was done, we hoisted out a boat, in which I went ashore, accompanied by the botanists. We found the tall trees to be a kind of spruce pine, very proper for spars, of which we were in want. After making this discovery, I hastened on board in order to have more time after dinner, when I landed again with two boats, accompanied by several of the officers and gentlemen, having with us the carpenter and some of his crew, to cut down such trees as were wanting. While this was doing, I took the bearings of several lands round. The hill on the Isle of Pines bore S.  $59^{\circ} 30'$  E.; the low point of Queen Charlotte's Foreland, N.  $14^{\circ} 30'$  west; the high land over it, seen over two low isles, N.  $20^{\circ}$  west; and the most advanced point of land to the west, bore west, half a point south, distant six or seven leagues. We had, from several bearings, ascertained the true direction of the coast from the Foreland to this point, which I shall distinguish by the name of Prince of Wales's Foreland. It is situated in the latitude of  $22^{\circ} 29'$  S., longitude  $166^{\circ} 57'$  E., is of a considerable height, and, when it first appears above the horizon, looks like an island. From this cape the coast trended nearly N.W. This was rather too northerly a direction to join that part which we saw from the hills of Balade. But as it was very high land which opened off the cape in that direction, it is very probable that lower land, which we could not see, opened sooner; or else the coast more to the N.W. takes a more westerly direction, in the same manner as the N.E. coast. Be this as it may, we pretty well know the extent of the land, by having it confined within certain limits. However, I still entertained hopes of seeing more of it; but was disappointed.

The little isle upon which we landed, is a mere sandbank, not exceeding three-fourths of a mile in circuit, and on it, besides these pines, grew the *Etoa* tree of Otaheite, and a variety of other trees, shrubs, and plants. These gave sufficient employment to our botanists, all the time we staid upon it, and occasioned my calling it Botany Isle. On it were several water-snakes, some pigeons and doves, seemingly different from any we had seen. One of the officers shot a hawk, which proved to be of the very same sort as our English fishing-hawks. Several fire-places, branches, and leaves very little decayed, remains of turtle, &c., showed that people had lately been on the isle. The hull of a canoe, precisely of the same shape as those we had seen at Balade, lay wrecked in the sand. We were now no longer at a loss to know of what trees they make their canoes, as they can be no other than these pines. On this little isle were some which measured twenty inches diameter, and between sixty and seventy feet in length, and would have done very well for a fore-mast to the *Resolution*, had one been wanting. Since trees of this size are to be found on so small a spot, it is reasonable to expect to find some much larger on the main, and larger isles; and, if appearances did not deceive us, we can assert it.

If I except New Zealand, I, at this time, knew of no island in the South Pacific Ocean, where a ship could supply herself with a mast or a yard, were she ever so much distressed for want of one. Thus far the discovery is or may be valuable. My carpenter, who was a mast-maker as well as a ship-wright, two trades he learnt in Deptford-yard, was of opinion that these trees would make exceedingly good masts. The wood is white, close-grained, tough, and light. Turpentine had exuded out of most of the trees, and the sun had inspissated it into a rosin, which was found sticking to the trunks, and lying about the roots. These trees shoot out their branches like all other pines; with this difference, that the branches of these are much smaller and shorter; so that the knots become nothing when the tree is wrought for use. I took notice, that the largest of them had the smallest and shortest branches, and were crowned, as it were, at the top, by a spreading branch like



a bush. This was what led some on board into the extravagant notion of their being basaltes: indeed, no one could think of finding such trees here. The seeds are produced in cones; but we could find none that had any in them, or that were in a proper state for vegetable or botanical examination. Besides these, there was another tree or shrub of the spruce fir kind; but it was very small. We also found on the isle a sort of scurvy-grass, and a plant, called by us Lamb's Quarters, which, when boiled, eat like spinach. Having got ten or twelve small spars to make studding-sail booms, boats'-masts, &c., and night approaching, we returned with them on board.

The purpose for which I anchored under this isle being answered, I was now to consider what was next to be done. We had, from the topmast head, taken a view of the sea around us, and observed the whole, to the west, to be strewed with small islets, sandbanks, and breakers, to the utmost extent of our horizon. They seemed, indeed, not to be all connected, and to be divided by winding channels. But when I considered, that the extent of this S.W. coast was already pretty well determined; the great risk attending a more accurate survey, and the time it would require to accomplish it, on account of the many dangers we should have to encounter; I determined not to hazard the ship down to leeward, where we might be so hemmed in as to find it difficult to return, and by that means lose the proper season for getting to the south. I now wished to have had the little vessel set up, the frame of which we had on board. I had some thoughts of doing this when we were last at Otaheite, but found it could not be executed, without neglecting the caulking and other necessary repairs of the ship, or staying longer there than the route I had in view would admit. It was now too late to begin setting her up, and then to use her in exploring this coast; and in our voyage to the south, she could be of no service. These reasons induced me to try to get without the shoals; that is, to the southward of them.

Next morning, at daybreak, we got under sail, with a light breeze at E. by N. We had to make some trips to weather the shoals to leeward of Botany Isle; but when this was done, the breeze began to fail; and at three P.M. it fell calm. The swell, assisted by the current, set us fast to S.W. towards the breakers, which were yet in sight in that direction. Thus we continued till ten o'clock, at which time a breeze springing up at N.N.W. we steered E.S.E., the contrary course we had come in; not daring to steer farther south till daylight. At three o'clock next morning, the wind veered to S.W., blew hard, and in squalls, attended with rain, which made it necessary to proceed with our courses up, and topsails on the cap, till daybreak, when the hill on the Isle of Pines bore N., and our distance from the shore in that direction was about four leagues. We had now a very strong wind at S.S.W., attended by a great sea, so that we had reason to rejoice at having got clear of the shoals before this gale overtook us. Though everything conspired to make me think this was the westerly monsoon, it can hardly be comprehended under that name, for several reasons: first, because it was near a month too soon for these winds; secondly, because we know not if they reach this place at all; and lastly, because it is very common for westerly winds to blow within the tropics. However, I never found them to blow so hard before, or so far southerly. Be these things as they may, we had now no other choice but to stretch to S.E., which we accordingly did, with our starboard tacks aboard; and at noon were out of sight of land.

The gale continued with very little alteration till noon next day; at which time we observed in latitude  $23^{\circ} 18'$ , longitude made from the Isle of Pines  $1^{\circ} 54'$  east. In the afternoon we had little wind from the south, and a great swell from the same direction; and many boobies, tropic, and men-of-war birds were seen. At eleven o'clock a fresh breeze sprung up at W. by S., with which we stood to the south. At this time we were in the latitude of  $23^{\circ} 18'$ , longitude  $169^{\circ} 49'$  E., and about forty-two leagues south of the Hebrides. At eight o'clock in the morning, on the 3rd, the wind veered to S.W., and blew a strong gale by squalls, attended with rain. I now gave over all thought of returning to the land we had left. Indeed, when I considered the vast ocean we had to explore to the south; the state and condition of the ship, already in want of some necessary stores; that summer was approaching fast; and that any considerable accident might detain us in this sea another year; I did not think it advisable to attempt to regain the land.

Thus I was obliged, as it were by necessity, for the first time, to leave a coast I had discovered, before it was fully explored. I called it New Caledonia; and, if we except New Zealand, it is perhaps the largest island in the South Pacific Ocean; for it extends from the latitude of  $19^{\circ} 37'$  to  $22^{\circ} 30'$  S., and from the longitude of  $163^{\circ} 37'$  to  $167^{\circ} 14'$  E. It lies nearly N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., and S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., and is about eighty-seven leagues long in that direction; but its breadth is not considerable, not anywhere exceeding ten leagues. It is a country full of hills and valleys, of various extent both for height and depth. To judge of the whole by the parts we were on, from these hills spring vast numbers of little rivulets, which greatly contribute to fertilise the plains, and to supply all the wants of the inhabitants. The summits of most of the hills seem to be barren; though some few are clothed with wood; as are all the planes and valleys. By reason of these hills, many parts of the coast, when at a distance from it, appeared indented, or to have great inlets between the hills; but when we came near the shore, we always found such places shut up with low land, and also observed low land to lie along the coast between the sea-shore and the foot of the hills. As this was the case in all such parts as we came near enough to see, it is reasonable to suppose that the whole coast is so. I am likewise of opinion, that the whole, or greatest part, is surrounded by reefs or shoals, which render the access to it very dangerous, but at the same time guard the coast from the violence of the wind and sea; make it abound with fish; secure an easy and safe navigation along it, for canoes, &c. and most likely form some good harbours for shipping. Most, if not every part of the coast is inhabited, the Isle of Pines not excepted; for we saw either smoke by day, or fires by night, wherever we came. In the extent which I have given to this island is included the broken or unconnected lands to the N.W., as they are delineated in the chart. That they may be connected, I shall not pretend to deny; we were however of opinion that they were isles, and that New Caledonia terminated more to S.E., though this, at most, is but a well-founded conjecture.

But whether these lands be separate isles, or connected with New Caledonia, it is by no means certain that we saw their termination to the west. I think we did not, as the shoals did not end with the land we saw, but kept their N.W. direction farther than Bougainville's track in the latitude of  $15^{\circ}$  or  $15\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . Nay, it seems not improbable, that a chain of isles, sandbanks, and reefs may extend to the west, as far as the coast of New South Wales. The eastern extent of the isles and shoals off that coast, between the latitude of  $15^{\circ}$  and  $23^{\circ}$ , were not known. The semblance of the two countries\*; Bougainville's meeting with the shoal of Diana above sixty leagues from the coast, and the signs he had of land to the S.E., all tend to increase the probability. I must confess that it is carrying probability and conjecture a little too far, to say what may lie in a space of two hundred leagues; but it is in some measure necessary, were it only to put some future navigator on his guard.

Mr. Wales determined the longitude of that part of New Caledonia we explored, by ninety-six sets of observations, which were reduced to one another by our trusty guide the watch. I found the variation of the compass to be  $10^{\circ} 24'$  E. This is the mean variation given by the three azimuth compasses we had on board, which would differ from each other a degree and a half, and sometimes more. I did not observe any difference in the variation between the N.W. and S.E. parts of this land, except when we were at anchor before Balade, where it was less than  $10^{\circ}$ ; but this I did not regard, as I found such a uniformity out at sea; and it is there where navigators want to know the variation. While we were on the N.E. coast, I thought the currents set to S.E. and W. or N.W. on the other side; but they are by no means considerable, and may as probably be channels of tides as regular currents. In the narrow channels which divide the shoals, and those which communicate with the sea, the tides run strong; but their rise and fall are inconsiderable, not exceeding three feet and a half. The time of high-water, at the full and change, at Balade, is about six o'clock; but at Botany Isle we judged it would happen about ten or eleven o'clock.

\* See his Voyage, English translation, p. 303.



CHAPTER XI.—SEQUEL OF THE PASSAGE FROM NEW CALEDONIA TO NEW ZEALAND, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF NORFOLK ISLAND, AND THE INCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED WHILE THE SHIP LAY IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND.

THE wind continuing at S.W., W.S.W., and W., blowing a fresh gale, and now and then squalls, with showers of rain, we steered to S.S.E., without meeting with any remarkable occurrence till near noon on the 6th, when it fell calm. At this time we were in the latitude of  $27^{\circ} 50'$  S., longitude  $171^{\circ} 43'$  E. The calm continued till noon the next day, during which time we observed the variation to be  $10^{\circ} 33\frac{1}{2}'$  E. I now ordered the carpenters to work to caulk the decks. As we had neither pitch, tar, nor rosin left to pay the seams, this was done with varnish of pine, and afterwards covered with coral sand, which made a cement far exceeding my expectation. In the afternoon we had a boat in the water, and shot two albatrosses, which were geese to us. We had seen one of this kind of birds the day before, which was the first we observed since we had been within the tropic. On the 7th, at one P.M., a breeze sprang up at south; soon after it veered to, and fixed at S.E. by S., and blew a gentle gale, attended with pleasant weather.

We stretched to W.S.W., and next day at noon were in the latitude of  $28^{\circ} 25'$ , longitude  $170^{\circ} 26'$  E. In the evening, Mr. Cooper having struck a porpoise with a harpoon, it was necessary to bring to, and have two boats out, before we could kill it, and get it on board. It was six feet long; a female of that kind which naturalists call dolphin of the ancients, and which differs from the other kind of porpoise in the head and jaw, having them long and pointed. This had eighty-eight teeth in each jaw. The haslet\* and lean flesh were to us a feast. The latter was a little liverish, but had not the least fishy taste. It was eaten roasted, broiled, and fried, first soaking it in warm water. Indeed, little art was wanting to make anything fresh palatable to those who had been living so long on salt meat.

We continued to stretch to W.S.W. till the 10th, when, at daybreak, we discovered land bearing S.W., which on a nearer approach we found to be an island of good height, and five leagues in circuit. I named it Norfolk Isle, in honour of the noble family of Howard. It is situated in the latitude of  $29^{\circ} 2' 30''$  S., and longitude  $168^{\circ} 16'$  E. The latter was determined by lunar observations made on this, the preceding, and following days; and the former, by a good observation at noon, when we were about three miles from the isle. Soon after we discovered the isle, we sounded in twenty-two fathoms on a bank of coral sand; after this we continued to sound, and found not less than twenty-two, or more than twenty-four fathoms (except near the shore), and the same bottom mixed with broken shells. After dinner, a party of us embarked in two boats, and landed on the island, without any difficulty, behind some large rocks which lined part of the coast



NORFOLK ISLAND PINE.

\* The internal parts, liver, lungs, &c.

on the N.E. side. We found it uninhabited, and were undoubtedly the first that ever set foot on it. We observed many trees and plants common at New Zealand; and in particular, the flax-plant, which is rather more luxuriant here than in any part of that country: but the chief produce is a sort of spruce pine, which grows in great abundance, and to a large size, many of the trees being as thick, breast-high, as two men could fathom, and exceedingly straight and tall. This pine is of a sort between that which grows in New Zealand and that in New Caledonia; the foliage differing something from both; and the wood not so heavy as the former, nor so light and close-grained as the latter. It is a good deal like the Quebec pine. For about two hundred yards from the shore the ground is covered so thick with shrubs and plants, as hardly to be penetrated farther inland. The woods were perfectly clear and free from underwood, and the soil seemed rich and deep.

We found the same kind of pigeons, parrots, and parroquets as in New Zealand, rails, and some small birds. The sea-fowl are, white boobies, gulls, tern, &c. which breed undisturbed on the shores, and in the cliffs of the rocks. On the isle is fresh water; and cabbage-palm, wood-sorrel, sow-thistle, and samphire abounding in some places on the shores: we brought on board as much of each sort as the time we had to gather them would admit. These cabbage-trees, or palms, were not thicker than a man's leg, and from ten to twenty feet high. They are of the same genus with the cocoa-nut tree; like it, they have large pinnated leaves, and are the same as the second sort found in the northern parts of New South Wales\*. The cabbage is, properly speaking, the bud of the tree; each tree producing but one cabbage, which is at the crown, where the leaves spring out, and is inclosed in the stem. The cutting off the cabbage effectually destroys the tree; so that no more than one can be had from the same stem. The cocoa-nut tree, and some others of the palm kind, produce cabbage as well as these. This vegetable is not only wholesome, but exceedingly palatable, and proved the most agreeable repast we had for some time.

The coast does not want fish. While we were on shore, the people in the boats caught some which were excellent. I judged that it was high water at the full and change, about one o'clock, and that the tide rises and falls upon a perpendicular about four or five feet. The approach of night brought us all on board, when we hoisted in the boats; and stretching to E.N.E. (with the wind at S.E.) till midnight, we tacked and spent the remainder of the night making short boards.

Next morning, at sunrise, we made sail, stretching to S.S.W., and weathered the island, on the south side of which lie two isles, that serve as roosting and breeding places for birds. On this, as also on the S.E. side, is a sandy beach; whereas most of the other shores are bounded by rocky cliffs which have twenty and eighteen fathoms water close to them; at least so we found it on the N.E. side, and with good anchorage. A bank of coral sand, mixed with shells, on which we found from nineteen to thirty-five or forty fathoms water, surrounds the isle, and extends, especially to the south, seven leagues off. The morning we discovered the island, the variation was found to be  $13^{\circ} 9'$  E.; but I think this observation gave too much, as others, which we had, both before and after, gave  $2^{\circ}$  less. After leaving Norfolk Isle, I steered for New Zealand, my intention being to touch at Queen Charlotte's Sound, to refresh my crew, and put the ship in a condition to encounter the southern latitudes.

On the 17th, at daybreak, we saw Mount Egmont, which was covered with everlasting snow, bearing S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. Our distance from the shore was about eight leagues; and on sounding, we found seventy fathoms water, a muddy bottom. The wind soon fixed in the western board, and blew a fresh gale, with which we steered S.S.E. for Queen Charlotte's Sound, with a view of falling in with Cape Stephens. At noon Cape Egmont bore E.N.E. distant three or four leagues; and though the mount was hid in the clouds, we judged it to be in the same direction as the Cape; latitude observed,  $39^{\circ} 24'$ . The wind increased in such a manner as to oblige us to close-reef our topsails, and strike top-gallant yards. At last we could bear no more sail than the two courses, and two close-reefed topsails; and under them we stretched for Cape Stephens, which we made at eleven o'clock at night. At midnight we tacked and made a trip to the north till three o'clock next morning, when we bore away for the Sound. At nine we hauled round Point Jackson, through a sea which looked terrible, occasioned by a rapid tide and a high wind; but as we knew the coast, it

\* *Vide* Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. iii.



did not alarm us. At eleven o'clock we anchored before Ship Cove; the strong flurries from off the land not permitting us to get in.

In the afternoon, as we could not move the ship, I went into the cove, with the seine, to try to catch some fish. The first thing I did after landing was to look for the bottle I left hid when last here, in which was the memorandum. It was taken away; but by whom it did not appear. Two hauls with the seine producing only four small fish, we in some measure made up for this deficiency by shooting several birds, which the flowers in the garden had drawn thither, as also some old shags, and by robbing the nests of some young ones. Being little wind next morning, we weighed, and warped the ship into the Cove, and there moored with the two bowers. We unbent the sails to repair them, several having been split, and otherwise damaged in the late gale. The main and fore courses, already worn to the very utmost, were condemned as useless. I ordered the topmasts to be struck and unrigged, in order to fix to them moveable chocks or knees, for want of which the trestle-trees were continually breaking; the forge to be set up to make bolts and repair our iron-work; and tents to be erected on shore for the reception of a guard, coopers, sail-makers, &c. I likewise gave orders that vegetables (of which there were plenty) should be boiled every morning with oatmeal and portable broth for breakfast, and with peas and broth every day for dinner for the whole crew, over and above their usual allowance of salt meat.

In the afternoon, as Mr. Wales was setting up his observatory, he discovered that several trees, which were standing when we last sailed from this place, had been cut down with saws and axes; and a few days after, the place where an observatory, clock, &c., had been set up, was also found in a spot different from that where Mr. Wales had placed his. It was therefore now no longer to be doubted that the Adventure had been in this cove after we had left it.

Next day, winds southerly, hazy cloudy weather. Everybody went to work at their respective employments, one of which was to caulk the ship's sides, a thing much wanted. The seams were payed with putty, made with cook's fat and chalk; the gunner happening to have a quantity of the latter on board. The 21st, wind southerly, with continual rains. The weather being fair in the afternoon of the 22d, accompanied by the botanists, I visited our gardens on Motuara, which we found almost in a state of nature, having been wholly neglected by the inhabitants. Nevertheless, many articles were in a flourishing condition, and showed how well they liked the soil in which they were planted. None of the natives having yet made their appearance, we made a fire on the point of the island, in hopes, if they saw the smoke, they might be induced to come to us.

Nothing remarkable happened till the 24th, when, in the morning, two canoes were seen coming down the Sound; but as soon as they perceived the ship, they retired behind a point on the west side. After breakfast I went in a boat to look for them; and as we proceeded along the shore, we shot several birds. The report of the muskets gave notice of our approach, and the natives discovered themselves in Shag Cove by hallooing to us; but as we drew near to their habitations, they all fled to the woods, except two or three men, who stood on a rising ground near the shore, with their arms in their hands. The moment we landed, they knew us. Joy then took place of fear, and the rest of the natives hurried out of the woods, and embraced us over and over again, leaping and skipping about like madmen; but I observed that they would not suffer some women, whom we saw at a distance, to come near us. After we had made them presents of hatchets, knives, and what else we had with us, they gave us in return a large quantity of fish, which they had just caught. There were only a few amongst them whose faces we could recognise; and on our asking why they were afraid of us, and inquiring for some of our old acquaintances by name, they talked much about killing, which was so variously understood by us, that we could gather nothing from it; so that, after a short stay, we took leave, and went on board. Next morning early, our friends, according to a promise they made us the preceding evening, paying us a visit, brought with them a quantity of fine fish, which they exchanged for Otaheitean cloth, &c., and then returned to their habitations.

On the 26th, we got into the after-hold four boat-load of shingle ballast, and struck down six guns, keeping only six on deck. Our good friends the natives having brought us a

plentiful supply of fish, afterwards went on shore to the tents, and informed our people there that a ship like ours had been lately lost in the Strait; that some of the people got on shore, and that the natives stole their clothes &c., for which several were shot; that afterwards, when they could fire no longer, the natives having got the better, killed them with their *Patapatoos*, and ate them; but that they themselves had no hand in the affair, which, they said, happened at Vanna Aroa, near Teerawhitte, on the other side of the Strait. One man said it was two moons ago; but another contradicted him, and counted on his fingers about twenty or thirty days. They described by actions how the ship was beat to pieces, by going up and down against the rocks, till at last it was all scattered abroad.

The next day some others told the same story, or nearly to the same purport, and pointed over the East Bay, which is on the east side of the sound, as to the place where it happened. These stories making me very uneasy about the Adventure, I desired Mr. Wales, and those on shore, to let me know if any of the natives should mention it again, or to send them to me; for I had not heard anything from them myself. When Mr. Wales came on board to dinner, he found the very people who had told him the story on shore, and pointed them out to me. I inquired about the affair, and endeavoured to come at the truth by every method I could think of. All I could get from them was, *Caurey* (no); and they not only denied every syllable of what they had said on shore, but seemed wholly ignorant of the matter; so that I began to think our people had misunderstood them, and that the story referred to some of their own people and boats.

On the 28th, fresh gales westerly, and fair weather. We rigged and fitted the topmasts. Having gone on a shooting-party to West Bay, we went to the place where I left the hogs and fowls; but saw no vestiges of them, nor of anybody having been there since. In our return, having visited the natives, we got some fish in exchange for trifles which we gave them. As we were coming away, Mr. Forster thought he heard the squeaking of a pig in the woods, close by their habitations; probably they may have those I left with them when last here. In the evening we got on board, with about a dozen and a half of wild-fowl, shags, and sea-pies. The sportsmen who had been out in the woods near the ship were more successful among the small birds.

On the 29th and 30th nothing remarkable happened, except that in the evening of the latter all the natives left us. The 31st being a fine pleasant day, our botanists went over to Long Island, where one of the party saw a large black boar. As it was described to me, I thought it to be one of those which Captain Furneaux left behind, and had been brought over to this isle by those who had it in keeping. Since they did not destroy those hogs when first in their possession, we cannot suppose they will do it now; so that there is little fear but that this country will, in time, be stocked with these animals, both in a wild and domestic state. Next day we were visited by a number of strangers, who came from up the sound, and brought with them but little fish. Their chief commodity was green stone or talc, an article which never came to a bad market; and some of the largest pieces of it I had ever seen were got this day.

On the 2d I went over to the east side of the sound, and, without meeting anything remarkable, returned on board in the evening, when I learnt that the same people who visited us the preceding day had been on board most of this, with their usual article of trade. On the 3d, Mr. Pickersgill met with some of the natives, who related to him the story of a ship being lost, and the people being killed; but added, with great earnestness, it was not done by them. On the 4th, fine pleasant weather. Most of the natives now retired up the sound. Indeed, I had taken every gentle method to oblige them to be gone; for since these new-comers had been with us, our old friends had disappeared, and we had been without fish. Having gone over to Long Island to look for the hog which had been seen there, I found it to be one of the sows left by Captain Furneaux; the same that was in possession of the natives when we were last here. From a supposition of its being a boar, I had carried over a sow to leave with him; but on seeing my mistake, brought her back, as the leaving her there would answer no end.

Early in the morning of the 5th, our old friends made us a visit, and brought a seasonable supply of fish. At the same time, I embarked in the pinnace with Messrs. Forsters and



Sparrrman, in order to proceed up the sound. I was desirous of finding the termination of it, or rather of seeing if I could find any passage out to sea by the S.E., as I suspected from some discoveries I had made when first here. In our way up we met with some fishers, of whom we made the necessary inquiry; and they all agreed that there was no passage to sea by the head of the sound. As we proceeded, we some time after met a canoe, conducted by four men, coming down the sound. These confirmed what the others had said, in regard to there being no passage to sea the way we were going; but gave us to understand that there was one to the east, in the very place where I expected to find it. I now laid aside the scheme of going to the head of the sound, and proceeded to this arm, which is on the S.E. side, about four or five leagues above the Isle of Motuara.

A little within the entrance on the S.E. side, at a place called Kotieghenooee, we found a large settlement of the natives. The chief, whose name was Tringo-boohée, and his people, whom we found to be some of those who had lately been on board the ship, received us with great courtesy. They seemed to be pretty numerous, both here and in the neighbourhood. Our stay with them was short, as the information they gave us encouraged us to pursue the object we had in view. Accordingly, we proceeded down the arm E.N.E. and E. by N., leaving several fine coves on both sides, and at last found it to open into the strait by a channel about a mile wide, in which ran out a strong tide; having also observed one setting down the arm, all the time we had been in it. It was now about four o'clock in the afternoon; and in less than an hour after, this tide ceased, and was succeeded by the flood, which came in with equal strength.

The outlet lies S.E. by E., and N.W. by W., and nearly in the direction of E.S.E., and W.N.W. from Cape Teerawhitte. We found thirteen fathoms water a little within the entrance, clear round. It seemed to me that a leading wind was necessary to go in and out of this passage, on account of the rapidity of the tides. I, however, had but little time to make observations of this nature, as night was at hand, and I had resolved to return on board. On that account, I omitted visiting a large *hippa*, or stronghold, built on an elevation on the north side, and about a mile or two within the entrance. The inhabitants of it, by signs, invited us to go to them; but, without paying any regard to them, we proceeded directly for the ship, which we reached by ten o'clock, bringing with us some fish we had got from the natives, and a few birds we had shot. Amongst the latter, were some of the same kind of ducks we found in Dusky Bay; and we have reason to believe that they are all to be met with here; for the natives knew them all by the drawings, and had a particular name for each.

On the 6th, wind at N.E., gloomy weather with rain. Our old friends having taken up their abode near us, one of them, whose name was Pedero, (a man of some note,) made me a present of a staff of honour, such as the chiefs generally carry. In return, I dressed him in a suit of old clothes, of which he was not a little proud. He had a fine person and a good presence; and nothing but his colour distinguished him from a European. Having got him and another into a communicative mood, we began to inquire of them if the Adventure had been there during my absence, and they gave us to understand, in a manner that admitted of no doubt, that soon after we were gone she arrived, that she staid between ten and twenty days, and had been gone ten months. They likewise asserted, that neither she nor any other ship had been stranded on the coast, as had been reported. This assertion, and the manner in which they related the coming and going of the Adventure, made me easy about her; but did not wholly set aside our suspicions of a disaster having happened to some other strangers. Besides what has been already related, we had been told that a ship had lately been here, and was gone to a place called Terato, which is on the north side of the Strait. Whether this story related to the former or not, I cannot say. Whenever I questioned the natives about it, they always denied all knowledge of it; and for some time past had avoided mentioning it. It was but a few days before, that one man received a box on the ear for naming it to some of our people. After breakfast, I took a number of hands over to Long-Island, in order to catch the sow, to put her to the boar, and remove her to some other place; but we returned without seeing her. Some of the natives had been there not long before us, as their fires were yet burning; and they had undoubtedly taken her

away. Pedero dined with us, ate of everything at table, and drank more wine than any one of us, without being in the least affected by it.

The 7th, fresh gales at N.E. with continual rain. The 8th, fore-part rain, remainder fair weather. We put two pigs, a boar and a sow, on shore, in the cove next without Cannibal Cove; so that it is hardly possible all the methods I have taken to stock this country with these animals should fail. We had also reason to believe that some of the cocks and hens which I left here still existed, although we had not seen any of them; for a hen's egg was, some days before, found in the woods almost new laid.

On the 9th, wind westerly or N.W. squally, with rain. In the morning we unmoored, and shifted our berth farther out of the cove, for the more ready getting to sea the next morning; for, at present, the caulkers had not finished the sides, and till this work was done we could not sail. Our friends having brought us a very large and seasonable supply of fish, I bestowed on Pedero a present of an empty oil-jar, which made him as happy as a prince. Soon after, he and his party left the cove, and retired to their proper place of abode, with all the treasure they had received from us. I believe that they gave away many of the things they, at different times, got from us, to their friends, and neighbours, or else parted with them to purchase peace of their more powerful enemies; for we never saw any of our presents after they were once in their possession; and every time we visited them they were as much in want of hatchets, nails, &c. to all appearance, as if they never had had any among them.

I am satisfied that the people in this Sound, who are upon the whole pretty numerous, are under no regular form of government, or so united as to form one body politic. The head of each tribe, or family, seems to be respected; and that respect may, on some occasions, command obedience; but I doubt if any amongst them have either a right or power to enforce it. The day we were with Tringo-boohée, the people came from all parts to see us, which he endeavoured to prevent. But though he went so far as to throw stones at some, I observed that very few paid any regard either to his words or actions; and yet this man was spoken of as a chief of some note. I have, before, made some remarks on the evils attending these people for want of union among themselves; and the more I was acquainted with them, the more I found it to be so. Notwithstanding they are cannibals, they are naturally of a good disposition, and have not a little humanity.

In the afternoon a party of us went ashore into one of the coves, where were two families of the natives variously employed; some sleeping, some making mats, others roasting fish and fir roots, and one girl, I observed, was heating of stones. Curious to know what they were for, I remained near her. As soon as the stones were made hot, she took them out of the fire, and gave them to an old woman, who was sitting in the hut. *She* placed them in a heap, laid over them a handful of green celery, and over that a coarse mat, and then squatted herself down, on her heels, on the top of all; thus making a kind of Dutch warming-pan, on which she sat as close as a hare on her seat. I should hardly have mentioned this operation, if I had thought it had no other view than to warm the old woman's backside. I rather suppose it was intended to cure some disorder she might have on her, which the steams arising from the green celery might be a specific for. I was led to think so by there being hardly any celery in the place, we having gathered it long before; and grass, of which there was great plenty, would have kept the stones from burning the mat full as well, if that had been all that was meant. Besides, the woman looked to me sickly, and not in a good state of health.

Mr. Wales from time to time communicated to me the observations he had made in this sound for determining the longitude, the mean results of which give  $174^{\circ} 25' 7'' \frac{1}{2}$  E. for the bottom of Ship Cove, where the observations were made; and the latitude of it is  $41^{\circ} 5' 56'' \frac{1}{2}$  S. In my chart, constituted in my former voyage, this place is laid down in  $184^{\circ} 54' 30''$  West, equal to  $175^{\circ} 5' 30''$  E. The error of the chart is therefore  $0^{\circ} 40' 0''$ , and nearly equal to what was found at Dusky Bay; by which it appears that the whole of Tavaipoenammoo is laid down  $40'$  too far east in the said chart, as well as in the journal of the voyage. But the error in Eaheino-mauve is not more than half a degree, or thirty minutes; because the distance between Queen Charlotte's Sound and Cape Palliser has been found to



be greater by 10' of longitude than it is laid down in the chart. I mention these errors, not from a fear that they will affect either navigation or geography, but because I have no doubt of their existence; for, from the multitude of observations which Mr. Wales took, the situation of few parts of the world is better ascertained than Queen Charlotte's Sound. Indeed, I might, with equal truth, say the same of all the other places where we made any stay; for Mr. Wales, whose abilities are equal to his assiduity, lost no one observation that could possibly be obtained. Even the situation of those islands which we passed without touching at them, is, by means of Kendal's watch, determined with almost equal accuracy. The error of the watch from Otaheite to this place was only  $43^{\circ} 39' \frac{1}{4}$  in longitude, reckoning at the rate it was found to go at, at that island and at Tanna; but by reckoning at the rate it was going when last at Queen Charlotte's Sound, and from the time of our leaving it, to our return to it again, which was near a year, the error was  $19^{\circ} 31'$ , 25 in time, or  $4^{\circ} 52' 48'' \frac{3}{4}$  in longitude. This error cannot be thought great, if we consider the length of time, and that we had gone over a space equal to upwards of three-fourths of the equatorial circumference of the earth, and through all the climates and latitudes from  $9^{\circ}$  to  $71^{\circ}$ . Mr. Wales found its rate of going here to be that of gaining  $12''$ , 576, on mean time, per day.

The mean result of all the observations he made for ascertaining the variation of the compass and the dip of the south end of the needle, the three several times we had been here, gave  $14^{\circ} 9' \frac{1}{2}$  E. for the former, and  $64^{\circ} 36'' \frac{2}{3}$  for the latter. He also found, from very accurate observations, that the time of high-water preceded the moon's southing, on the full and change days, by three hours; and that the greatest rise and fall of the water was five feet ten inches and a half; but there were evident tokens on the beach of its having risen two feet higher than it ever did in the course of his experiments.

## BOOK IV.

### FROM LEAVING NEW ZEALAND TO OUR RETURN TO ENGLAND.

#### CHAPTER I.—THE RUN FROM NEW ZEALAND TO TERRA DEL FUEGO, WITH THE RANGE FROM CAPE DESEADA TO CHRISTMAS SOUND, AND DESCRIPTION OF THAT PART OF THE COAST.

AT daybreak on the 10th, with a fine breeze at W.N.W., we weighed and stood out of the Sound; and, after getting round the Two Brothers, steered for Cape Campbell, which is at the S.W. entrance of the strait, all sails set, with a fine breeze at north. At four in the afternoon, we passed the Cape, at the distance of four or five leagues, and then steered S.S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., with the wind at N.W., a gentle gale, and cloudy weather. Next morning, the wind veered round by the west to south, and forced us more to the east than I intended. At seven o'clock in the evening, the snowy mountains bore W. by S., and Cape Palliser N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., distant sixteen or seventeen leagues; from which cape, I, for the third time, took my departure. After a few hours' calm, a breeze springing up at north, we steered S. by E. all sails set, with a view of getting into the latitude of  $54^{\circ}$  or  $55^{\circ}$ ; my intention being to cross this vast ocean nearly in these parallels, and so as to pass over those parts which were left unexplored the preceding summer.

In the morning of the 12th, the wind increased to a fine gale: at noon we observed in latitude  $43^{\circ} 13' 30''$  S., longitude  $176^{\circ} 41'$  E. An extraordinary fish of the whale kind was seen, which some called a sea-monster: I did not see it myself. In the afternoon, our old companions the pintado peterels began to appear. On the 13th, in the morning, the wind veered to W.S.W. At seven, seeing the appearance of land to the S.W., we hauled up towards it, and soon found it to be a fog-bank. Afterwards we steered S.E. by S., and soon after saw a seal. At noon, latitude, by account,  $44^{\circ} 25'$ , longitude  $177^{\circ} 31'$  E. Foggy weather, which continued all the afternoon. At six in the evening, the wind veered to N.E. by N., and increased to a fresh gale, attended with thick hazy weather; course steered E, E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S.

On the 14th A.M. saw another seal. At noon, latitude  $45^{\circ} 54'$ , longitude  $179^{\circ} 29' E.$  On the 15th A.M. the wind veered to the westward; the fog cleared away, but the weather continued cloudy. At noon, latitude  $47^{\circ} 30'$ , longitude  $178^{\circ} 19' W.$ ; for, having passed the meridian of  $180 E.$ , I now reckon my longitude west of the first meridian, viz., Greenwich. In the evening heard penguins, and, the next morning, saw some sea or rock weed. At noon a fresh gale from the west, and fine weather. Latitude observed  $49^{\circ} 33'$ , longitude  $175^{\circ} 31' W.$

Next morning fresh gales and hazy weather; saw a seal and several pieces of weed. At noon, latitude  $51^{\circ} 12'$ , longitude  $173^{\circ} 17' W.$  The wind veered to the north and N.E. by N., blew a strong gale by squalls, which split an old topgallant sail, and obliged us to double-reef the topsails; but in the evening the wind moderated, and veered to W.N.W., when we loosed a reef out of each topsail, and found the variation of the compass to be  $9^{\circ} 52' E.$ , being then in the latitude  $51^{\circ} 47'$ , longitude  $172^{\circ} 21' W.$ ; and the next morning, the 18th, in the latitude of  $52^{\circ} 25'$ , longitude  $170^{\circ} 45' W.$ , it was  $10^{\circ} 26' E.$  Towards noon, had moderate but cloudy weather, and a great swell from the west: some penguins and pieces of sea-weed seen. On the 19th, steered E.S.E. with a very fresh gale at N., hazy, dirty weather. At noon, latitude  $53^{\circ} 43'$ , longitude  $166^{\circ} 15' W.$  On the 20th, steered E. by S. with a moderate breeze at N., attended with thick, hazy weather. At noon, latitude  $54^{\circ} 8'$ , longitude  $162^{\circ} 18' W.$

On the 21st, winds mostly from the N.E., a fresh gale, attended with thick, hazy, dirty weather. Course S.E. by S.; latitude, at noon,  $55^{\circ} 31'$ ; longitude  $160^{\circ} 29' W.$ ; abundance of blue peterels and some penguins seen. Fresh gales at N.W. by N. and N. by W., and hazy till towards noon of the 22nd, when the weather cleared up, and we observed in latitude  $55^{\circ} 48' S.$ , longitude  $156^{\circ} 56' W.$  In the afternoon had a few hours' calm; after that, the wind came at S.S.E. and S.E. by S., a light breeze, with which we steered east-northerly. In the night the aurora australis was visible, but very faint, and noways remarkable.

On the 23rd, in the latitude of  $55^{\circ} 46' S.$ , longitude  $156^{\circ} 13' W.$  The variation was  $9^{\circ} 42' E.$  We had a calm from ten in the morning till six in the evening, when a breeze sprung up at west; at first it blew a gentle gale, but afterwards freshened. Our course was now E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. On the 24th, a fresh breeze at N.W. by W., and N. by W. At noon, in latitude  $55^{\circ} 38' S.$ , longitude  $153^{\circ} 37' W.$ , foggy in the night, but next day had a fine gale at N.W., attended with clear pleasant weather; course steered E. by N. In the evening, being in the latitude of  $55^{\circ} 8' S.$ , longitude  $148^{\circ} 10' W.$  the variation, by the mean of two compasses, was  $6^{\circ} 35' \frac{1}{2} E.$  Having a steady fresh gale at N.N.W. on the 26th and 27th, we steered east, and at noon, on the latter, were in latitude  $55^{\circ} 6' S.$ , longitude  $138^{\circ} 56' W.$

I now gave up all hopes of finding any more land in this ocean, and came to a resolution to steer directly for the west entrance of the Straits of Magalhaens, with a view of coasting the out or south side of Terra del Fuego, round Cape Horn, to the Strait Le Maire. As the world has but a very imperfect knowledge of this shore, I thought the coasting of it would be of more advantage, both to navigation and to geography, than anything I could expect to find in a higher latitude. In the afternoon of this day, the wind blew in squalls, and carried away the main-topgallant-mast.

A very strong gale northerly, with hazy rainy weather, on the 28th, obliged us to double-reef the fore and main-topsail, to hand the mizen-topsail, and get down the fore-topgallant-yard. In the morning, the bolt-rope of the main-topsail broke, and occasioned the sail to be split. I have observed that the ropes to all our sails, the square-sails especially, are not of a size and strength sufficient to wear out the canvas. At noon, latitude  $55^{\circ} 20' S.$ , longitude  $134^{\circ} 16' W.$ , a great swell from N.W.; albatrosses and blue peterels seen. Next day towards noon, the wind abating, we loosed all the reefs out of the topsails, rigged another topgallant-mast, and got the yards across. P.M., little wind, and hazy weather; at midnight calm, that continued till noon the next day, when a breeze sprung up at E., with which we stretched to the northward. At this time we were in the latitude  $55^{\circ} 32' S.$ , longitude  $128^{\circ} 45' W.$ ; some albatrosses and peterels seen. At eight P.M. the wind veering to N.E., we tacked and stood to E.S.E.



On the 1st of December, thick, hazy weather, with drizzling rain, and a moderate breeze of wind, which at three o'clock P.M. fell to a calm; at this time in latitude  $55^{\circ} 41'$  S., longitude  $127^{\circ} 5'$  W. After four hours' calm, the fog cleared away, and we got a wind at S.E., with which we stood N.E. Next day, a fresh breeze at S.E. and hazy, foggy weather, except a few hours in the morning, when we found the variation to be  $1^{\circ} 28'$  E., latitude  $55^{\circ} 17'$ , longitude  $125^{\circ} 41'$  W. The variation after this was supposed to increase; for on the 4th, in the morning, being in latitude  $53^{\circ} 21'$ , longitude  $121^{\circ} 31'$  W., it was  $3^{\circ} 16'$  E.; in the evening, in latitude  $53^{\circ} 13'$ , longitude  $119^{\circ} 46'$  W., it was  $3^{\circ} 28'$  E.; and on the 5th, at six o'clock in the evening, in latitude  $53^{\circ} 8'$ , longitude  $115^{\circ} 58'$  W., it was  $4^{\circ} 1'$  E. For more than twenty-four hours having had a fine gale at S., this enabled us to steer E., with very little deviation to the N.; and the wind now altering to S.W. and blowing a steady fresh breeze, we continued to steer E., inclining a little to S. On the 6th, had some snow showers. In the evening, being in latitude  $53^{\circ} 13'$ , longitude  $111^{\circ} 12'$ , the variation was  $4^{\circ} 58'$  E.; and the next morning being in latitude  $58^{\circ} 16'$ , longitude  $109^{\circ} 33'$ , it was  $5^{\circ} 1'$  E.

The wind was now at W., a fine pleasant gale, sometimes with showers of rain. Nothing remarkable happened, till the 9th, at noon, when being in the latitude of  $53^{\circ} 37'$ , longitude  $103^{\circ} 44'$  W., the wind veered to N.E., and afterwards came insensibly round to the S., by the E. and S.E., attended with cloudy, hazy weather, and some showers of rain. On the 10th, a little before noon, latitude  $54^{\circ}$ , longitude  $102^{\circ} 7'$  W., passed a small bed of sea-weed. In the afternoon the wind veered to S.W., blew a fresh gale, attended with dark cloudy weather. We steered E. half a point N.; and the next day, at six in the evening, being in latitude  $53^{\circ} 35'$ , longitude  $95^{\circ} 52'$  W., the variation was  $9^{\circ} 58'$  E. Many and various sorts of albatrosses about the ship.

On the 12th, the wind veered to the W.N.W., and in the evening to N.; and, at last, left us to a calm. That continued till midnight, when we got a breeze at S.; which, soon after, veering to and fixing at W., we steered E.; and on the 14th, in the morning, found the variation to be  $13^{\circ} 25'$  E., latitude  $53^{\circ} 25'$ , longitude  $87^{\circ} 53'$  W.; and in the afternoon, being in the same latitude, and the longitude of  $86^{\circ} 2'$  W., it was  $15^{\circ} 3'$  E., and increased in such a manner, that on the 15th, in the latitude of  $53^{\circ} 30'$ , longitude  $82^{\circ} 23'$  W., it was  $17^{\circ}$  E.; and the next evening, in the latitude of  $53^{\circ} 25'$ , longitude  $78^{\circ} 40'$ , it was  $17^{\circ} 38'$  E. About this time, we saw a penguin and a piece of weed; and the next morning, a seal and some diving peterels. For the three last days, the wind had been at W., a steady fresh gale, attended now and then with showers of rain or hail.

At six in the morning of the 17th, being nearly in the same latitude as above, and in the longitude of  $77^{\circ} 10'$  W., the variation was  $18^{\circ} 33'$  E.; and in the afternoon it was  $21^{\circ} 38'$ , being at that time in latitude  $53^{\circ} 16'$  S., longitude  $75^{\circ} 9'$  W. In the morning, as well as in the afternoon, I took some observations to determine the longitude by the watch; and the results, reduced to noon, gave  $76^{\circ} 18' 30''$  W. At the same time the longitude, by my reckoning, was  $76^{\circ} 17'$  W. But I have reason to think, that we were about half a degree more to the west than either the one or the other; our latitude, at the same time, was  $53^{\circ} 21'$  S. We steered E. by N. and E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. all this day, under all the sail we could carry, with a fine fresh gale at N.W. by W. in expectation of seeing the land before night; but not making it till ten o'clock, we took in the studding-sails, topgallant-sails, and a reef in each topsail, and steered E.N.E., in order to make sure of falling in with Cape Deseada. Two hours after, we made the land, extending from N.E. by N. to E. by S., about six leagues distant. On this discovery, we wore and brought-to, with the ship's head to the S., and having sounded, found seventy-five fathoms water, the bottom stone and shells. The land now before us could be no other than the west coast of Terra del Fuego, and near the west entrance to the Straits of Magalhaens.

As this was the first run that had been made directly across this ocean, in a high southern latitude\*, I have been a little particular in noting every circumstance that appeared in the least material; and after all, I must observe that I never made a passage anywhere of such length, or even much shorter, where so few interesting circumstances occurred. For, if

\* It is not to be supposed that I could know at this time that the Adventure had made the passage before me.

I except the variation of the compass, I know of nothing else worth notice. The weather had been neither unusually stormy nor cold. Before we arrived in the latitude of  $50^{\circ}$ , the mercury in the thermometer fell gradually from sixty to fifty; and after we arrived in the latitude of  $55^{\circ}$ , it was generally between forty-seven and forty-five; once or twice it fell to forty-three. These observations were made at noon.

I have now done with the Southern Pacific Ocean; and flatter myself that no one will think that I have left it unexplored; or that more could have been done, in one voyage, towards obtaining that end, than has been done in this.

Soon after we left New Zealand, Mr. Wales contrived and fixed up an instrument, which very accurately measured the angle the ship rolled when sailing large and in a great sea; and that in which she lay down when sailing upon a wind. The greatest angle he observed her to roll was  $38^{\circ}$ . This was on the 6th of this month, when the sea was not unusually high; so that it cannot be reckoned the greatest roll she had made. The most he observed her to heel or lie down, when sailing upon a wind, was  $18^{\circ}$ ; and this was under double-reefed topsails and courses.

On the 18th, at three in the morning, we sounded again, and found one hundred and ten fathoms, the same bottom as before. We now made sail with a fresh gale at N.W. and steered S.E. by E. along the coast. It extended from Cape Deseada, which bore N.  $7^{\circ}$  E., to E.S.E., a pretty high ragged isle, which lies near a league from the main, and S.  $18^{\circ}$  E. six leagues from Cape Deseada, bore N.  $49^{\circ}$  E. distant four leagues; and it obtained the name of Landfall. At four o'clock, we were north and south of the high land of Cape Deseada, distant about nine leagues; so that we saw none of the low rocks said to lie off it. The latitude of this Cape is about  $53^{\circ}$  S., longitude  $74^{\circ} 40'$  W. Continuing to range the coast, at about two leagues' distance, at eleven o'clock we passed a projecting point, which I called Cape Gloucester. It shows a round surface of considerable height, and has much the appearance of being an island. It lies S.S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., distant seventeen leagues from the Isle of Landfall. The coast between them forms two bays, strewed with rocky islets, rocks, and breakers. The coast appeared very broken with many inlets; or rather it seemed to be composed of a number of islands. The land is very mountainous, rocky, and barren, spotted here and there with tufts of wood and patches of snow. At noon Cape Gloucester bore N. distant eight miles, and the most advanced point of land to the S.E., which we judged to be Cape Noir, bore S.E. by S. distant seven or eight leagues. Latitude observed  $54^{\circ} 13'$  S. Longitude made from Cape Deseada,  $54^{\circ}$  E. From Cape Gloucester, off which lies a small rocky island, the direction of the coast is nearly S.E.; but to Cape Noir, for which we steered, the course is S.S.E., distant about ten leagues.

At three o'clock we passed Cape Noir, which is a steep rock of considerable height, and the S.W. point of a large island that seemed to lie detached a league or a league and a half from the main land. The land of the Cape, when at a distance from it, appeared to be an island disjoined from the other; but, on a nearer approach, we found it connected by a low neck of land. At the point of the Cape are two rocks; the one peaked like a sugarloaf, the other not so high, and showing a rounder surface; and S. by E. two leagues from the Cape are two other rocky islets. This cape is situated in the latitude of  $54^{\circ} 30'$  S., longitude  $73^{\circ} 33'$  W.

After passing the two islets, we steered E.S.E. crossing the great bay of St. Barbara. We but just saw the land in the bottom of it; which could not be less than seven or eight leagues from us. There was a space, lying in the direction of E.N.E. from Cape Noir, where no land was to be seen: this may be the Channel of St. Barbara which opens into the Straits of Magalhaens, as mentioned by Frezier. We found the Cape to agree very well with his description; which shows that he laid down the channel from good memoirs. At ten o'clock, drawing near the S.E. point of the bay, which lies nearly in the direction of S.  $60^{\circ}$  E. from Cape Noir, eighteen leagues distant, we shortened sail, and spent the night standing off and on. At two o'clock in the morning of the 19th, having made sail, we steered S.E. by E. along the coast, and soon passed the S.E. point of the Bay of St. Barbara, which I called Cape Desolation; because near it commenced the most desolate and barren country I ever saw. It is situated in the latitude of  $54^{\circ} 55'$  S., longitude  $72^{\circ} 12'$  W. About four



leagues to the east of this cape is a deep inlet, at the entrance of which lies a pretty large island, and some others of less note. Nearly in this situation some charts place a channel leading into the Straits of Magalhaens, under the name of Straits of Jelouzel. At ten o'clock, being about a league and half from the land, we sounded, and found sixty fathoms water, a bottom of small stones and shells.

The wind, which had been fresh at N. by W., began to abate, and at noon it fell calm, when we observed in latitude  $55^{\circ} 20'$  S., longitude made from Cape Descada  $3^{\circ} 24'$  E. In this situation we were about three leagues from the nearest shore, which was that of an island. This I named Gilbert Isle, after my master. It is nearly of the same height with the rest of the coast, and shows a surface composed of several peaked rocks unequally high. A little to the S.E. of it are some smaller islands, and, without them, breakers. I have before observed that this is the most desolate coast I ever saw. It seems entirely composed of rocky mountains without the least appearance of vegetation. These mountains terminate in horrible precipices, whose craggy summits spire up to a vast height; so that hardly anything in nature can appear with a more barren and savage aspect than the whole of this country. The inland mountains were covered with snow, but those on the sea-coast were not. We judged the former to belong to the main of Terra del Fuego, and the latter to be islands, so ranged as apparently to form a coast.

After three hours' calm, we got a breeze at S.E. by E. and having made a short trip to south, stood in for the land; the most advanced point of which, that we had in sight, bore E., distant ten leagues. This is a lofty promontory, lying E.S.E. nineteen leagues from Gilbert Isle, and situated in latitude  $55^{\circ} 26'$  S., longitude  $70^{\circ} 25'$  W. Viewed from the situation we now were in, it terminated in two high towers; and within them a hill shaped like a sugarloaf. This wild rock therefore obtained the name of York Minster. Two leagues to the westward of this head appeared a large inlet, the west point of which we fetched in with by nine o'clock, when we tacked in forty-one fathoms water, half a league from the shore: to the westward of this inlet was another, with several islands lying in the entrance. During the night between the 19th and 20th, we had little wind easterly, which in the morning veered to N.E. and N.N.E., but it was too faint to be of use; and at ten we had a calm, when we observed the ship to drive from off the shore out to sea. We had made the same observation the day before. This must have been occasioned by a current; and the melting of the snow increasing, the inland waters will cause a stream to run out of most of these inlets. At noon, we observed in latitude  $55^{\circ} 39' 30''$  S., York Minster, then bearing N.  $15^{\circ}$  E., distant five leagues; and Round-hill, just peeping above the horizon, which we judged to belong to the isles of Saint Ildefonso, E.  $25^{\circ}$  S., ten or eleven leagues distant. At ten o'clock, a breeze springing up at E. by S., I took this opportunity to stand in for the land, being desirous of going into one of the many ports which seemed open to receive us, in order to take a view of the country, and to recruit our stock of wood and water.

In standing in for an opening, which appeared on the east side of York Minster, we had forty, thirty-seven, fifty, and sixty fathoms water, a bottom of small stones and shells. When we had the last soundings we were nearly in the middle between the two points that form the entrance to the inlet, which we observed to branch into two arms, both of them lying in nearly N., and disjoined by a high rocky point. We stood for the eastern branch as being clear of islets; and after passing a black rocky one, lying without the point just mentioned, we sounded and found no bottom with a line of a hundred and seventy fathoms. This was altogether unexpected, and a circumstance that would not have been regarded, if the breeze had continued; but at this time it fell calm, so that it was not possible to extricate ourselves from this disagreeable situation. Two boats were hoisted out, and sent ahead to tow; but they would have availed little, had not a breeze sprung up about eight o'clock, at S.W. which put it in my power either to stand out to sea, or up the inlet. Prudence seemed to point out the former; but the desire of finding a good port, and of learning something of the country, getting the better of every other consideration, I resolved to stand in; and as night was approaching, our safety depended on getting to an anchor. With this view we continued to sound, but always had an unfathomable depth.

Hauling up under the east side of the land which divided the two arms, and seeing a small cove ahead, I sent a boat to sound; and we kept as near the shore as the flurries from the land would permit, in order to be able to get into this place, if there should be anchorage. The boat soon returned, and informed us that there was thirty and twenty-five fathoms water, a full cable's length from the shore. Here we anchored in thirty fathoms, the bottom sand and broken shells; and carried out a kedge and hawser, to steady the ship for the night.

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CHAPTER II.—TRANSACTIONS IN CHRISTMAS SOUND, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS.

THE morning of the 21st was calm and pleasant. After breakfast, I set out with two boats to look for a more secure station. We no sooner got round, or above the point, under which the ship lay, than we found a cove in which was anchorage in thirty, twenty, and fifteen fathoms, the bottom stones and sand. At the head of the cove was a stony beach, a valley covered with wood, and a stream of fresh water; so that there was everything we could expect to find in such a place, or rather more; for we shot three geese out of four that we saw, and caught some young ones, which we afterwards let go.

After discovering and sounding this cove, I sent Lieutenant Clerke, who commanded the other boat, on board, with orders to remove the ship into this place, while I proceeded farther up the inlet. I presently saw that the land we were under, which disjoined the two arms, as mentioned before, was an island, at the north end of which the two channels united. After this I hastened on board, and found everything in readiness to weigh; which was accordingly done, and all the boats sent ahead to tow the ship round the point. But, at that moment, a light breeze came in from the sea too scant to fill our sails; so that we were obliged to drop the anchor again, for fear of falling upon the point, and to carry out a kedge to windward. That being done, we hove up the anchor, warped up to and weighed the kedge, and proceeding round the point under our stay-sails, there anchored with the best bower, in twenty fathoms; and moored with the other bower, which lay to the north, in thirteen fathoms. In this position we were shut in from the sea by the point above mentioned, which was in one with the extremity of the inlet to the east. Some islets, off the next point above us, covered us from the N.W., from which quarter the wind had the greatest fetch; and our distance from the shore was about one-third of a mile. Thus situated, we went to work, to clear a place to fill water, to cut wood, and to set up a tent for the reception of a guard, which was thought necessary; as we had already discovered, that, barren as this country is, it was not without people, though we had not yet seen any. Mr. Wales also got his observatory and instruments on shore; but it was with the greatest difficulty he could find a place of sufficient stability, and clear of the mountains, which everywhere surrounded us, to set them up in; and at last he was obliged to content himself with the top of a rock, not more than nine feet over.

Next day I sent Lieutenants Clerke and Pickersgill, accompanied by some of the other officers, to examine and draw a sketch of the channel on the other side of the island; and I went myself in another boat, accompanied by the botanists, to survey the northern parts of the sound. In my way, I landed on the point of a low isle covered with herbage, part of which had been lately burnt; we likewise saw a hut; signs sufficient that people were in the neighbourhood. After I had taken the necessary bearings, we proceeded round the east end of Burnt Island, and over to what we judged to be the main of Terra del Fuego, where we found a very fine harbour encompassed by steep rocks of vast height, down which ran many limpid streams of water; and at the foot of the rocks, some tufts of trees, fit for little else but fuel. This harbour, which I shall distinguish by the name of the Devil's Basin, is divided, as it were, into two, an inner and an outer one; and the communication between them is by a narrow channel five fathoms deep. In the outer basin, I found thirteen and seventeen fathoms water, and in the inner, seventeen and twenty-three. This last is as secure a place as can be, but nothing can be more gloomy. The vast height of the savage



rocks which encompass it, deprived great part of it, even on this day, of the meridian sun. The outer harbour is not quite free from this inconvenience, but far more so than the other; it is also rather more commodious, and equally safe. It lies in the direction of north, a mile and a half distant from the east end of Burnt Island. I likewise found a good anchoring-place a little to the west of this harbour, before a stream of water that comes out of a lake or large reservoir, which is continually supplied by a cascade falling into it.

Leaving this place, we proceeded along the shore to the westward, and found other harbours, which I had not time to look into. In all of them is fresh water, and wood for fuel; but except these little tufts of bushes, the whole country is a barren rock, doomed by nature to everlasting sterility. The low islands, and even some of the higher, which lie scattered up and down the sound, are indeed mostly covered with shrubs and herbage, the soil a black rotten turf, evidently composed, by length of time, of decayed vegetables. I had an opportunity to verify what we had observed at sea; that the sea-coast is composed of a number of large and small islands, and that the numerous inlets are formed by the junction of several channels,—at least so it is here. On one of these low islands we found several huts which had lately been inhabited; and near them was a good deal of celery, with which we loaded our boat, and returned on board at seven o'clock in the evening. In this expedition we met with little game; one duck, three or four shags, and about that number of rails or sea-pies, being all we got. The other boat returned on board some hours before; having found two harbours on the west side of the other channel, the one large and the other small, but both of them safe and commodious; though, by the sketch Mr. Pickersgill had taken of them, the access to both appeared rather intricate. I was now told of a melancholy accident which had befallen one of our marines. He had not been seen since eleven or twelve o'clock the preceding night. It was supposed that he had fallen overboard out of the head, where he had been last seen, and was drowned.

Having fine pleasant weather on the 23d, I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill in the cutter to explore the east side of the sound, and went myself in the pinnace to the west side, with an intent to go round the island, under which we were at anchor (and which I shall distinguish by the name of Shag Island), in order to view the passage leading to the harbours Mr. Pickersgill had discovered the day before, on which I made the following observations. In coming from sea, leave all the rocks and islands, lying off and within York Minster, on your larboard side; and the black rock, which lies off the south end of Shag Island, on your starboard; and when abreast of the south end of that island, haul over for the west shore, taking care to avoid the beds of weeds you will see before you, as they always grow on rocks; some of which I have found twelve fathoms under water, but it is always best to keep clear of them. The entrance to the large harbour, or Port Clerke, is just to the north of some low rocks lying off a point on Shag Island. This harbour lies in W. by S., a mile and a half, and hath in it from twelve to twenty-four fathoms depth, wood, and fresh water. About a mile without, or to the southward of Port Clerke, is, or seemed to be, another which I did not examine. It is formed by a large island, which covers it from the south and east winds. Without this island, that is, between it and York Minster, the sea seemed strewn with islets, rocks, and breakers. In proceeding round the south end of Shag Island, we observed the shags to breed in vast numbers in the cliffs of the rocks. Some of the old ones we shot, but could not come at the young ones, which are by far the best eating. On the east side of the island we saw some geese; and having with difficulty landed, we killed three, which at this time was a valuable acquisition.

About seven in the evening we got on board, where Mr. Pickersgill had arrived but just before. He informed me that the land opposite to our station was an island, which he had been round; that, on another, more to the north, he found many *terns'* eggs, and that without the great island, between it and the east head, lay a cove in which were many geese; one only of which he got, besides some young goslings. This information of Mr. Pickersgill induced me to make up two shooting parties next day; Mr. Pickersgill and his associates going in the cutter, and myself and the botanists in the pinnace. Mr. Pickersgill went by the N.E. side of the large island above mentioned, which obtained the name of Goose Island; and I went by the S.W. side. As soon as we got under the island, we found plenty of shags

in the cliffs, but, without staying to spend our time and shot upon these, we proceeded on, and presently found sport enough; for in the south of the island were abundance of geese. It happened to be the moulting season, and most of them were on shore for that purpose, and could not fly. There being a great surf, we found great difficulty in landing, and very bad climbing over the rocks when we were landed; so that hundreds of the geese escaped us, some into the sea, and others up into the island. We, however, by one means or other, got sixty-two; with which we returned on board, all heartily tired; but the acquisition we had made overbalanced every other consideration, and we sat down with a good appetite to supper, on part of what the preceding day had produced. Mr. Pickersgill and his associates had got on board some time before us, with fourteen geese; so that I was able to make distribution to the whole crew, which was the more acceptable, on account of the approaching festival; for, had not Providence thus singularly provided for us, our Christmas cheer must have been salt beef and pork.

I now learnt that a number of the natives, in nine canoes, had been alongside the ship, and some on board. Little address was required to persuade them to either; for they seemed to be well enough acquainted with Europeans, and had amongst them some of their knives. The next morning, the 25th, they made us another visit. I found them to be of the same nation I had formerly seen in Success Bay; and the same which M. de Bougainville distinguishes by the name of *Pecheras*, a word which these had on every occasion in their mouths. They are a little, ugly, half-starved, beardless race: I saw not a tall person amongst them. They were almost naked; their clothing was a seal-skin; some had two or three sewed together, so as to make a cloak which reached to the knees; but the most of them had only one skin, hardly large enough to cover their shoulders, and all their lower parts were quite naked. The women, I was told, cover their nakedness with a flap of a seal-skin, but in other respects are clothed like the men. They, as well as the children, remained in the canoes. I saw two young children at the breast entirely naked; thus they are inured from their infancy to cold and hardships. They had with them bows and arrows, and darts, or rather harpoons, made of bone, and fitted to a staff. I suppose they were intended to kill seals and fish; they may also kill whales with them, as the *Esquimaux* do. I know not if they resemble them in their love of train-oil; but they, and everything they had, smelt most intolerably of it. I ordered them some biscuit, but did not observe them so fond of it as I had been told. They were much better pleased when I gave them some medals, knives, &c.

The women and children, as before observed, remained in the canoes. These were made of bark; and in each was a fire, over which the poor creatures huddled themselves. I cannot suppose that they carry a fire in their canoes for this purpose only; but rather that it may be always ready to remove ashore wherever they land; for let their method of obtaining fire be what it may, they cannot be always sure of finding dry fuel that will kindle from a spark. They likewise carry in their canoes large seal hides, which I judged were to shelter them when at sea, and to serve as covering to their huts on shore; and occasionally to be used for sails. They all retired before dinner, and did not wait to partake of our Christmas cheer. Indeed I believe no one invited them, and for good reasons; for their dirty persons, and the stench they carried about them, were enough to spoil the appetite of any European; and that would have been a real disappointment, as we had not experienced such fare for some time. Roast and boiled geese, goose-pie, &c. was a treat little known to us; and we had yet some Madeira wine left, which was the only article of our provision that was mended by keeping. So that our friends in England did not, perhaps, celebrate Christmas more cheerfully than we did.

On the 26th, little wind, next to a calm, and fair weather, except in the morning, when we had some showers of rain. In the evening, when it was cold, the natives made us another visit; and it being distressing to see them stand trembling and naked on the deck, I could do no less than to give them some baize and old canvas to cover themselves. Having already completed our water, on the 27th I ordered the wood, tent, and observatory to be got on board; and, as this was work for the day, a party of us went in two boats to shoot geese, the weather being fine and pleasant. We proceeded round by the south side of Goose Island, and picked up in all thirty-one. On the east side of the island, to the north



of the east point, is good anchorage, in seventeen fathoms water, where it is entirely land-locked. This is a good place for ships to lie in that are bound to the west. On the north side of this isle I observed three fine coves, in which were both wood and water; but it being near night, I had no time to sound them; though I doubt not there is anchorage. The way to come at them is by the west end of the island.

When I returned on board, I found everything got off the shore, and the launch in; so that we now only waited for a wind to put to sea. The festival, which we celebrated at this place, occasioned my giving it the name of Christmas Sound. The entrance, which is three leagues wide, is situated in the latitude of  $55^{\circ} 27'$  S., longitude  $70^{\circ} 16'$  W.; and in the direction of N.  $37^{\circ}$  W. from St. Ildefonso Isles, distant ten leagues. These isles are the best land-mark for finding the sound. York Minster, which is the only remarkable land about it, will hardly be known by a stranger from any description that can be given of it, because it alters its appearance according to the different situations it is viewed from. Besides the black rock, which lies off the end of Shag Island, there is another about midway between this and the east shore. A copious description of this sound is unnecessary, as few would be benefited by it. The sketch which accompanies this journal will be a sufficient guide for such ships as chance may bring hither. Anchorage, tufts of wood, and fresh water, will be found in all the coves and harbours. I would advise no one to anchor very near the shore for the sake of having a moderate depth of water; because there I generally found a rocky bottom.



CHRISTMAS SOUND.

The refreshments to be got here are precarious, as they consist chiefly of wild-fowl, and may probably never be found in such plenty as to supply the crew of a ship; and fish, so far as we can judge, are scarce. Indeed the plenty of wild-fowl made us pay less attention to fishing. Here are however plenty of muscles, not very large, but well tasted; and very good celery is to be met with on several of the low islets, and where the natives have their habitations. The wild-fowl are geese, ducks, sea-pies, shags, and that kind of gull so often mentioned in this journal under the name of Port Egmont hen. Here is a kind of duck,

called by our people race-horses, on account of the great swiftness with which they run on the water; for they cannot fly, the wings being too short to support the body in the air. This bird is at the Falkland Islands, as appears by Pernetý's journal\*. The geese too are there, and seem to be very well described under the name of bustards. They are much smaller than our English tame geese, but eat as well as any I ever tasted. They have short black bills and yellow feet. The gander is all white; the female is spotted black and white, or grey with a large white spot on each wing. Besides the bird above mentioned, here are several other aquatic, and some land ones; but of the latter not many.

From the knowledge which the inhabitants seem to have of Europeans, we may suppose that they do not live here continually, but retire to the north during the winter. I have often wondered that these people do not clothe themselves better, since nature has certainly provided materials. They might line their seal-skin cloaks with the skins and feathers of aquatic birds; they might make their cloaks larger, and employ the same skins for other parts of clothing; for I cannot suppose they are scarce with them. They were ready enough to part with those they had to our people; which they hardly would have done, had they not known where to have got more. In short, of all the nations I have seen, the Pecheras are the most wretched. They are doomed to live in one of the most inhospitable climates in the world, without having sagacity enough to provide themselves with such conveniences as may render life in some measure more comfortable.

Barren as this country is, it abounds with a variety of unknown plants, and gave sufficient employment to Mr. Forster and his party. The tree which produceth the Winter's bark is found here in the woods, as is the holly-leaved berberry, and some other sorts which I know not, but I believe are common in the Straits of Magalhaens. We found plenty of a berry which we called the cranberry, because they are nearly of the same colour, size, and shape. It grows on a bushy plant, has a bitterish taste, rather insipid; but may be eaten either raw or in tarts, and is used as food by the natives.

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CHAPTER III.—RANGE FROM CHRISTMAS SOUND, ROUND CAPE HORN, THROUGH STRAIT LE MAIRE, AND ROUND STATEN LAND; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF A HARBOUR IN THAT ISLAND, AND A DESCRIPTION OF THE COASTS.

At four o'clock in the morning on the 28th we began to unmoor; and at eight weighed and stood out to sea, with a light breeze at N.W. which afterwards freshened, and was attended with rain. At noon the east point of the sound (Point Nativity) bore N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. distant one and a half leagues, and St. Ildefonso Isles S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S., distant seven leagues. The coast seemed to trend in the direction of E. by S.; but the weather being very hazy, nothing appeared distinct.

We continued to steer S.E. by E. and E.S.E., with a fresh breeze at W.N.W., till four o'clock P.M., when we hauled to the South, in order to have a nearer view of St. Ildefonso Isles. At this time we were abreast of an inlet, which lies E.S.E. about seven leagues from the sound; but it must be observed that there are some isles without this distinction. At the west point of the inlet are two high peaked hills; and below them to the E. two round hills, or isles, which lie in the direction of N.E. and S.W. of each other. An island, or what appeared to be an island, lay in the entrance; and another but smaller inlet appeared to the west of this; indeed, the coast appeared indented and broken as usual. At half-past five o'clock, the weather clearing up, gave us a good sight of Ildefonso Isles. They are a group of islands and rocks above water, situated above six leagues from the main, and in the latitude of 55° 53' S., longitude 69° 41' W.

We now resumed our course to the east; and, at sunset, the most advanced land bore S.E. by E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E.; and a point, which I judged to be the west point of Nassau Bay, discovered by the Dutch fleet under the command of Admiral Hermite in 1624, bore N. 80° E., six leagues distant. In some charts, this point is called false Cape Horn, as being the southern point of Terra del Fuego. It is situated in latitude 55° 39' S. From the inlet above men-

\* See Pernetý's Journal, p. 244 and p. 213.



tioned to this false cape, the direction of the coast is nearly E., half a point S., distant fourteen or fifteen leagues. At ten o'clock, having shortened sail, we spent the night in making short boards under the topsails, and, at three next morning, made sail and steered S.E. by S. with a fresh breeze at W.S.W., the weather somewhat hazy. At this time, the west entrance to Nassau Bay extended from N. by E. to N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E.; and the south side of Hermite's Isles, E. by S. At four, *Cape Horn*, for which we now steered, bore E. by S. It is known at a distance, by a high round hill over it. A point to the W.N.W. shows a surface not unlike this; but their situations alone will always distinguish the one from the other.

At half-past seven, we passed this famous cape, and entered the Southern Atlantic Ocean. It is the very same point of land I took for the cape when I passed it in 1769, which at that time I was doubtful of. It is the most southern extremity on a group of islands of unequal extent, lying before Nassau Bay, known by the name of Hermite Islands, and is situated in the latitude of  $55^{\circ} 58'$ , and in the longitude of  $68^{\circ} 13'$  west, according to the observations made of it in 1769. But the observations which we had in Christmas Sound, and reduced to the cape by the watch, and others which we had afterwards, and reduced back to it by the same means, place it in  $67^{\circ} 19'$ . It is most probable that a mean between the two, viz.  $67^{\circ} 46'$ , will be nearest the truth. On the N.W. side of the cape are two peaked rocks like sugarloaves. They lie N.W. by N. and S.E. by S., by compass, of each other. Some other straggling low rocks lie west of the cape, and one south of it; but they are all near the shore. From Christmas Sound to Cape Horn, the course is E.S.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E., distant thirty-one leagues. In the direction of E.N.E., three leagues from Cape Horn, is a rocky point, which I called Mistaken Cape, and is the southern point of the easternmost of Hermite Isles. Between these two capes there seemed to be a passage directly into Nassau Bay; some small isles were seen in the passage; and the coast, on the west side, had the appearance of forming good bays or harbours. In some charts, Cape Horn is laid down as belonging to a small island. This was neither confirmed nor can it be contradicted by us; for several breakers appeared in the coast, both to the east and west of it; and the hazy weather rendered every object indistinct. The summits of some of the hills were rocky, but the sides and valleys seemed covered with a green turf, and wooded in tufts.

From Cape Horn we steered E. by N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. which direction carried us without the rocks that lie off Mistaken Cape. These rocks are white with the dung of fowls; and vast numbers were seen about them. After passing them, we steered N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. and N.E. for Strait Le Maire, with a view of looking into Success Bay, to see if there were any traces of the Adventure having been there. At eight o'clock in the evening, drawing near the strait, we shortened sail, and hauled the wind. At this time the Sugarloaf on Terra del Fuego bore N.  $33^{\circ}$  W.; the point of Success Bay, just open of the cape of the same name, bearing N.  $20^{\circ}$  E.; and Staten Land, extending from N.  $53^{\circ}$  E. to  $67^{\circ}$  E. Soon after, the wind died away, and we had light airs and calms by turns till near noon the next day; during which time we were driven by the current over to Staten Land.

The calm being succeeded by a light breeze at N.N.W. we stood over for Success Bay, assisted by the currents, which set to the north. Before this, we had hoisted our colours, and fired two guns; and soon after, saw a smoke rise out of the woods, above the south point of the bay; which I judged was made by the natives, as it was at the place where they resided when I was here in 1769. As soon as we got off the bay, I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill to see if any traces remained of the Adventure having been there lately; and in the mean time we stood on and off with the ship. At two o'clock, the current turned and set to the south; and Mr. Pickersgill informed me when he returned, that it was falling water on shore; which was contrary to what I had observed when I was here before; for I thought then that the flood came from the north. Mr. Pickersgill saw not the least signs of any ship having been there lately. I had inscribed our ship's name on a card, which he nailed to a tree at the place where the Endeavour watered. This was done with a view of giving Captain Furneaux some information, in case he should be behind us and put in here. On Mr. Pickersgill's landing, he was courteously received by several of the natives, who were clothed in guanicoe and seal-skins, and had on their arms bracelets, made of silver wire, and wrought not unlike the hilt of a sword, being no doubt the manufacture of some



Europeans. They were the same kind of people we had seen in Christmas Sound ; and, like them, repeated the word *Pechera* on every occasion. One man spoke much to Mr. Pickersgill, pointing first to the ship and then to the bay, as if he wanted her to come in. Mr. Pickersgill said the bay was full of whales and seals ; and we had observed the same in the strait, especially on the Terra del Fuego side, where the whales, in particular, are exceedingly numerous.

As soon as the boat was hoisted in, which was not till near six o'clock, we made sail to the east, with a fine breeze at north. For since we had explored the south coast of Terra del Fuego, I resolved to do the same by Staten Land ; which I believed to have been as little known as the former. At nine o'clock the wind freshening, and veering to N.W. we tacked, and stood to S.W. in order to spend the night, which proved none of the best, being stormy and hazy, with rain. Next morning, at three o'clock, we bore up for the east end of Staten Land, which, at half-past four, bore S. 60° E. the west end S. 2° E. and the land of Terra del Fuego S. 40° W. Soon after I had taken these bearings, the land was again obscured in a thick haze, and we were obliged to make way, as it were, in the dark ; for it was but now and then we got a sight of the coast. As we advanced to the east, we perceived several islands, of unequal extent, lying off the land. There seemed to be a clear passage between the easternmost and the one next to it, to the west. I would gladly have gone through this passage, and anchored under one of the islands, to have waited for better weather ; for on sounding we found only twenty-nine fathoms water ; but when I considered that this was running to leeward in the dark, I chose to keep without the islands, and accordingly hauled off to the north. At eight o'clock we were abreast of the most eastern isle, distant from it about two miles, and had the same depth of water as before. I now shortened sail to the three topsails, to wait for clear weather ; for the fog was so thick that we could see no other land than this island. After waiting an hour, and the weather not clearing up, we bore, and hauled round the east end of the island, for the sake of smooth water and anchorage, if it should be necessary. In hauling round, we found a strong race of a current, like unto broken water ; but we had no less than nineteen fathoms. We also saw on the island abundance of seals and birds. This was a temptation too great for people in our situation to withstand, to whom fresh provisions of any kind were acceptable ; and determined me to anchor, in order that we might taste of what we now only saw at a distance. At length, after making a few boards, fishing, as it were, for the best ground, we anchored in twenty-one fathoms water, a stony bottom, about a mile from the island, which extended from N. 18° E. to N. 55°  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. ; and soon after, the weather clearing up, we saw Cape St. John, or the east end of Staten Land, bearing S. 75° E., distant four leagues. We were sheltered from the south wind by Staten Land, and from the north wind by the island ; the other isles lay to the west, and secured us from that wind ; but beside being open to the N.E. and E., we also lay exposed to the N.N.W. winds. This might have been avoided by anchoring more to the west ; but I made choice of my situation for two reasons : first, to be near the island we intended to land upon ; and secondly, to be able to get to sea with any wind.

After dinner we hoisted out three boats, and landed with a large party of men ; some to kill seals, others to catch or kill birds, fish, or what came in our way. To find of the former, it mattered not where we landed, for the whole shore was covered with them ; and, by the noise they made, one would have thought the island was stocked with cows and calves. On landing, we found they were a different animal from seals, but in shape and motion exactly resembling them. We called them lions, on account of the great resemblance the male has to that beast. Here were also the same kind of seals which we found in New Zealand generally known by the name of sea-bears,—at least, we gave them that name. They were, in general, so tame, or rather stupid, as to suffer us to come near enough to knock them down with sticks ; but the large ones we shot, not thinking it safe to approach them. We also found on the island abundance of penguins and shags ; and the latter had young ones almost fledged, and just to our taste. Here were geese and ducks, but not many ; birds of prey, and a few small birds. In the evening we returned on board, our boats well laden with one thing or other.

Next day, being January the 1st, 1775, finding that nothing was wanting but a good harbour to make this a tolerable place for ships to refresh at, whom chance or design might



bring hither, I sent Mr. Gilbert over to Staten Land in the cutter to look for one. Appearances promised success in a place opposite the ship. I sent also two other boats for the lions &c. we had killed the preceding day; and soon after I went myself, and observed the sun's meridian altitude at the N.E. end of the island, which gave the latitude  $54^{\circ} 40' 5''$  south. After shooting a few geese, some other birds, and plentifully supplying ourselves with young shags, we returned on board, laden with sea-lions, sea-bears, &c. The old lions and bears



SEA BEAR. (*Arctocephalus ursinus*.)

were killed chiefly for the sake of their blubber, or fat, to make oil of; for, except their harslets, which were tolerable, the flesh was too rank to be eaten with any degree of relish. But the young cubs were very palatable, and even the flesh of some of the old lionesses was not much amiss; but that of the old males was abominable. In the afternoon, I sent some people on shore to skin and cut off the fat of those which yet remained dead on shore, for we had already more carcasses on board than necessary; and I went myself, in another boat, to collect birds. About ten o'clock Mr. Gilbert returned from Staten Land, where he found a good port, situated three leagues to the westward of Cape St. John, and in the direction of north, a little easterly, from the N.E. end of the eastern island. It may be known by some small islands lying in the entrance. The channel, which is on the east side of these islands, is half a mile broad. The course in is S.W. by S., turning gradually to W. by S. and W. The harbour lies nearly in this last direction; is almost two miles in length; in some places near a mile broad; and hath in it from fifty to ten fathoms water, a bottom of mud and sand. Its shores are covered with wood fit for fuel; and in it are several streams of fresh water. On the islands were sea-lions, &c., and such an innumerable quantity of gulls as to darken the air when disturbed, and almost to suffocate our people with their dung. This they seemed to void in a way of defence, and it stunk worse than asafetida, or, as it is commonly called, devil's dung. Our people also saw several geese, ducks, and race-horses, which is also a kind of duck. The day on which this port was discovered, occasioned my calling it New Year's Harbour. It would be more convenient for ships bound to the west, or round Cape Horn, if its situation would permit them, to put to sea with an easterly and northerly wind. This inconvenience, however, is of little consequence, since these winds are never known to be of long duration. The southerly and westerly are the prevailing winds; so that a ship can never be detained long in this port.

As we could not sail in the morning of the 2d for want of wind, I sent a party of men on shore to the island, on the same duty as before. Towards noon we got a fresh breeze at west; but it came too late, and I resolved to wait till the next morning, when, at four

o'clock, we weighed with a fresh gale at N.W. by W., and stood for Cape St. John, which, at half-past six, bore N. by E., distant four or five miles. This cape, being the eastern point of Staten Land, a description of it is unnecessary. It may, however, not be amiss to say, that it is a rock of considerable height, situated in the latitude of  $54^{\circ} 46'$  south, longitude  $64^{\circ} 7'$  west, with a rocky islet lying close under the north part of it. To the westward of the cape, about five or six miles, is an inlet, which seemed to divide the land; that is, to communicate with the sea to the south; and between this inlet and the cape is a bay, but I cannot say of what depth. In sailing round the cape we met with a very strong current from the south: it made a race which looked like breakers; and it was as much as we could do, with a strong gale, to make head against it.

After getting round the cape I hauled up along the south coast; and as soon as we had brought the wind to blow off the land, it came upon us in such heavy squalls as obliged us to double reef our topsails. It afterwards fell, by little and little, and at noon ended in a calm. At this time Cape St. John bore N.  $20^{\circ}$  east, distant three and a half leagues; Cape St. Bartholomew, or the S.W. point of Staten Land, S.  $80^{\circ}$  west; two high detached rocks N.  $80^{\circ}$  west; and the place where the land seemed to be divided, which had the same appearance on this side, bore N.  $15^{\circ}$  west, three leagues distant. Latitude observed  $54^{\circ} 56'$ . In this situation we sounded, but had no bottom, with a line of one hundred and twenty fathoms. The calm was of very short duration, a breeze presently springing up at N.W., but it was too faint to make head against the current, and we drove with it back to the N.N.E. At four o'clock the wind veered at once to S. by E., and blew in squalls attended with rain. Two hours after, the squalls and rain subsided, and the wind, returning back to the west, blew a gentle gale. All this time the current set us to the north; so that at eight o'clock, Cape St. John bore W.N.W., distant about seven leagues. I now gave over plying, and steered S.E. with a resolution to leave the land; judging it to be sufficiently explored to answer the most general purposes of navigation and geography.

#### CHAPTER IV. — OBSERVATIONS, GEOGRAPHICAL AND NAUTICAL, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE ISLANDS NEAR STATEN LAND, AND THE ANIMALS FOUND IN THEM.

THE annexed chart will very accurately show the direction, extent, and position of the coast along which I have sailed, either in this or my former voyage; and no more is to be expected from it\*. The latitudes have been determined by the sun's meridian altitude, which we were so fortunate as to obtain every day, except the one we sailed from Christmas Sound; which was of no consequence, as its latitude was known before. The longitudes have been settled by lunar observations, as is already mentioned. I have taken  $67^{\circ} 46'$  for the longitude of Cape Horn. From this meridian the longitudes of all the other parts are deduced by the watch; by which the extent of the whole must be determined to a few miles; and whatever errors there may be in longitude, must be general. But I think it highly probable that the longitude is determined to within a quarter of a degree. Thus the extent of Terra del Fuego from east to west, and consequently that of the Straits of Magalhaens, will be found less than most navigators have made it. In order to illustrate this, and to show the situations of the neighbouring lands, and, by this means, make the annexed chart of more general use, I have extended it down to  $47^{\circ}$  of latitude. But I am only answerable for the inaccuracy of such parts as I have explored myself. In laying down the rest, I had recourse to the following authorities.

The longitude of Cape Virgin Mary, which is the most essential point, as it determines the length of the Straits of Magalhaens, is deduced from Lord Anson, who made  $2^{\circ} 3'$  difference of longitude between it and the Strait Le Maire. Now, as the latter lies in  $65^{\circ} 22'$ , Cape Virgin Mary must lie in  $67^{\circ} 52'$ , which is the longitude I have assigned to it, and which I have reason to think cannot be far from the truth. The Strait of Magalhaens,

\* This chart, being now entirely superseded by the recent surveys of Captains King and Fitzroy, is omitted in this edition.—Ed.



and the east coast of Patagonia, are laid down from the observations made by the late English and French navigators.

The position of the west coast of America, from Cape Victory northward, I have taken from the discoveries of *Sarmiento*, a Spanish navigator, communicated to me by Mr. Stuart, F.R.S. Falkland Islands are copied from a sketch taken from Captain M'Bride, who circumnavigated them some years ago in his Majesty's ship *Jason*; and their distance from the main is agreeable to the run of the *Dolphin*, under the command of Commodore Byron, from Cape Virgin Mary to Port Egmont, and from Port Egmont to Port Desire; both of which runs were made in a few days; consequently no material errors could happen.

The S.W. coast of Terra del Fuego, with respect to inlets, islands, &c., may be compared to the coast of Norway; for I doubt, if there be an extent of three leagues where there is not an inlet or harbour which will receive and shelter the largest shipping. The worst is, that till these inlets are better known, one has, as it were, to fish for anchorage. There are several lurking rocks on the coast; but happily none of them lie far from land, the approach to which may be known by sounding, supposing the weather so obscure that you cannot see it. For to judge of the whole by the parts we have sounded, it is more than probable that there are soundings all along the coast, and for several leagues out to sea. Upon the whole, this is by no means the dangerous coast it has been represented.

Staten Land lies nearly E. by N. and W. by S., and is ten leagues long in that direction; and nowhere above three or four leagues broad. The coast is rocky, much indented, and seemed to form several bays or inlets. It shows a surface of craggy hills which spire up to a vast height, especially near the west end. Except the craggy summits of the hills, the greatest part was covered with trees and shrubs, or some sort of herbage, and there was little or no snow on it. The currents between Cape Descada and Cape Horn set from west to east, that is, in the same direction as the coast; but they are by no means considerable. To the east of the cape their strength is much increased, and their direction is N.E. towards Staten Land. They are rapid in Strait Le Maire, and along the south coast of Staten Land, and set like a torrent round Cape St. John; where they take a N.W. direction, and continue to run very strong both within and without New Year's Isles. While we lay at anchor within this island, I observed that the current was strongest during the flood; and that on the ebb, its strength was so much impaired, that the ship would sometimes ride head to wind when it was at west and W.N.W. This is only to be understood of the place where the ship lay at anchor; for at the very time we had a strong current setting to the westward, Mr. Gilbert found one of equal strength near the coast of Staten Land, setting to the eastward; though probably this was an eddy current or tide.

If the tides are regulated by the moon, it is high-water by the shore at this place, on the days of the new and full moon, about four o'clock. The perpendicular rise and fall is very inconsiderable, not exceeding four feet at most. In Christmas Sound it is high water at half-past two o'clock on the days of the full and change, and Mr. Wales observed it to rise and fall, on a perpendicular, three feet six inches; but this was during the neap-tides: consequently the spring-tides must rise higher. To give such an account of the tides and currents on these coasts as navigators might depend on, would require a multitude of observations, and in different places, the making of which would be a work of time. I confess myself unprovided with materials for such a task, and believe, that the less I say on this subject the fewer mistakes I shall make. But I think I have been able to observe, that in Strait Le Maire, the southerly tide or current, be it flood or ebb, begins to act, on the days of new and full moon, about four o'clock, which remark may be of use to ships who pass the strait. Were I bound round Cape Horn to the west, and not in want of wood of water, or anything that might make it necessary to put into port, I would not come near the land at all. For by keeping out at sea, you avoid the currents, which, I am satisfied, lose their force at ten or twelve leagues from land; and at a greater distance there is none.

During the time we were upon the coast, we had more calms than storms, and the winds so variable, that I question if a passage might not have been made from east to west in as short a time as from west to east; nor did we experience any cold weather. The mercury

in the thermometer at noon was never below  $46^{\circ}$ ; and while we lay in Christmas Sound, it was generally above temperate. At this place, the variation was  $23^{\circ} 30'$  east; a few leagues to the S.W. of Strait Le Maire, it was  $24^{\circ}$ ; and at anchor, within New Year's Isles, it was  $24^{\circ} 20'$  east. These isles are, in general, so unlike Staten Land, especially the one on which we landed, that it deserves a particular description. It shows a surface of equal height, and elevated about thirty or forty feet above the sea, from which it is defended by a rocky coast. The inner part of the isle is covered with a sort of sword-grass, very green, and of a great length. It grows on little hillocks, of two or three feet in diameter, and as many or more in height, in large tufts, which seemed to be composed of the roots of the plant matted together. Among these hillocks are a vast number of paths made by sea-bears and penguins, by which they retire into the centre of the isle. It is, nevertheless, exceedingly bad travelling; for these paths are so dirty that one is sometimes up to the knees in mire. Besides this plant, there are a few other grasses, a kind of heath, and some celery. The whole surface is moist and wet, and on the coast are several small streams of water. The sword-grass, as I call it, seems to be the same that grows in Falkland Isles, described by Bougainville as a kind of *gladiolus*, or rather a species of *gramen*\*, and named by Pernety, corn-flags.

The animals found on this little spot are sea-lions, sea-bears, a variety of oceanic and some land-birds. The sea-lion is pretty well described by Pernety; though those we saw here have not such fore-feet or fins as that he has given a plate of, but such fins as that which he calls the sea-wolf. Nor did we see any of the size he speaks of; the largest not being more than twelve or fourteen feet in length, and perhaps eight or ten in circumference. They are not of that kind described, under the same name, by Lord Anson; but for aught I know, these would more properly deserve that appellation; the long hair with which the back of the head, the neck, and shoulders are covered, giving them greatly the air and appearance of a lion. The other part of the body is covered with a short hair, little longer than that of a cow or a horse, and the whole is a dark brown. The female is not half so big as the

SEA LION. (*Platyrrhynchus leoninus*.)

male, and is covered with a short hair of an ash, or light dun colour. They live, as it were, in herds on the rocks, and near the sea-shore. As this was the time for engendering as well as bringing forth their young, we have seen a male with twenty or thirty females about him, and always very attentive to keep them all to himself, and beating off every other male who attempted to come into his flock. Others again had a less number; some

\* See English translation of Bougainville, p. 51.



no more than one or two ; and here and there we have seen one lying growling in a retired place alone, and suffering neither males nor females to approach him : we judged these were old and superannuated.

The sea-bears are not so large by far as the lions, but rather larger than a common seal. They have none of that long hair which distinguishes the lion. Theirs is all of an equal length, and finer than that of the lion, something like an otter's ; and the general colour is that of iron-grey. This is the kind which the French call sea-wolves, and the English seals ; they are, however, different from the seals we have in Europe and in North America. The lions may, too, without any great impropriety, be called overgrown seals ; for they are all of the same species. It was not at all dangerous to go among them ; for they either fled or lay still. The only danger was in going between them and the sea ; for if they took fright at anything, they would come down in such numbers, that, if you could not get out of their way, you would be run over. Sometimes, when we came suddenly upon them, or waked them out of their sleep (for they are a sluggish sleepy animal), they would raise up their heads, snort and snarl, and look as fierce as if they meant to devour us ; but as we advanced upon them, they always ran away ; so that they are downright bullies.

The penguin is an amphibious bird, so well known to most people, that I shall only observe, they are here in prodigious numbers ; so that we could knock down as many as we pleased with a stick. I cannot say they are good eating. I have, indeed, made several good meals of them ; but it was for want of better victuals. They either do not breed here, or else this was not the season ; for we saw neither eggs nor young ones. Shags breed here in vast numbers ; and we carried on board not a few, as they are very good eating. They take certain spots to themselves, and build their nests near the edge of the cliffs on little hillocks, which are either those of the sword-grass, or else they are made by the shags building on them from year to year. There is another sort rather smaller than these, which breed on the cliffs of rocks.

The geese are of the same sort we found in Christmas Sound ; we saw but few, and some had young ones. Mr. Forster shot one which was different from these, being larger, with a grey plumage and black feet. The others make a noise exactly like a duck. There were ducks, but not many ; and several of that sort which we called race-horses. We shot some, and found them to weigh twenty-nine or thirty pounds ; those who ate of them said they were very good. The oceanic birds were gulls, terns, Port Egmont hens, and a large brown bird of the size of an albatross, which Pernetty calls *quebrantahuessas*. We called them Mother Cary's geese, and found them pretty good eating. The land-birds were eagles, or hawks, bald-headed vultures, or what our seamen called turkey-buzzards, thrushes, and a few other small birds.

Our naturalists found two new species of birds. The one is about the size of a pigeon, the plumage as white as milk. They feed alongshore, probably on shell-fish and carrion ; for they have a very disagreeable smell. When we first saw these birds, we thought they were the snow-peterel, but the moment they were in our possession the mistake was discovered ; for they resemble them in nothing but size and colour. These are not web-footed. The other sort is a species of curlews nearly as big as a heron. It has a variegated plumage, the principal colours whereof are light grey, and a long crooked bill. I had almost forgot to mention that there are sea-pies, or what we called, when in New Zealand, curlews ; but we only saw a few straggling pairs. It may not be amiss to observe, that the shags are the same bird which Bougainville calls saw-bills ; but he is mistaken in saying that the *quebrantahuessas* are their enemies ; for this bird is of the peterel tribe, feeds wholly on fish, and is to be found in all the high southern latitudes.

It is amazing to see how the different animals which inhabit this little spot are mutually reconciled. They seem to have entered into a league not to disturb each other's tranquillity. The sea-lions occupy most of the sea-coast ; the sea-bears take up their abode in the isle ; the shags have post in the highest cliffs ; the penguins fix their quarters where there is the most easy communication to and from the sea ; and the other birds choose more retired places. We have seen all these animals mix together, like domestic cattle and poultry in a farm-yard, without one attempting to molest the other. Nay, I have often observed the

eagles and vultures sitting on the hillocks among the shags, without the latter, either young or old, being disturbed at their presence. It may be asked how these birds of prey live? I suppose, on the carcasses of seals and birds which die by various causes; and probably not few, as they are so numerous.

This very imperfect account is written more with a view to assist my own memory, than to give information to others. I am neither a botanist nor a naturalist; and have not words to describe the productions of nature, either in the one branch of knowledge or the other.

CHAPTER V.—PROCEEDINGS AFTER LEAVING STATEN ISLAND, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE ISLE OF GEORGIA, AND A DESCRIPTION OF IT.

HAVING left the land in the evening of the 3rd, as before-mentioned, we saw it again next morning at three o'clock, bearing W. Wind continued to blow a steady fresh breeze till six P.M., when it shifted in a heavy squall to S.W., which came so suddenly upon us that we had not time to take in the sails, and was the occasion of carrying away a top-gallant-mast, a studding-sail-boom, and a fore studding-sail. The squall ended in a heavy shower of rain, but the wind remained at S.W. Our course was S.E., with a view of discovering that extensive coast, laid down by Mr. Dalrymple in his chart, in which is the Gulf of St. Sebastian. I designed to make the western point of that gulf, in order to have all the other parts before me. Indeed, I had some doubt of the existence of such a coast; and this appeared to me the best route for clearing it up, and for exploring the southern part of this ocean.

On the 5th, fresh gales, and wet and cloudy weather. At noon observed in  $57^{\circ} 9'$ , longitude made from Cape Saint John,  $5^{\circ} 2' E.$  At six o'clock, P.M., being in the latitude  $57^{\circ} 21'$ , and in longitude  $57^{\circ} 45' W.$ , the variation was  $21^{\circ} 28' E.$  At eight o'clock in the evening of the 6th, being then in the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 9' S.$ , longitude  $53^{\circ} 14' W.$ , we close-reefed our topsails, and hauled to the north, with a very strong gale at W., attended with a thick haze and sleet. The situation just mentioned is nearly the same that Mr. Dalrymple assigns for the S.W. point of the Gulf of St. Sebastian. But as we saw neither land, nor signs of land, I was the more doubtful of its existence, and was fearful that by keeping to the south I might miss the land said to be discovered by La Roche in 1675, and by the ship *Lion* in 1756, which Mr. Dalrymple places in  $54^{\circ} 30'$  latitude, and  $45^{\circ}$  of longitude; but on looking over Danville's chart, I found it laid down  $9^{\circ}$  or  $10^{\circ}$  more to the west; this difference of situation being to me a sign of the uncertainty of both accounts, determined me to get into the parallel as soon as possible, and was the reason of my hauling to the north at this time.

Towards the morning of the 7th the gale abated, the weather cleared up, and the wind veered to the W.S.W., where it continued till midnight; after which it veered to N.W. Being at this time in the latitude of  $56^{\circ} 4' S.$ , longitude  $53^{\circ} 36' W.$ , we sounded, but found no bottom with a line of one hundred and thirty fathoms. I still kept the wind on the larboard-tack, having a gentle breeze and pleasant weather. On the 8th, at noon, a bed of sea-weed passed the ship. In the afternoon, in the latitude of  $55^{\circ} 4'$ , longitude  $51^{\circ} 45' W.$ , the variation was  $20^{\circ} 4' E.$  On the 9th, wind at N.E., attended with thick hazy weather; saw a seal, and a piece of sea-weed. At noon, latitude  $55^{\circ} 12' S.$ , longitude  $50^{\circ} 15' W.$ , the wind and weather continuing the same till towards midnight, when the latter cleared up, and the former veered to west, and blew a gentle gale. We continued to ply till two o'clock the next morning, when we bore away E., and at eight, E.N.E.; at noon we observed, in latitude  $54^{\circ} 35' S.$ , longitude  $47^{\circ} 56' W.$ , a great many albatrosses and blue petrels about the ship. I now steered E., and the next morning, in the latitude of  $54^{\circ} 38'$ , longitude  $45^{\circ} 10' W.$ , the variation was  $19^{\circ} 25' E.$  In the afternoon saw several penguins, and some pieces of weed.

Having spent the night lying-to, on the 12th, at daybreak, we bore away, and steered east northerly, with a fine fresh breeze at W.S.W.; at noon observed in latitude  $54^{\circ} 28' S.$ ,



longitude in  $42^{\circ} 8' W.$ ; that is, near  $3^{\circ} E.$  of the situation in which Mr. Dalrymple places the N.E. point of the Gulf of St. Sebastian; but we had no other signs of land than seeing a seal and a few penguins; on the contrary, we had a swell from E.S.E. which would hardly have been, if any extensive tract of land lay in that direction. In the evening the gale abated, and at midnight it fell calm. The calm, attended by a thick fog, continued till six next morning, when we got a wind at E., but the fog still prevailed. We stood to the S. till noon, when being in the latitude of  $55^{\circ} 7'$ , we tacked and stretched to the N. with a fresh breeze at E. by S. and E.S.E., cloudy weather; saw several penguins and a snow-peterel, which we looked on to be signs of the vicinity of ice. The air too was much colder than we had felt it since we left New Zealand. In the afternoon the wind veered to S.E., and in the night to S.S.E., and blew fresh; with which we stood to the N.E.

At nine o'clock the next morning we saw an island of ice as we then thought; but at noon were doubtful whether it was ice or land. At this time it bore E.  $\frac{3}{4} S.$ , distant thirteen leagues; our latitude was  $53^{\circ} 56\frac{1}{2}'$ , longitude  $39^{\circ} 24' W.$ ; several penguins, small divers, a snow-peterel, and a vast number of blue peterels about the ship. We had but little wind all the morning; and at two P.M. it fell calm. It was now no longer doubted that it was land, and not ice, which we had in sight. It was, however, in a manner wholly covered with snow. We were farther confirmed in our judgment of its being land, by finding soundings at one hundred and seventy-five fathoms, a muddy bottom. The land at this time bore E. by S., about twelve leagues distant. At six o'clock the calm was succeeded by a breeze at N.E., with which we stood to S.E. At first it blew a gentle gale, but afterwards increased so as to bring us under double-reefed topsails, and was attended with snow and sleet. We continued to stand to the S.E. till seven in the morning on the 15th, when the wind veering to the S.E. we tacked and stood to the N. A little before we tacked, we saw the land bearing E. by N. At noon the mercury in the thermometer was at  $35\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ . The wind blew in squalls, attended with snow and sleet, and we had a great sea to encounter. At a lee-lurch which the ship took, Mr. Wales observed her to lie down  $42^{\circ}$ . At half-past four P.M. we took in the topsails, got down top-gallant-yards, wore the ship, and stood to the S.W. under two courses. At midnight the storm abated, so that we could carry the topsails double reefed.

At four in the morning of the 16th we wore and stood to the E., with the wind at S.S.E., a moderate breeze and fair; at eight o'clock saw the land extending from E. by N. to N.E. by N.; loosed a reef out of each top-sail, got top-gallant yards across, and set the sails. At noon observed in latitude  $54^{\circ} 25\frac{1}{2}'$ ; longitude  $38^{\circ} 18' W.$  In this situation we had one hundred and ten fathoms water; and the land extended from N.  $\frac{1}{2} W.$  to E., eight leagues distant. The northern extreme was the same that we first discovered, and it proved to be an island; which obtained the name of Willis's Island, after the person who first saw it. At this time we had a great swell from the S., an indication that no land was near us in that direction; nevertheless, the vast quantity of snow on that in sight induced us to think it was extensive, and I chose to begin with exploring the northern coast. With this view we bore up for Willis's Island, all sails set, having a fine gale at S.S.W. As we advanced to the N., we perceived another isle lying east of Willis's, and between it and the main. Seeing there was a clear passage between the two isles, we steered for it, and at five o'clock, being in the middle of it, we found it about two miles broad.

Willis's Isle is a high rock of no great extent, near to which are some rocky islets. It is situated in the latitude of  $54^{\circ} S.$ , longitude  $38^{\circ} 23' W.$  The other isle, which obtained the name of Bird Isle, on account of the vast number that were upon it, is not so high, but of greater extent, and is close to the N.E. point of the main land, which I called Cape North.

The S.E. coast of this land, as far as we saw it, lies in the direction of S.  $50^{\circ} E.$ , and N.  $50^{\circ} W.$  It seemed to form several bays or inlets; and we observed huge masses of snow, or ice, in the bottoms of them, especially in one which lies ten miles to the S.S.E. of Bird Isle. After getting through the passage, we found the north coast trended E. by N. for about nine miles; and then E. and E. southerly to Cape Buller, which is eleven miles more. We ranged the coast, at one league distance, till near ten o'clock, when we brought to for the night, and, on sounding, found fifty fathoms, a muddy bottom.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 17th we made sail in for the land, with a fine breeze at S.W.; at four, Willis's Isle bore W. by S., distant thirty-two miles; Cape Buller, to the west of which lie some rocky islets, bore S.W. by W.; and the most advanced point of land to the E., S. 63° E. We now steered along the shore, at the distance of four or five miles, till seven o'clock, when, seeing the appearance of an inlet, we hauled in for it. As soon as we drew near the shore, having hoisted out a boat, I embarked in it, accompanied by Mr. Forster and his party, with a view of reconnoitring the bay before we ventured in with the ship. When we put off from her, which was about four miles from the shore, we had forty fathoms water. I continued to sound as I went farther in, but found no bottom with a line of thirty-four fathoms, which was the length of that I had in the boat, and which also proved too short to sound the bay, so far as I went up it. I observed it to lie in S.W. by S. about two leagues, about two miles broad, well sheltered from all winds; and I judged there might be good anchorage before some sandy beaches which are on each side, and likewise near a low flat isle, towards the head of the bay. As I had come to a resolution not to bring the ship in, I did not think it worth my while to go and examine these places; for it did not seem probable that any one would ever be benefited by the discovery. I landed in three different places, displayed our colours, and took possession of the country in his Majesty's name, under a discharge of small arms. I judged that the tide rises about four or five feet, and that it is high water on the full and change days about eleven o'clock.

The head of the bay, as well as two places on each side, was terminated by perpendicular ice-cliffs of considerable height. Pieces were continually breaking off, and floating out to sea; and a great fall happened while we were in the bay, which made a noise like cannon. The inner parts of the country were not less savage and horrible. The wild rocks raised their lofty summits till they were lost in the clouds, and the valleys lay covered with everlasting snow. Not a tree was to be seen, nor a shrub even big enough to make a toothpick. The only vegetation we met with was a coarse strong-bladed grass, growing in tufts, wild burnet, and a plant like moss, which sprung from the rocks.

Seals, or sea-bears, were pretty numerous. They were smaller than those at Staten Land; perhaps the most of those we saw were females; for the shore swarmed with young cubs. We saw none of that sort which we call lions; but there were some of those which the writer of Lord Anson's Voyage describes under that name; at least they appeared to us to be of the same sort; and are, in my opinion, very improperly called lions; for I could not see any grounds for the comparison. Here were several flocks of penguins, the largest I ever saw; some which we brought on board weighed from twenty-nine to thirty-eight pounds. It appears by Bougainville's account of the animals of Falkland Islands, that this penguin is there; and I think it is very well described by him under the name of First Class of Penguins\*. The oceanic birds were albatrosses, common gulls, and that sort which I call Port Egmont hens, terns, shags, divers, the new white bird, and a small bird like those of the Cape of Good Hope, called yellow birds; which, having shot two, we found most delicious food. All the land birds we saw consisted of a few small larks; nor did we meet with any quadrupeds. Mr. Forster, indeed, observed some dung, which he judged to come from a fox, or some such animal. The lands, or rather rocks, bordering on the sea-coast, were not covered with snow like the inland parts; but all the vegetation we could see on the clear places was the grass above-mentioned. The rocks seemed to contain iron. Having made the above observations, we set out for the ship, and got on board a little after twelve o'clock, with a quantity of seals and penguins, an acceptable present to the crew.

It must not, however, be understood that we were in want of provisions: we had yet plenty of every kind; and since we had been on this coast, I had ordered, in addition to the common allowance, wheat to be boiled every morning for breakfast; but any kind of fresh meat was preferred by most on board to salt. For my own part, I was now, for the first time, heartily tired of salt meat of every kind; and though the flesh of the penguins could scarcely vie with bullock's liver, its being fresh was sufficient to make it go down. I called the bay we had been in, Possession Bay. It is situated in the latitude of 54° 5' S., longitude 37° 18' W., and eleven leagues to the east of Cape North. A few miles to the

\* See Bougainville, p. 64.



west of Possession Bay, between it and Cape Buller, lies the Bay of Isles; so named on account of several small isles lying in and before it.

As soon as the boat was hoisted in, we made sail along the coast to the E. with a fine breeze at W.S.W. From Cape Buller, the direction of the coast is S.  $72^{\circ} 30'$  E., for the space of eleven or twelve leagues, to a projecting point, which obtained the name of Cape Saunders. Beyond this Cape, is a pretty large bay, which I named Cumberland Bay. In several parts in the bottom of it, as also in some others of less extent, lying between Cape Saunders and Possession Bay, were vast tracts of frozen snow, or ice not yet broken loose. At eight o'clock, being just past Cumberland Bay, and falling little wind, we hauled off the coast, from which we were distant about four miles, and found one hundred and ten fathoms water. We had variable light airs and calms till six o'clock the next morning, when the wind fixed at N. and blew a gentle breeze; but it lasted no longer than ten o'clock, when it fell almost to a calm. At noon, observed in latitude  $54^{\circ} 30'$  S., being then about two or three leagues from the coast, which extended from N.  $59^{\circ}$  W. to S.  $13^{\circ}$  W. The land in this last direction was an isle, which seemed to be the extremity of the coast to the east. The nearest land to us being a projecting point which terminated in a round hillock, was, on account of the day, named Cape Charlotte. On the west side of Cape Charlotte lies a bay, which obtained the name of Royal Bay, and the west point of it was named Cape George. It is the east point of Cumberland Bay, and lies in the direction of S.E. by E. from Cape Saunders, distant seven leagues. Cape George and Cape Charlotte lie in the direction of S.  $37^{\circ}$  E., and N.  $37^{\circ}$  W., distant six leagues from each other. The isle above mentioned, which was called Cooper's Isle, after my first-lieutenant, lies in the direction of S. by E., distant eight leagues from Cape Charlotte. The coast between them forms a large bay, to which I gave the name of Sandwich. The wind being variable all the afternoon, we advanced but little; in the night it fixed at S. and S.S.W., and blew a gentle gale attended with showers of snow.

The 19th was wholly spent in plying, the wind continuing at S. and S.W., clear pleasant weather, but cold. At sunrise, a new land was seen bearing S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. It first appeared in a single hill, like a sugar-loaf; some time after, other detached pieces appeared above the horizon near the hill. At noon observed in the latitude  $54^{\circ} 42' 30''$  S., Cape Charlotte bearing N.  $38^{\circ}$  W., distant four leagues; and Cooper's Isle S.  $31^{\circ}$  W. In this situation, a lurking rock, which lies off Sandwich Bay, five miles from the land, bore W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N., distant one mile, and near this rock were several breakers. In the afternoon we had a prospect of a ridge of mountains behind Sandwich Bay, whose lofty and icy summits were elevated high above the clouds. The wind continued at S.S.W. till six o'clock, when it fell to a calm. At this time Cape Charlotte bore N.  $31^{\circ}$  W., and Cooper's Island W.S.W. In this situation we found the variation, by the azimuths, to be  $11^{\circ} 39'$ , and by the amplitude,  $11^{\circ} 12'$  E. At ten o'clock, a light breeze springing up at N., we steered to the S. till twelve, and then brought to for the night.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 20th, we made sail to S.W., round Cooper's Island. It is a rock of considerable height, about five miles in circuit, and one mile from the main. At this isle the main coast takes a S.W. direction for the space of four or five leagues to a point, which I called Cape Disappointment. Off that, are three small isles, the southernmost of which is green, low, and flat, and lies one league from the Cape. As we advanced to S.W., land opened off this point, in the direction of N.  $60^{\circ}$  West, and nine leagues beyond it. It proved an island quite detached from the main, and obtained the name of Pickersgill Island, after my third officer. Soon after, a point of the main, beyond this island, came in sight, in the direction of N.  $55^{\circ}$  W.; which exactly united the coast at the very point we had seen, and taken the bearing of, the day we first came in with it, and proved to a demonstration that this land, which we had taken for part of a great continent, was no more than an island of seventy leagues in circuit.

Who would have thought that an island of no greater extent than this, situated between the latitude of  $54^{\circ}$  and  $55^{\circ}$ , should, in the very height of summer, be in a manner wholly covered many fathoms deep with frozen snow, but more especially the S.W. coast? The very sides and craggy summits of the lofty mountains were cased with snow and ice; but

the quantity which lay in the valleys is incredible ; and at the bottom of the bays, the coast was terminated by a wall of ice of considerable height. It can hardly be doubted that a great deal of ice is formed here in the winter, which in the spring is broken off and dispersed over the sea ; but this island cannot produce the ten thousandth part of what we saw ; so that either there must be more land, or the ice is formed without it. These reflections led me to think that the land we had seen the preceding day might belong to an extensive tract ; and I still had hopes of discovering a continent. I must confess the disappointment I now met with did not affect me much, for to judge of the bulk by the sample, it would not be worth the discovery.

I called this land the Isle of Georgia, in honour of his Majesty. It is situated between the latitude of  $53^{\circ} 57'$  and  $54^{\circ} 57'$  S. ; and between  $38^{\circ} 13'$  and  $35^{\circ} 34'$  W. longitude. It extends S.E. by E., and N.W. by W. and is thirty-one leagues long in that direction ; and its greatest breadth is about ten leagues. It seems to abound with bays and harbours, the N.E. coast especially ; but the vast quantity of ice must render them inaccessible the greatest part of the year ; or, at least, it must be dangerous lying in them, on account of the breaking up of the ice-cliffs.

It is remarkable that we did not see a river or stream of fresh water, on the whole coast. I think it highly probable that there are no perennial springs in the country ; and that the interior parts, as being much elevated, never enjoy heat enough to melt the snow in such quantities as to produce a river or stream of water. The coast alone receives warmth sufficient to melt the snow, and this only on the N.E. side ; for the other, besides being exposed to the cold south winds, is in a great degree deprived of the sun's rays by the uncommon height of the mountains. It was from a persuasion that the sea-coast of a land situated in the latitude of  $54^{\circ}$  could not, in the very height of summer, be wholly covered with snow, that I supposed Bouvet's discovery to be large islands of ice. But after I had seen this land, I no longer hesitated about the existence of Cape Circumcision ; nor did I doubt that I should find more land than I should have time to explore. With these ideas I quitted this coast, and directed my course to the E.S.E. for the land we had seen the preceding day.

The wind was very variable till noon, when it fixed at N.N.E., and blew a gentle gale ; but it increased in such a manner, that, before three o'clock, we were reduced to our two courses, and obliged to strike top-gallant yards. We were very fortunate in getting clear of the land before this gale overtook us, it being hard to say what might have been the consequence had it come on while we were on the north coast. This storm was of short duration, for at eight o'clock it began to abate, and at midnight it was little wind. We then took the opportunity to sound, but found no bottom with a line of a hundred and eighty fathoms. Next day the storm was succeeded by a thick fog, attended with rain ; the wind veered to N.W., and at five in the morning it fell calm, which continued till eight, and then we got a breeze southerly, with which we stood to the east till three in the afternoon. The weather then coming somewhat clear, we made sail and steered north in search of the land ; but at half-past six we were again involved in a thick mist, which made it necessary to haul the wind, and spend the night in making short boards.

We had variable light airs, next to a calm, and thick foggy weather, till half-past seven o'clock in the evening of the 22nd, when we got a fine breeze at N., and the weather was so clear that we could see two or three leagues round us. We seized the opportunity, and steered to west ; judging we were to the east of the land. After running ten miles to the west, the weather became again foggy, and we hauled the wind, and spent the night under top-sails. Next morning, at six o'clock, the fog clearing away, so that we could see three or four miles, I took the opportunity to steer again to the W., with the wind at E., a fresh breeze ; but two hours after, a thick fog once more obliged us to haul the wind to the south. At eleven o'clock, a short interval of clear weather gave us a view of three or four rocky islets, extending from S.E. to E.N.E., two or three miles distant ; but we did not see the Sugar-loaf Peak before mentioned. Indeed, two or three miles was the extent of our horizon. We were well assured that this was the land we had seen before, which we had now been quite round : and therefore it could be no more than a few detached rocks,



receptacles for birds, of which we now saw vast numbers, especially shags, who gave us no notice of the vicinity of land before we saw it. These rocks lie in the latitude of  $55^{\circ}$  S. and S.  $75^{\circ}$  E., distant twelve leagues from Cooper's Isle.

The interval of clear weather was of very short duration, before we had as thick a fog as ever, attended with rain; on which we tacked in sixty fathoms water, and stood to the north. Thus we spent our time involved in a continual thick mist; and for aught we knew, surrounded by dangerous rocks. The shags and soundings were our best pilots; for after we had stood a few miles to the north, we got out of soundings, and saw no more shags. The succeeding day and night were spent in making short boards; and at eight o'clock on the 24th, judging ourselves not far from the rocks by some straggling shags which came about us, we sounded in sixty fathoms water, the bottom stones and broken shells. Soon after we saw the rocks bearing S.S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., four miles distant, but still we did not see the Peak. It was, no doubt, beyond our horizon, which was limited to a short distance; and, indeed, we had but a transient sight of the other rocks, before they were again lost in the fog. With a light air of wind at N., and a great swell from N.E., we were able to clear the rocks to the W.; and at four in the P.M., judging ourselves to be three or four leagues E. and W. of them, I steered S., being quite tired with cruising about them in a thick fog; nor was it worth my while to spend any more time in waiting for clear weather, only for the sake of having a good sight of a few straggling rocks. At seven o'clock, we had at intervals a clear sky to the W., which gave us a sight of the mountains of the Isle of Georgia, bearing W.N.W., about eight leagues distant. At eight o'clock we steered S.E. by S. and at ten S.E. by E., with a fresh breeze at N., attended with a very thick fog; but we were, in some measure, acquainted with the sea over which we were running. The rocks above mentioned obtained the name of Clerke's Rocks, after my second officer, he being the first who saw them.

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CHAPTER VI.—PROCEEDINGS AFTER LEAVING THE ISLE OF GEORGIA, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF SANDWICH LAND; WITH SOME REASONS FOR THERE BEING LAND ABOUT THE SOUTH POLE.

On the 25th we steered E.S.E., with a fresh gale at N.N.E., attended with foggy weather, till towards the evening, when the sky becoming clear, we found the variation to be  $9^{\circ} 26'$  E., being at this time in the latitude of  $56^{\circ} 16'$  S., longitude  $32^{\circ} 9'$  W. Having continued to steer E.S.E., with a fine gale at N.N.W., till daylight next morning, on seeing no land to the E., I gave orders to steer S., being at this time in the latitude of  $56^{\circ} 33'$  S., longitude  $31^{\circ} 10'$  W. The weather continued clear, and gave us an opportunity to observe several distances of the sun and moon for the correcting our longitude, which at noon was  $31^{\circ} 4'$  W., the latitude observed  $57^{\circ} 38'$  S. We continued to steer to the S. till the 27th at noon, at which time we were in the latitude of  $59^{\circ} 46'$  S., and had so thick a fog that we could not see a ship's-length. It being no longer safe to sail before the wind, as we were to expect soon to fall in with ice, I therefore hauled to the E., having a gentle breeze at N.N.E. Soon after, the fog clearing away, we resumed our course to the S. till four o'clock, when it returned again as thick as ever, and made it necessary for us to haul upon a wind.

I now reckoned we were in latitude  $60^{\circ}$  S., and farther I did not intend to go, unless I observed some certain signs of soon meeting with land; for it would not have been prudent in me to have spent my time in penetrating to the south, when it was at least as probable that a large tract of land might be found near Cape Circumcision. Besides, I was tired of these high southern latitudes, where nothing was to be found but ice and thick fogs. We had now a long hollow swell from the W., a strong indication that there was no land in that direction; so that I think I may venture to assert that the extensive coast, laid down in Mr. Dalrymple's chart of the ocean between Africa and America, and the Gulf of Saint Sebastian, does not exist.

At seven o'clock in the evening, the fog receding from us a little, gave us a sight of an ice-

island, several penguins and some snow peterels; we sounded, but found no ground at one hundred and forty fathoms. The fog soon returning, we spent the night in making boards over that space which we had, in some degree, made ourselves acquainted with in the day. At eight in the morning of the 28th, we stood to the E., with a gentle gale at N.; the weather began to clear up, and we found the sea strewn with large and small ice; several penguins, snow peterels, and other birds were seen, and some whales. Soon after we had sunshine, but the air was cold; the mercury in the thermometer stood generally at thirty-five, but at noon it was at  $37^{\circ}$ ; the latitude by observation was  $60^{\circ} 4' S.$ , longitude  $29^{\circ} 23' W.$

We continued to stand to the E. till half-past two o'clock P.M., when we fell in, all at once, with a vast number of large ice-islands, and a sea strewn with loose ice. The weather too was become thick and hazy, attended with drizzling rain and sleet, which made it the more dangerous to stand in among the ice. For this reason we tacked and stood back to the W., with the wind at N. The ice-islands, which at this time surrounded us, were nearly all of equal height, and showed a flat even surface; but they were of various extent, some being two or three miles in circuit. The loose ice was what had broken from these isles. Next morning, the wind falling and veering to S.W., we steered N.E., but this course was soon intercepted by numerous ice-islands; and, having but very little wind, we were obliged to steer such courses as carried us the clearest of them; so that we hardly made any advance, one way or other, during the whole day. Abundance of whales and penguins were about us all the time; and the weather fair, but dark and gloomy.

At midnight the wind began to freshen at N.N.E., with which we stood to N.W. till six in the morning of the 30th, when the wind veering to N.N.W., we tacked and stood to N.E., and soon after sailed through a good deal of loose ice, and passed two large islands. Except a short interval of clear weather about nine o'clock, it was continually foggy, with either sleet or snow. At noon we were, by our reckoning, in the latitude of  $59^{\circ} 30' S.$ , longitude  $29^{\circ} 24' W.$  Continuing to stand to N.E., with a fresh breeze at N.N.W., at two o'clock, we passed one of the largest ice-islands we had seen in the voyage, and some time after passed two others, which were much smaller. Weather still foggy, with sleet; and the wind continued at N. by W., with which we stood to N.E. over a sea strewn with ice.

At half an hour past six in the morning, as we were standing N.N.E. with the wind at W., the fog very fortunately clearing away a little, we discovered land a-head, three or four miles distant. On this we hauled the wind to the N., but finding we could not weather the land on this tack, we soon after tacked in one hundred and seventy-five fathoms water, three miles from the shore, and about half a league from some breakers. The weather then cleared up a little more, and gave us a tolerably good sight of the land. That which we had fallen in with proved three rocky islets of considerable height. The outermost terminated in a lofty peak like a sugar-loaf, and obtained the name of Freezeland Peak, after the man who first discovered it. Latitude  $59^{\circ} S.$ , longitude  $27^{\circ} W.$  Behind this peak, that is, to the east of it, appeared an elevated coast, whose lofty snow-clad summits were seen above the clouds. It extended from N. by E. to E.S.E. and I called it Cape Bristol, in honour of the noble family of Hervey. At the same time another elevated coast appeared in sight, bearing S.W. by S., and at noon it extended from S.E. to S.S.W., from four to eight leagues distant; at this time the observed latitude was  $59^{\circ} 13' 30'' S.$ , longitude  $27^{\circ} 45' W.$  I called this land Southern Thule, because it is the most southern land that has ever yet been discovered. It shows a surface of vast height, and is everywhere covered with snow. Some thought they saw land in the space between Thule and Cape Bristol. It is more than probable that these two lands are connected, and that this space is a deep bay, which I called Forster's Bay.

At one o'clock, finding that we could not weather Thule, we tacked and stood to the north, and at four, Freezeland Peak bore E., distant three or four leagues. Soon after it fell little wind, and we were left to the mercy of a great westerly swell, which set right upon the shore. We sounded, but a line of two hundred fathoms found no bottom. At eight o'clock, the weather, which had been very hazy, clearing up, we saw Cape Bristol bearing E.S.E., and terminating in a point to the north, beyond which we could see no land. This



discovery relieved us from the fear of being carried by the swell on the most horrible coast in the world, and we continued to stand to the north all night, with a light breeze at W.

On the 1st of February, at four o'clock in the morning, we got sight of a new coast, which at six o'clock bore N. 60° E. It proved a high promontory, which I named Cape Montagu, situated in latitude 58° 27' S., longitude 26° 44' W., and seven or eight leagues to the north of Cape Bristol. We saw land from space to space between them, which made me conclude that the whole was connected. I was sorry I could not determine this with greater certainty; but prudence would not permit me to venture near a coast, subject to thick fogs, on which there was no anchorage; where every port was blocked or filled up with ice; and the whole country, from the summits of the mountains, down to the very brink of the cliffs which terminate the coast, covered, many fathoms thick, with everlasting snow. The cliffs alone was all which was to be seen like land. Several large islands lay upon the coast; one of which attracted my notice. It had a flat surface, was of considerable extent both in height and circuit, and had perpendicular sides, on which the waves of the sea had made no impression; by which I judged that it had not been long from land, and that it might have lately come out of some bay on the coast, where it had been formed.

At noon we were east and west of the northern part of Cape Montagu, distant about five leagues, and Freezeland Peak bore S. 16° E., distant twelve leagues; latitude observed 58° 25' S. In the morning the variation was 10° 11' E. At two in the afternoon, as we were standing to the north, with a light breeze at S.W. we saw land bearing N. 25° E., distant fourteen leagues. Cape Montagu bore at this time, S. 66° E.; at eight it bore S. 40° E.; Cape Bristol, S. by E.; the new land extending from N. 40° to 52° E.; and we thought we saw land still more to the E., and beyond it. Continuing to steer to the north all night, at six o'clock the next morning a new land was seen, bearing N. 12° E., about ten leagues distant. It appeared in two hummocks just peeping above the horizon; but we soon after lost sight of them; and having got the wind at N.N.E., a fresh breeze, we stood for the northernmost land we had seen the day before, which at this time bore E.S.E. We fetched in with it by ten o'clock, but could not weather it, and were obliged to tack three miles from the coast, which extended from E. by S. to S.E., and had much the appearance of being an island of about eight or ten leagues' circuit. It shows a surface of considerable height, whose summit was lost in the clouds, and, like all the neighbouring lands, covered with a sheet of snow and ice, except on a projecting point on the north side, and two hills seen over this point, which probably might be two islands. These only were clear of snow, and seemed covered with a green turf. Some large ice-islands lay to the N.E., and some others to the S. We stood off till noon, and then tacked for the land again, in order to see whether it was an island or no. The weather was now become very hazy, which soon turning to a thick fog, put a stop to discovery, and made it unsafe to stand for the shore; so that after having run the same distance in, as we had run off, we tacked and stood to N.W. for the land we had seen in the morning, which was yet at a considerable distance. Thus we were obliged to leave the other, under the supposition of its being an island, which I named Saunders, after my honourable friend Sir Charles. It is situated in the latitude of 57° 49' S., longitude 26° 44' W.; and N., distant thirteen leagues from Cape Montagu.

At six o'clock in the evening, the wind shifting to the W., we tacked, and stood to the N., and at eight, the fog clearing away, gave us a sight of Saunders's Isle, extending from S.E. by S. to E.S.E. We were still in doubt if it were an island; for, at this time, land was seen bearing E. by S., which might, or might not, be connected with it; it might also be the same that we had seen the preceding evening. But, be this as it may, it was now necessary to take a view of the land to the north, before we proceeded any farther to the east. With this intention we stood to the north, having a light breeze at W. by S., which, at two o'clock in the morning of the 3rd, was succeeded by a calm that continued till eight, when we got the wind at E. by S., attended with hazy weather. At this time we saw the land we were looking for, and which proved to be two isles. The day on which they were discovered, was the occasion of calling them Candlemas Isles; latitude 57° 11' S., longitude 27° 6' W. They are of no great extent, but of considerable height, and were covered with snow. A small rock was seen between them, and perhaps there may be more; for the



weather was so hazy that we soon lost sight of the islands, and did not see them again till noon, at which time they bore W., distant three or four leagues.

As the wind kept veering to the S., we were obliged to stand to the N.E., in which route we met with several large ice-islands, loose ice, and many penguins; and, at midnight, came at once into water uncommonly white, which alarmed the officer of the watch so much that he tacked the ship instantly. Some thought it was a float of ice, others that it was shallow water; but as it proved neither, probably it was a shoal of fish. We stood to the south till two o'clock next morning, when we resumed our course to the E., with a faint breeze at S.S.E., which having ended in a calm, at six, I took the opportunity of putting a boat in the water to try if there were any current; and the trial proved there was none. Some whales were playing about us, and abundance of penguins; a few of the latter were shot, and they proved to be of the same sort that we had seen among the ice before, and different both from those on Staten Land, and from those at the Isle of Georgia. It is remarkable, that we had not seen a seal since we left that coast. At noon we were in the latitude of  $56^{\circ} 44'$  S., longitude  $25^{\circ} 33'$  W. At this time we got a breeze at E., with which we stood to the S., with a view of gaining the coast we had left; but at eight o'clock the wind shifted to the S., and made it necessary to tack and stand to the E.; in which course we met with several ice-islands and some loose ice, the weather continuing hazy with snow and rain.

No penguins were seen on the 5th, which made me conjecture that we were leaving the land behind us, and that we had already seen its northern extremity. At noon we were in the latitude of  $57^{\circ} 8'$  S., longitude  $23^{\circ} 34'$  W., which was  $3^{\circ}$  of longitude to the east of Saunders's Isle. In the afternoon the wind shifted to the W., this enabled us to stretch to the S., and to get into the latitude of the land, that, if it took an east direction, we might again fall in with it. We continued to steer to the S. and S.E. till next day at noon, at which time we were in the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 15'$  S., longitude  $21^{\circ} 34'$  W., and seeing neither land nor signs of any, I concluded that what we had seen, which I named Sandwich Land, was either a group of islands, or else a point of the continent; for I firmly believe that there is a tract of land near the pole which is the source of most of the ice that is spread over this vast Southern Ocean. I also think it probable that it extends farthest to the north opposite the southern Atlantic and Indian Oceans, because ice was always found by us farther to the north in these oceans than anywhere else, which I judge could not be, if there were not land to the S.; I mean a land of considerable extent. For if we suppose that no such land exists, and that ice may be formed without it, it will follow of course that the cold ought to be everywhere nearly equal round the pole, as far as  $70^{\circ}$  or  $60^{\circ}$  of latitude, or so far as to be beyond the influence of any of the known continents; consequently we ought to see ice everywhere under the same parallel, or near it; and yet the contrary has been found. Very few ships have met with ice going round Cape Horn; and we saw but little below the sixtieth degree of latitude, in the Southern Pacific Ocean. Whereas in this ocean, between the meridian of  $40^{\circ}$  W. and  $50^{\circ}$  or  $60^{\circ}$  E., we found ice as far N. as  $51^{\circ}$ . Bouvet met with some in  $48^{\circ}$ ; and others have seen it in a much lower latitude. It is true, however, that the greatest part of this southern continent (supposing there is one) must lie within the polar circle, where the sea is so pestered with ice that the land is thereby inaccessible\*. The risk one runs in exploring a coast, in these unknown and icy seas, is so very great, that I can be bold enough to say that no man will ever venture farther than I have done; and that the lands which may lie to the south will never be explored. Thick fogs, snow-storms, intense cold, and every other thing that can render navigation dangerous, must be encountered; and these difficulties are greatly heightened by the inexpressibly

\* The reader will find a short sketch of the progress of antarctic discovery, since the time of Cook, in the Appendix. This, as far as it has yet proceeded, for we know not yet what may be the ultimate result of the expedition now at sea under the command of Capt. J. C. Ross, is very far from confirming Capt. Cook's opinion that the absence of ice indicated an absence of land. "Very few ships," he remarks, "have met with ice going

round Cape Horn," and yet the presence of the group known as the South Shetlands, discovered by Captain Smith, would, if the theory were true, have occasioned the presence of fields of ice. This question will be necessarily discussed more at large in the Appendix, and to pursue it further in this place would be superfluous.—Ed.



horrid aspect of the country; a country doomed by nature never once to feel the warmth of the sun's rays, but to lie buried in everlasting snow and ice. The ports which may be on the coast, are, in a manner, wholly filled up with frozen snow of vast thickness; but if any should be so far open as to invite a ship into it, she would run a risk of being fixed there for ever, or of coming out in an ice-island. The islands and floats on the coast, the great falls from the ice-cliffs in the port, or a heavy snow-storm attended with a sharp frost, would be equally fatal.

After such an explanation as this, the reader must not expect to find me much farther to the south. It was, however, not for want of inclination, but for other reasons. It would have been rashness in me to have risked all that had been done during the voyage, in discovering and exploring a coast, which, when discovered and explored, would have answered no end whatever, or have been of the least use, either to navigation or geography, or, indeed, to any other science. Bouvet's discovery was yet before us, the existence of which was to be cleared up; and besides all this, we were not now in a condition to undertake great things; nor indeed was there time, had we been ever so well provided. These reasons induced me to alter the course to E., with a very strong gale at N., attended with an exceedingly heavy fall of snow. The quantity which lodged in our sails was so great, that we were frequently obliged to throw the ship up in the wind to shake it out of them, otherwise neither they nor the ship could have supported the weight. In the evening it ceased to snow; the weather cleared up; the wind backed to the W.; and we spent the night in making two short boards, under close-reefed topsails and foresail.

At daybreak on the 7th, we resumed our course to the E., with a very fresh gale at S.W. by W., attended by a high sea from the same direction. In the afternoon, being in the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 24'$  S., longitude  $16^{\circ} 19'$  W., the variation was  $1^{\circ} 52'$  E. Only three ice-islands seen this day. At eight o'clock, shortened sail, and hauled the wind to the S.E. for the night, in which we had several showers of snow and sleet.

On the 8th, at daylight, we resumed our east course with a gentle breeze and fair weather. After sunrise, being then in the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 30'$  S., longitude  $15^{\circ} 14'$  W., the variation, by the mean results of two compasses, was  $2^{\circ} 43'$  E. These observations were more to be depended on than those made the night before, there being much less sea now than then. In the afternoon we passed three ice-islands. This night was spent as the preceding. At six next morning, being in the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 27'$  S., longitude  $13^{\circ} 4'$  W., the variation was  $26'$  E., and in the afternoon, being in the same latitude, and about a quarter of a degree more to the E., it was  $2'$  W. Therefore this last situation must be in or near the line in which the compass has no variation. We had a calm the most part of the day. The weather fair and clear, excepting now and then a snow shower. The mercury in the thermometer at noon rose to 40; whereas for several days before, it had been no higher than 36 or 38. We had several ice-islands in sight, but no one thing that could induce us to think that any land was in our neighbourhood. At eight in the evening, a breeze sprung up at S.E., with which we stood to N.E.

During the night the wind freshened and veered to south, which enabled us to steer east. The wind was attended with showers of sleet and snow till daylight, when the weather became fair, but piercing cold, so that the water on deck was frozen, and at noon the mercury in the thermometer was no higher than  $34\frac{1}{2}$ . At six o'clock in the morning, the variation was  $23'$  west, being then in the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 15'$  S., longitude  $11^{\circ} 41'$  W., and at six in the evening, being in the same latitude, and in the longitude of  $9^{\circ} 24'$  W., it was  $1^{\circ} 51'$  W. In the evening the wind abated; and during the night it was variable between south and west. Ice-islands continually in sight.

On the 11th, wind westerly, light airs attended with heavy showers of snow in the morning; but, as the day advanced, the weather became fair, clear, and serene. Still continuing to steer east, at noon we observed in latitude  $58^{\circ} 11'$ , longitude at the same time  $7^{\circ} 55'$  west. Thermometer  $34\frac{3}{4}$ . In the afternoon we had two hours' calm, after which we had faint breezes between the N.E. and S.E. At six o'clock in the morning of the 12th, being in the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 23'$  S., longitude  $6^{\circ} 54'$  W., the variation was  $3^{\circ} 23'$  W. We had variable light airs next to a calm all this day, and the weather was fair and clear till

towards the evening, when it became cloudy, with snow showers, and the air very cold. Ice-islands continually in sight; most of them small and breaking to pieces.

In the afternoon of the 13th the wind increased, the sky became clouded, and soon after we had a very heavy fall of snow, which continued till eight or nine o'clock in the evening, when the wind abating and veering to the S.E., the sky cleared up, and we had a fair night, attended with so sharp a frost, that the water in all our vessels on deck was next morning covered with a sheet of ice. The mercury in the thermometer was as low as  $29^{\circ}$ , which is  $3^{\circ}$  below freezing, or rather 4; for we generally found the water freeze when the mercury stood at  $33^{\circ}$ . Towards noon on the 14th, the wind veering to the south, increased to a very strong gale, and blew in heavy squalls, attended with snow. At intervals, between the squalls, the weather was fair and clear, but exceedingly cold. We continued to steer east, inclining a little to the north, and in the afternoon crossed the first meridian, or that of Greenwich, in the latitude of  $57^{\circ} 50' S.$  At eight in the evening we close reefed the topsails, took in the mainsail, and steered east, with a very hard gale at S.S.W., with a high sea from the same direction.

At daybreak on the 15th we set the mainsail, loosed a reef out of each topsail, and with a very strong gale at S.W. and fair weather, steered E.N.E. till noon, at which time we were in the latitude of  $56^{\circ} 37' S.$ , longitude  $4^{\circ} 11'$  east, when we pointed to the N.E., in order to get into the latitude of Cape Circumcision. Some large ice-islands were in sight, and the air was nearly as cold as on the preceding day. At eight o'clock in the evening, shortened sail, and at eleven hauled the wind to the N.W., not daring to stand on in the night, which was foggy, with snow-showers, and a smart frost. At daybreak on the 16th we bore away N.E. with a light breeze at west, which, at noon, was succeeded by a calm and fair weather. Our latitude at this time was  $55^{\circ} 26' S.$ , longitude  $5^{\circ} 52'$  east, in which situation we had a great swell from the southward, but no ice in sight. At one o'clock in the P.M., a breeze springing up at E.N.E., we stood to S.E. till six, then tacked and stood to the north, under double-reefed topsails and courses, having a very fresh gale, attended with snow and sleet, which fixed to the masts and rigging as it fell, and coated the whole with ice. On the 17th the wind continued veering by little and little to the south till midnight, when it fixed at S.W. Being at this time in the latitude of  $54^{\circ} 20' S.$ , longitude  $6^{\circ} 33'$  east, I steered east, having a prodigious high sea from the south, which assured us no land was near in that direction.

In the morning of the 18th it ceased to snow; the weather became fair and clear; and we found the variation to be  $13^{\circ} 44'$  west. At noon we were in the latitude  $54^{\circ} 25'$ , longitude  $8^{\circ} 46'$  east. I thought this a good latitude to keep in, to look for Cape Circumcision; because, if the land had ever so little extent in the direction of north and south, we could not miss seeing it, as the northern point is said to lie in  $54^{\circ}$ . We had yet a great swell from the south, so that I was now well assured it could only be an island; and it was of no consequence which side we fell in with. In the evening Mr. Wales made several observations of the moon, and stars Regulus and Spica; the mean results, at four o'clock, when the observations were made, for finding the time by the watch, gave  $9^{\circ} 15' 20''$  east longitude. The watch at the same time gave  $9^{\circ} 36' 45''$ . Soon after the variation was found to be  $13^{\circ} 10'$  west. It is nearly in this situation that Mr. Bouvet had  $1^{\circ}$  east. I cannot suppose that the variation has altered so much since that time; but rather think he had made some mistake in his observations. That there could be none in ours was certain, from the uniformity for some time past. Besides, we found  $12^{\circ} 8'$  west, variation, nearly under this meridian, in January, 1773. During the night the wind veered round by the N.W. to N.N.E., and blew a fresh gale.

At eight in the morning of the 19th, we saw the appearance of land in the direction of E. by S., or that of our course; but it proved a mere fog-bank, and soon after dispersed. We continued to steer E. by S. and S.E. till seven o'clock in the evening, when, being in the latitude of  $54^{\circ} 42' S.$ , longitude  $13^{\circ} 3' E.$ , and the wind having veered to N.E., we tacked and stood to N.W. under close-reefed topsails and courses; having a very strong gale, attended with snow-showers. At four o'clock next morning, being in the latitude of  $54^{\circ} 30' S.$ , longitude  $12^{\circ} 33' E.$ , we tacked and stretched to N.E. with a fresh gale at S.W., attended with snow-showers and sleet. At noon, being in the latitude of  $54^{\circ} 8' S.$ , longitude



12° 59' E., with a fresh gale at W. by N., and tolerably clear weather, we steered E. till ten o'clock in the evening, when we brought-to, lest we might pass any land in the night, of which we, however, had not the least signs. At daybreak, having made sail, we bore away east, and at noon observed in latitude 54° 16' S., longitude 16° 13' E., which is 5° to the east of the longitude in which Cape Circumcision is said to lie; so that we began to think there was no such land in existence. I, however, continued to steer east, inclining a little to the south, till four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, when we were in latitude of 54° 24' S., longitude 19° 18' E.

We had now run down thirteen degrees of longitude, in the very latitude assigned for Bouvet's Land; I was therefore well assured that what he had seen could be nothing but an island of ice; for, if it had been land, it is hardly possible we could have missed it, though it were ever so small. Besides, from the time of leaving the southern lands, we had not met with the least signs of any other. But even suppose we had, it would have been no proof of the existence of Cape Circumcision; for I am well assured that neither seals, nor penguins, nor any of the oceanic birds, are indubitable signs of the vicinity of land. I will allow that they are found on the coasts of all these southern lands; but are they not also to be found in all parts of the southern ocean? There are, however, some oceanic or aquatic birds which point out the vicinity of land; especially shags, which seldom go out of sight of it; and gannets, boobies, and men-of-war birds, I believe, seldom go very far out to sea.

As we were now no more than two degrees of longitude from our route to the south, when we left the Cape of Good Hope, it was to no purpose to proceed any further to the east under this parallel, knowing that no land could be there. But an opportunity now offering of clearing up some doubts of our having seen land farther to the south, I steered S.E. to get into the situation in which it was supposed to lie. We continued this course till four o'clock the next morning, and then S.E. by E. and E.S.E. till eight in the evening, at which time we were in the latitude of 55° 25' S., longitude 23° 22' E., both deduced from observations made the same day; for, in the morning, the sky was clear at intervals, and afforded an opportunity to observe several distances of the sun and moon, which we had not been able to do for some time past, having had a constant succession of bad weather. Having now run over the place where the land was supposed to lie, without seeing the least signs of any, it was no longer to be doubted but that the ice islands had deceived us as well as Mr. Bouvet. The wind by this time having veered to the north, and increased to a perfect storm, attended as usual with snow and sleet, we handed the top-sails, and hauled up E.N.E. under the courses. During the night the wind abated, and veered to N.W., which enabled us to steer more to the north, having no business farther south.

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CHAPTER VII.—HEADS OF WHAT HAS BEEN DONE IN THE VOYAGE; WITH SOME CONJECTURES CONCERNING THE FORMATION OF ICE ISLANDS; AND AN ACCOUNT OF OUR PROCEEDINGS TILL OUR ARRIVAL AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

I HAD now made the circuit of the Southern Ocean in a high latitude, and traversed it in such a manner as to leave not the least room for the possibility of there being a continent, unless near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation. By twice visiting the tropical sea, I had not only settled the situation of some old discoveries, but made there many new ones, and left, I conceive, very little more to be done even in that part. Thus I flatter myself that the intention of the voyage has, in every respect, been fully answered; the southern hemisphere sufficiently explored; and a final end put to the searching after a southern continent, which has, at times, engrossed the attention of some of the maritime powers for near two centuries past, and been a favourite theory amongst the geographers of all ages. That there may be a continent, or large tract of land, near the pole, I will not deny; on the contrary, I am of opinion there is; and it is probable that we have seen a part of it. The excessive cold, the many islands and vast floats of ice, all tend to prove that there must be land to the south; and for my persuasion that this southern land must lie, or extend, farthest to the north, opposite to the Southern Atlantic and Indian Oceans, I have already

assigned some reasons; to which I may add the greater degree of cold experienced by us in these seas, than in the Southern Pacific Ocean under the same parallels of latitude.

In this last ocean, the mercury in the thermometer seldom fell so low as the freezing-point, till we were in 60' and upwards; whereas in the others it fell as low in the latitude of 54°. This was certainly owing to there being a greater quantity of ice, and to its extending farther to the north, in these two seas than in the South Pacific; and if ice be first formed at, or near land, of which I have no doubt, it will follow that the land also extends farther north.

The formation or coagulation of ice islands has not, to my knowledge, been thoroughly investigated. Some have supposed them to be formed by the freezing of the water at the mouths of large rivers, or great cataracts, where they accumulate till they are broken off by their own weight. My observations will not allow me to acquiesce in this opinion; because we never found any of the ice which we took up incorporated with earth, or any of its produce, as I think it must have been, had it been coagulated in land waters. It is a doubt with me, whether there be any rivers in these countries. It is certain, that we saw not a river, or stream of water, on all the coast of Georgia, nor on any of the southern lands. Nor did we ever see a stream of water run from any of the ice islands. How are we then to suppose that there are large rivers? The valleys are covered, many fathoms deep, with everlasting snow; and, at the sea, they terminate in icy cliffs of vast height. It is here where the ice islands are formed; not from streams of water, but from consolidated snow and sleet, which is almost continually falling or drifting down from the mountains, especially in the winter, when the frost must be intense. During that season, the ice-cliffs must so accumulate as to fill up all the bays, be they ever so large. This is a fact which cannot be doubted, as we have seen it so in summer. These cliffs accumulate by continual falls of snow, and what drifts from the mountains, till they are no longer able to support their own weight; and then large pieces break off, which we call ice-islands. Such as have a flat, even surface, must be of the ice formed in the bays, and before the flat valleys; the others, which have a tapering, unequal surface, must be formed on, or under, the side of a coast composed of pointed rocks and precipices, or some such uneven surface. For we cannot suppose that snow alone, as it falls, can form, on a plain surface, such as the sea, such a variety of high peaks and hills as we saw on many of the ice-isles. It is certainly more reasonable to believe that they are formed on a coast whose surface is something similar to theirs. I have observed that all the ice-islands of any extent, and before they begin to break to pieces, are terminated by perpendicular cliffs of clear ice or frozen snow, always on one or more sides, but most generally all round. Many, and those of the largest size, which had a hilly and spiral surface, showed a perpendicular cliff or side from the summit of the highest peak down to its base. This to me was a convincing proof, that these, as well as the flat isles, must have broken off from substances like themselves, that is, from some large tract of ice\*.

When I consider the vast quantity of ice we saw, and the vicinity of the places to the pole where it is formed, and where the degrees of longitude are very small, I am led to believe that these ice-cliffs extend a good way into the sea, in some parts, especially in such as are sheltered from the violence of the winds. It may even be doubted if ever the wind is violent in the very high latitudes. And that the sea will freeze over, or the snow that falls upon it, which amounts to the same thing, we have instances in the northern hemi-

\* That the vast fields of ice surrounding the southern pole, and the floating icebergs which in that hemisphere nearly approach even tropical regions, owe their origin to such masses of ice or glaciers descending to the sea, as are described above as occupying the valleys of Georgia, appears to be a well settled fact. With modern geologists it has been a favourite theory to refer the existence of these boulders, or erratic water-worn blocks, which are found scattered in various parts of the earth's surface, at vast distances from any rocks of a similar nature, to the action of similar glaciers, which carrying with them masses of rock from the mountain's side, and afterwards bearing them away from the land on icebergs, deposit them at length in the sea, which, in course of time, the land as the

bottom of it being elevated into a continent, a process the effects of which are distinctly visible in many parts of the world, and particularly so in South America, has carried with it boulders scattered abroad on its surface, even as they may be supposed to lie at the bottom of the ocean. This opinion is confirmed by the fact that icebergs bearing rocks upon their surface have occasionally been met with, and that icebergs have been met at sea at no greater distance than 35° 50' from the equator. This remarkable variation of climate between the northern and southern extremities of the globe appears more forcibly, when we consider that the latitude of Georgia corresponds to the southern part of Scotland.—Ed.



sphere. The Baltic, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Straits of Belle-Isle, and many other equally large seas, are frequently frozen over in winter. Nor is this at all extraordinary, for we have found the degree of cold at the surface of the sea, even in summer, to be two degrees below the freezing-point; consequently nothing kept it from freezing but the salts it contains, and the agitation of its surface. Whenever this last ceaseth in winter, when the frost is set in, and there comes a fall of snow, it will freeze on the surface as it falls, and in a few days, or perhaps in one night, form such a sheet of ice as will not be easily broken up. Thus a foundation will be laid for it to accumulate to any thickness by falls of snow, without its being at all necessary for the sea-water to freeze. It may be by this means these vast floats of low ice we find in the spring of the year are formed, and which, after they break up, are carried by the currents to the north. For, from all the observations I have been able to make, the currents everywhere, in the high latitudes, set to the N., or to the N.E. or N.W.; but we have very seldom found them considerable.

If this imperfect account of the formation of these extraordinary floating islands of ice, which is written wholly from my own observations, does not convey some useful hints to an abler pen, it will, however, convey some idea of the lands where they are formed. Lands doomed by nature to perpetual frigidness; never to feel the warmth of the sun's rays; whose horrible and savage aspect I have not words to describe;—such are the lands we have discovered; what then may we expect those to be which lie still farther to the south? For we may reasonably suppose that we have seen the best, as lying most to the north. If any one should have resolution and perseverance to clear up this point by proceeding farther than I have done, I shall not envy him the honour of the discovery; but I will be bold to say, that the world will not be benefited by it.

I had, at this time, some thoughts of revisiting the place where the French discovery is said to lie. But then I considered that, if they had really made this discovery, the end would be as fully answered as if I had done it myself. We know it can only be an island; and if we may judge from the degree of cold we found in that latitude, it cannot be a fertile one. Besides, this would have kept me two months longer at sea, and in a tempestuous latitude, which we were not in a condition to struggle with. Our sails and rigging were so much worn, that something was giving way every hour; and we had nothing left, either to repair or replace them. Our provisions were in a state of decay, and consequently afforded little nourishment, and we had been a long time without refreshments. My people, indeed, were yet healthy, and would have cheerfully gone wherever I had thought proper to lead them; but I dreaded the scurvy laying hold of them, at a time when we had nothing left to remove it. I must say farther, that it would have been cruel in me to have continued the fatigues and hardships they were continually exposed to, longer than was absolutely necessary. Their behaviour, throughout the whole voyage, merited every indulgence which it was in my power to give them. Animated by the conduct of the officers, they showed themselves capable of surmounting every difficulty and danger which came in their way, and never once looked either upon the one or the other as being at all heightened by our separation from our consort the *Adventure*.

All these considerations induced me to lay aside looking for the French discoveries, and to steer for the Cape of Good Hope; with a resolution, however, of looking for the isles of Denia and Marseveen, which are laid down in Dr. Halley's variation chart in the latitude of  $41\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  S., and about  $4^{\circ}$  of longitude to the east of the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope. With this view I steered N.E., with a hard gale at N.W. and thick weather; and on the 26th at noon, we saw the last ice-island, being at this time in the latitude of  $52^{\circ} 52'$  S., longitude  $26^{\circ} 31'$  E. The wind abating and veering to the S., on the 1st of March, we steered W., in order to get farther from Mr. Bouvet's track, which was but a few degrees to the east of us, being at this time in the latitude of  $46^{\circ} 44'$  S., longitude  $33^{\circ} 20'$  E., in which situation we found the variation to be  $23^{\circ} 36'$  west. It is somewhat remarkable, that all the time we had northerly winds, which were regular and constant for several days, the weather was always thick and cloudy; but as soon as they came S. of W. it cleared up, and was fine and pleasant. The barometer began to rise several days before this change happened; but whether on account of it, or our coming northward, cannot be determined.

The wind remained not long at south before it veered round by the N.E. to N.W., blowing fresh and by squalls, attended, as before, with rain and thick misty weather. We had some intervals of clear weather on the afternoon of the 3d, when we found the variation to be  $22^{\circ} 26'$  W.; latitude at this time  $45^{\circ} 8'$  S., longitude  $30^{\circ} 50'$  E. The following night was very stormy; the wind blew from S.W. and in excessively heavy squalls. At short intervals between the squalls, the wind would fall almost to a calm, and then come on again with such fury, that neither our sails nor rigging could withstand it, several of the sails being split, and a middle staysail being wholly lost. The next morning the gale abated, and we repaired the damage we had sustained in the best manner we could.

On the 8th, being in the latitude of  $41^{\circ} 30'$  S., longitude  $26^{\circ} 51'$  E., the mercury in the thermometer rose to 61, and we found it necessary to put on lighter clothes. As the wind continued invariably fixed between N.W. and W., we took every advantage to get to the west, by tacking whenever it shifted anything in our favour; but as we had a great swell against us, our tacks were rather disadvantageous. We daily saw albatrosses, peterels, and other oceanic birds; but not the least sign of land. On the 11th, in the latitude of  $40^{\circ} 40'$  S., longitude  $23^{\circ} 47'$  E., the variation was  $20^{\circ} 48'$  W. About noon the same day, the wind shifting suddenly from N.W. to S.W. caused the mercury in the thermometer to fall as suddenly from  $62^{\circ}$  to  $52^{\circ}$ ; such was the different state of the air, between a northerly and southerly wind. The next day, having several hours' calm, we put a boat in the water, and shot some albatrosses and peterels; which, at this time, were highly acceptable. We were now nearly in the situation where the isles which we were in search of are said to lie; however, we saw nothing that could give us the least hope of finding them.

The calm continued till five o'clock of the next morning, when it was succeeded by a breeze at W. by S., with which we stood to N.N.W. and at noon observed in latitude  $38^{\circ} 51'$  S. This was upwards of thirty miles more to the north than our log gave us; and the watch showed that we had been set to the east also. If these differences did not arise from some strong current, I know not how to account for them. Very strong currents have been found on the African coast, between Madagascar and the Cape of Good Hope; but I never heard of their extending so far from the land; nor is it probable they do. I rather suppose that this current has no connexion with that on the coast, and that we happened to fall into some stream which is neither lasting nor regular. But these are points which require much time to investigate, and must therefore be left to the industry of future navigators.

We were now two degrees to the north of the parallel in which the isles of Denia and Marseveen are said to lie. We had seen nothing to encourage us to persevere in looking after them; and it must have taken up some time longer to find them, or to prove their non-existence. Every one was impatient to get into port, and for good reasons; as for a long time we had had nothing but stale and salt provisions, for which every one on board had lost all relish. These reasons induced me to yield to the general wish, and to steer for the Cape of Good Hope, being at this time in the latitude of  $38^{\circ} 38'$  S., longitude  $23^{\circ} 37'$  E. The next day the observed latitude at noon was only seventeen miles to the north of that given by the log; so that we had either got out of the strength of the current, or it had ceased. On the 15th the observed latitude at noon, together with the watch, showed that we had had a strong current setting to the S.W. the contrary direction to what we had experienced on some of the preceding days, as hath been mentioned. At daylight on the 16th, we saw two sail in the N.W. quarter standing to the westward, and one of them showing Dutch colours. At ten o'clock we tacked and stood to the west also, being at this time in the latitude of  $35^{\circ} 9'$  S., longitude  $22^{\circ} 38'$  E.

I now, in pursuance of my instructions, demanded of the officers and petty officers the log-books and journals they had kept; which were delivered to me accordingly, and sealed up for the inspection of the Admiralty. I also enjoined them, and the whole crew, not to divulge where we had been, till they had their Lordships' permission so to do. In the afternoon the wind veered to the west and increased to a hard gale, which was of short duration; for, the next day, it fell, and at noon veered to S.E. At this time we were in the latitude of  $34^{\circ} 49'$  S., longitude  $22^{\circ}$  E.; and, on sounding, found fifty-six fathoms water.



In the evening we saw the land in the direction of E.N.E., about six leagues distant ; and, during the fore part of the night, there was a great fire or light upon it.

At daybreak on the 18th, we saw the land again, bearing N.N.W., six or seven leagues distant, and the depth of water forty-eight fathoms. At nine o'clock, having little or no wind, we hoisted out a boat and sent on board one of the two ships before mentioned, which were about two leagues from us ; but we were too impatient after news to regard the distance. Soon after, a breeze sprung up at west, with which we stood to the south ; and, presently, three sail more appeared in sight to windward, one of which showed English colours. At one P.M. the boat returned from on board the Bownkerke Polder, Captain Cornelius Bosch, a Dutch Indiaman from Bengal. Captain Bosch, very obligingly, offered us sugar, arrack, and whatever he had to spare. Our people were told by some English seamen on board this ship, that the *Adventure* had arrived at the Cape of Good Hope twelve months ago, and that the crew of one of her boats had been murdered and eaten by the people of New Zealand ; so that the story which we heard in Queen Charlotte's Sound was now no longer a mystery.

We had light airs, next to a calm, till ten o'clock the next morning, when a breeze sprung up at west, and the English ship, which was to windward, bore down to us. She proved to be the *True Briton*, Captain Broadly, from China. As he did not intend to touch at the Cape, I put a letter on board him for the Secretary of the Admiralty. The account which we had heard of the *Adventure* was now confirmed to us by this ship. We also got, from on board her, a parcel of old newspapers, which were new to us, and gave us some amusement ; but these were the least favours we received from Captain Broadly. With a generosity peculiar to the commanders of the India Company's ships, he sent us fresh provisions, tea, and other articles, which were very acceptable, and deserve from me this public acknowledgment. In the afternoon we parted company. The *True Briton* stood out to sea, and we in for the land ; having a fresh gale at west, which split our fore top-sail in such a manner, that we were obliged to bring another to the yard. At six o'clock we tacked within four or five miles of the shore ; and, as we judged, about five or six leagues to the east of Cape Aguilas. We stood off till midnight, when, the wind having veered round to the south, we tacked, and stood along-shore to the west. The wind kept veering more and more in our favour, and at last fixed at E.S.E., and blew, for some hours, a perfect hurricane. As soon as the storm began to subside, we made sail, and hauled in for the land. Next day at noon, the Table Mountain over the Cape Town bore N.E. by E., distant nine or ten leagues. By making use of this bearing and distance to reduce the longitude shown by the watch to the Cape Town, the error was found to be no more than 18' in longitude, which it was too far to the east. Indeed, the difference we found between it and the lunar observations, since we left New Zealand, had seldom exceeded half a degree, and always the same way.

The next morning, being with us Wednesday, the 22nd, but with the people here Tuesday, the 21st, we anchored in Table Bay, where we found several Dutch ships ; some French ; and the *Ceres*, Captain Newte, an English East India Company's ship, from China, bound directly to England, by whom I sent a copy of the preceding parts of this journal, some charts, and other drawings, to the Admiralty. Before we had well got to an anchor, I despatched an officer to acquaint the governor with our arrival, and to request the necessary stores and refreshments, which were readily granted. As soon as the officer came back, we saluted the garrison with thirteen guns, which compliment was immediately returned with an equal number.

I now learnt that the *Adventure* had called here, on her return ; and I found a letter from Captain Furneaux, acquainting me with the loss of his boat, and of ten of his best men, in Queen Charlotte's Sound. The captain, afterwards, on my arrival in England, put into my hands a complete narrative of his proceedings, from the time of our second and final separation, which I now lay before the public in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.—CAPTAIN FURNEAUX'S NARRATIVE OF HIS PROCEEDINGS IN THE ADVENTURE, FROM THE TIME HE WAS SEPARATED FROM THE RESOLUTION, TO HIS ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND; INCLUDING LIEUTENANT BURNEY'S REPORT CONCERNING THE BOAT'S CREW, WHO WERE MURDERED BY THE INHABITANTS OF QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND.

AFTER a passage of fourteen days from Amsterdam, we made the coast of New Zealand near the Table Cape, and stood along-shore till we came as far as Cape Turnagain. The wind then began to blow strong at west, with heavy squalls and rain, which split many of our sails, and blew us off the coast for three days; in which time we parted company with the Resolution, and never saw her afterwards.

On the 4th of November, we again got in-shore, near Cape Palliser, and were visited by a number of the natives in their canoes, bringing a great quantity of cray-fish, which we bought of them for nails and Otaheite cloth. The next day it blew hard from W.N.W., which again drove us off the coast, and obliged us to bring to for two days; during which time it blew one continual gale of wind with heavy falls of sleet. By this time our decks were very leaky; our beds and bedding wet; and several of our people complaining of colds; so that we began to despair of ever getting into Charlotte Sound, or joining the Resolution. On the 6th, being to the north of the Cape, the wind at S.W. and blowing strong, we bore away for some bay to complete our water and wood, being in great want of both; having been at the allowance of one quart of water for some days past; and even that pittance could not be come at, above six or seven days longer. We anchored in Tolaga Bay on the 9th, in latitude  $38^{\circ} 21' S.$ , longitude  $178^{\circ} 37' E.$  It affords good riding with the wind westerly, and regular soundings from eleven to five fathoms, stiff muddy ground across the bay for about two miles. It is open from N.N.E. to E.S.E. It is to be observed, easterly winds seldom blow hard on this shore, but when they do, they throw in a great sea; so that if it were not for a great undertow, together with a large river that empties itself in the bottom of the bay, a ship would not be able to ride here. Wood and water are easily to be had, except when it blows hard easterly. The natives here are the same as those at Charlotte Sound, but more numerous, and seemed settled, having regular plantations of sweet potatoes, and other roots, which are very good; and they have plenty of cray and other fish, which we bought of them for nails, beads, and other trifles, at an easy rate. In one of their canoes we observed the head of a woman lying in state, adorned with feathers and other ornaments. It had the appearance of being alive; but, on examination, we found it dry, being preserved with every feature perfect, and kept as the relic of some deceased relation. Having got about ten tons of water, and some wood, we sailed for Charlotte Sound on the 12th. We were no sooner out than the wind began to blow hard, dead on the shore, so that we could not clear the land on either tack. This obliged us to bear away again for the bay, where we anchored the next morning, and rode out a very heavy gale of wind at E. by S. which threw in a very great sea. We now began to fear we should never join the Resolution; having reason to believe she was in Charlotte Sound, and by this time ready for sea. We soon found it was with great difficulty we could get any water, owing to the swell setting in so strong; at last, however, we were able to go on shore, and got both wood and water.

Whilst we lay here, we were employed about the rigging, which was much damaged by the constant gales of wind we had met with since we made the coast. We got the booms down on the decks, and having made the ship as snug as possible, sailed again on the 16th. After this we met with several gales of wind off the mouth of the strait, and continued beating backwards and forwards till the 30th, when we were so fortunate as to get a favourable wind, which we took every advantage of, and at last got safe into our desired port. We saw nothing of the Resolution, and began to doubt her safety; but on going ashore, we discerned the place where she had erected her tents; and, on an old stump of a tree in the garden, observed these words cut out, "Look underneath." There we dug, and soon found a bottle corked and waxed down, with a letter in it from Captain Cook, signify-



ing their arrival on the 3d instant, and departure on the 24th; and that they intended spending a few days in the entrance of the straits to look for us. We immediately set about getting the ship ready for sea as fast as possible; erected our tents; sent the cooper on shore to repair the casks; and began to unstow the hold, to get at the bread that was in butts; but on opening them, found a great quantity of it entirely spoiled, and most part so damaged that we were obliged to fix our copper oven on shore to bake it over again, which undoubtedly delayed us a considerable time. Whilst we lay here, the inhabitants came on board as before, supplying us with fish, and other things of their own manufacture, which we bought of them for nails, &c., and appeared very friendly; though twice in the middle of the night they came to the tent, with an intention to steal, but were discovered before they could get anything into their possession.

On the 17th of December, having refitted the ship, completed our water and wood, and got everything ready for sea, we sent our large cutter, with Mr. Rowe, a midshipman, and the boat's crew, to gather wild greens for the ship's company, with orders to return that evening, as I intended to sail the next morning. But on the boat's not returning the same evening, nor the next morning, being under great uneasiness about her, I hoisted out the launch, and sent her, with the second lieutenant, Mr. Burney, manned with the boat's crew and ten marines, in search of her. My orders to Mr. Burney were, first to look well into East Bay, and then to proceed to Grass Cove, the place to which Mr. Rowe had been sent; and if he heard nothing of the boat there, to go farther up the Sound, and come back along the west shore. As Mr. Rowe had left the ship an hour before the time proposed, and in a great hurry, I was strongly persuaded that his curiosity had carried him into East Bay, none in our ship having ever been there; or else, that some accident had happened to the boat, either by going adrift through the boat-keeper's negligence, or by being stove among the rocks. This was almost everybody's opinion; and on this supposition the carpenter's mate was sent in the launch, with some sheets of tin. I had not the least suspicion that our people had received any injury from the natives; our boats having frequently been higher up, and worse provided. How much I was mistaken too soon appeared; for Mr. Burney having returned about eleven o'clock the same night, made his



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report of a horrible scene indeed, which cannot be better described than in his own words, which now follow.

"On the 18th we left the ship; and having a light breeze in our favour, we soon got round Long Island, and within Long Point. I examined every cove on the larboard hand, as we went along, looking well all around with a spy-glass, which I took for that purpose. At half-past one we stopped at a beach, on the left-hand side going up East Bay, to boil some victuals, as we brought nothing but raw meat with us. Whilst we were cooking, I saw an Indian on the opposite shore running along a beach to the head of the bay. Our meat being drest, we got into the boat and put off; and, in a short time, arrived at the head of this reach, where we saw an Indian settlement. As we drew near, some of the Indians came down on the rocks, and waved for us to be gone; but seeing we disregarded them, they altered their notes. Here we found six large canoes hauled up on the beach, most of them double ones, and a great many people; though not so many as one might expect from the number of houses and size of the canoes. Leaving the boat's crew to guard the boat, I stepped ashore with the marines (the corporal and five men), and searched a good many of their houses; but found nothing to give me any suspicion. Three or four well-beaten paths led farther into the woods, where were many more houses; but the people continuing friendly, I thought it unnecessary to continue our search. Coming down to the beach, one of the Indians had brought a bundle of *hepatoos* (long spears), but seeing I looked very earnestly at him, he put them on the ground, and walked about with seeming unconcern. Some of the people appearing to be frightened, I gave a looking-glass to one, and a large nail to another. From this place the bay ran, as nearly as I could guess, N.N.W. a good mile, where it ended in a long sandy beach. I looked all round with the glass, but saw no boat, canoe, or sign of inhabitant. I therefore contented myself with firing some guns, which I had done in every cove as I went along.

"I now kept close to the east shore, and came to another settlement, where the Indians invited us ashore. I inquired of them about the boat, but they pretended ignorance. They appeared very friendly here, and sold us some fish. Within an hour after we left this place, in a small beach adjoining to Grass Cove, we saw a very large double canoe just hauled up, with two men and a dog. The men, on seeing us, left their canoe, and ran up into the woods. This gave me reason to suspect I should here get tidings of the cutter. We went ashore, and searched the canoe, where we found one of the rullock-ports of the cutter, and some shoes, one of which was known to belong to Mr. Woodhouse, one of our midshipmen. One of the people, at the same time, brought me a piece of meat, which he took to be some of the salt meat belonging to the cutter's crew. On examining this, and smelling to it, I found it was fresh. Mr. Fannin (the master), who was with me, supposed it was dog's flesh, and I was of the same opinion; for I still doubted their being cannibals. But we were soon convinced by most horrid and undeniable proof. A great many baskets (about twenty) lying on the beach tied up, we cut them open. Some were full of roasted flesh, and some of fern-root, which serves them for bread. On farther search, we found more shoes and a hand, which we immediately knew to have belonged to Thomas Hill, one of our fore-castle men, it being marked T. H. with an Otaheite tallow-instrument. I went with some of the people a little way up the woods, but saw nothing else. Coming down again, there was a round spot covered with fresh earth about four feet diameter, where something had been buried. Having no spade, we began to dig with a cutlass; and in the mean time I launched the canoe with intent to destroy her; but seeing a great smoke ascending over the nearest hill, I got all the people into the boat, and made what haste I could to be with them before sunset.

"On opening the next bay, which was Grass Cove, we saw four canoes, one single and three double ones, and a great many people on the beach, who, on our approach, retreated to a small hill within a ship's length of the water-side, where they stood talking to us. A large fire was on the top of the high land beyond the woods, from whence, all the way down the hill, the place was thronged like a fair. As we came in, I ordered a musketoon to be fired at one of the canoes, suspecting they might be full of men lying down in the bottom; for they were all afloat, but nobody was seen in them. The savages on the little hill still kept hallooing and making signs for us to land. However, as soon as we got close in, we all



fired. The first volley did not seem to affect them much ; but on the second, they began to scramble away as fast as they could, some of them howling. We continued firing as long as we could see the glimpse of any of them through the bushes. Amongst the Indians were two very stout men, who never offered to move till they found themselves forsaken by their companions ; and then they marched away with great composure and deliberation ; their pride not suffering them to run. One of them, however, got a fall, and either lay there or crawled off on all-fours. The other got clear without any apparent hurt. I then landed with the marines, and Mr. Fannin staid to guard the boat.

"On the beach were two bundles of celery, which had been gathered for loading the cutter. A broken oar was struck upright in the ground, to which the natives had tied their canoes ; a proof that the attack had been made here. I then searched all along at the back of the beach, to see if the cutter was there. We found no boat, but instead of her, such a shocking scene of carnage and barbarity as can never be mentioned or thought of but with horror ; for the heads, hearts, and lungs of several of our people were seen lying on the beach, and, at a little distance, the dogs gnawing their entrails. Whilst we remained almost stupified on the spot, Mr. Fannin called to us that he heard the savages gathering together in the woods ; on which I returned to the boat, and hauling alongside the canoes, we demolished three of them. Whilst this was transacting, the fire on the top of the hill disappeared ; and we could hear the Indians in the woods at high words : I suppose quarrelling whether or no they should attack us, and try to save their canoes. It now grew dark : I therefore just stepped out, and looked once more behind the beach, to see if the cutter had been hauled up in the bushes ; but seeing nothing of her, returned and put off. Our whole force would have been barely sufficient to have gone up the hill, and to have ventured with half (for half must have been left to guard the boat) would have been fool-hardiness.

"As we opened the upper part of the Sound, we saw a very large fire about three or four miles higher up, which formed a complete oval, reaching from the top of a hill down almost to the water-side, the middle space being enclosed all round by the fire, like a hedge. I consulted with Mr. Fannin, and we were both of opinion that we could expect to reap no other advantage than the poor satisfaction of killing some more of the savages. At leaving Grass Cove, we had fired a general volley towards where we heard the Indians talking ; but by going in and out of the boat, the arms had got wet, and four pieces missed fire. What was still worse, it began to rain ; our ammunition was more than half expended, and we left six large canoes behind us in one place. With so many disadvantages, I did not think it worth while to proceed, where nothing could be hoped for but revenge. Coming between two round islands, situated to the southward of East Bay, we imagined we heard somebody calling ; we lay on our oars and listened, but heard no more of it ; we hallooed several times, but to little purpose ; the poor souls were far enough out of hearing ; and, indeed, I think it some comfort to reflect that, in all probability, every man of them must have been killed on the spot."

Thus far Mr. Burney's report ; and, to complete the account of this tragical transaction, it may not be unnecessary to mention that the people in the cutter were, Mr. Rowe, Mr. Woodhouse ; Francis Murphy, quarter-master ; William Facey, Thomas Hill, Michael Bell, and Edward Jones, fore-castle-men ; John Cavenaugh and Thomas Milton, belonging to the after-guard ; and James Sevilley, the captain's man ; being ten in all. Most of these were of our very best seamen, the stoutest and most healthy people in the ship. Mr. Burney's party brought on board two hands ; one belonging to Mr. Rowe, known by a hurt he had received on it ; the other to Thomas Hill, as before mentioned ; and the head of the captain's servant. These, with more of the remains, were tied in a hammock and thrown overboard, with ballast and shot sufficient to sink it. None of their arms nor clothes were found, except part of a pair of trowsers, a frock, and six shoes, no two of them being fellows.

I am not inclined to think this was any premeditated plan of these savages ; for the morning Mr. Rowe left the ship, he met two canoes, which came down and staid all the forenoon in Ship Cove. It might probably happen from some quarrel which was decided on the spot ; or the fairness of the opportunity might tempt them, our people being so incautious, and thinking themselves too secure. Another thing which encouraged the New Zealanders was, they were sensible that a gun was not infallible, that they sometimes missed, and that, when



discharged, they must be loaded before they could be used again, which time they knew how to take advantage of. After their success, I imagine there was a general meeting on the east side of the Sound. The Indians of Shag Cove were there; this we knew by a cock which was in one of the canoes, and by a long single canoe, which some of our people had seen four days before in Shag Cove, where they had been with Mr. Rowe in the cutter.

We were detained in the Sound by contrary winds four days after this melancholy affair happened, during which time we saw none of the inhabitants. What is very remarkable, I had been several times up in the same cove with Captain Cook, and never saw the least sign of an inhabitant, except some deserted towns, which appeared as if they had not been occupied for several years; and yet, when Mr. Burney entered the cove, he was of opinion there could not be less than fifteen hundred or two thousand people. I doubt not, had they been apprised of his coming, they would have attacked him. From these considerations I thought it imprudent to send a boat up again, as we were convinced there was not the least probability of any of our people being alive.

On the 23d, we weighed and made sail out of the Sound, and stood to the eastward to get clear of the Straits; which we accomplished the same evening, but were baffled for two or three days with light winds before we could clear the coast. We then stood to the S.S.E., till we got into the latitude of  $56^{\circ}$  S., without anything remarkable happening, having a great swell from the southward. At this time the winds began to blow strong from the S.W., and the weather to be very cold; and as the ship was low and deep laden, the sea made a continual breach over her, which kept us always wet; and by her straining, very few of the people were dry in bed or on deck, having no shelter to keep the sea from them. The birds were the only companions we had in this vast ocean; except, now and then, we saw a whale or porpoise, and sometimes a seal or two, and a few penguins. In the latitude of  $58^{\circ}$  S., longitude  $213^{\circ} *$  E., we fell in with some ice, and every day saw more or less, we then standing to the E. We found a very strong current setting to the eastward; for by the time we were abreast of Cape Horn, being in the latitude of  $61^{\circ}$  S., the ship was ahead of our account eight degrees. We were very little more than a month from Cape Palliser, in New Zealand, to Cape Horn, which is an hundred and twenty-one degrees of longitude, and had continual westerly winds from S.W. to N.W., with a great sea following.

On opening some casks of peas and flour, that had been stowed on the coals, we found them very much damaged, and not eatable; so thought it most prudent to make for the Cape of Good Hope, but first to stand into the latitude and longitude of Cape Circumcision. After being to the eastward of Cape Horn, we found the winds did not blow so strong from the westward as usual, but came more from the north, which brought on thick foggy weather; so that for several days together we could not be able to get an observation, or see the least sign of the sun. This weather lasted above a month, being then among a great many islands of ice, which kept us constantly on the look-out for fear of running foul of them, and, being a single ship, made us more attentive. By this time our people began to complain of colds and pains in their limbs, which obliged me to haul to the northward to the latitude of  $54^{\circ}$  S.; but we still continued to have the same sort of weather, though we had oftener an opportunity of obtaining observations for the latitude. After getting into the latitude above mentioned, I steered to the east, in order, if possible, to find the land laid down by Bouvet. As we advanced to the east, the islands of ice became more numerous and dangerous, they being much smaller than they used to be, and the nights began to be dark.

On the 3d of March, being then in the latitude of  $54^{\circ} 4'$  S., longitude  $13^{\circ}$  E., which is the latitude of Bouvet's discovery, and half a degree to the eastward of it, and not seeing the least sign of land, either now or since we have been in this parallel, I gave over looking for it, and hauled away to the northward. As our last track to the southward was within a few degrees of Bouvet's discovery, in the longitude assigned to it, and about three or four degrees to the southward, should there be any land thereabout, it must be a very inconsiderable island. But I believe it was nothing but ice, as we, in our first setting out, thought we had seen land several times, but it proved to be high islands of ice at the back of the large fields; and as it was thick foggy weather when Mr. Bouvet fell in with it, he might very easily mistake them for land.

\* About  $147^{\circ}$  west longitude, as I reckon.



On the 7th, being in the latitude of  $48^{\circ} 30' S.$ , longitude  $14^{\circ} 26' E.$ , saw two large islands of ice. On the 17th, made the land of the Cape of Good Hope; and on the 19th, anchored in Table Bay, where we found Commodore Sir Edward Hughes, with his Majesty's ships *Salisbury* and *Seahorse*. I saluted the Commodore with thirteen guns, and, soon after, the garrison with the same number; the former returned the salute, as usual, with two guns less, and the latter with an equal number.

On the 24th, Sir Edward Hughes sailed with the *Salisbury* and *Seahorse* for the East Indies; but I remained, refitting the ship and refreshing my people, till the 16th of April, when I sailed for England; and on the 14th of July, anchored at Spithead.

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CHAPTER IX.—TRANSACTIONS AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SOME DISCOVERIES MADE BY THE FRENCH; AND THE ARRIVAL OF THE SHIP AT ST. HELENA.

I now resume my own Journal, which Captain Furneaux's interesting Narrative, in the preceding chapter, had obliged me to suspend.

The day after my arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, I went on shore and waited on the governor, Baron Plettenberg, and other principal officers, who received and treated us with the greatest politeness, contributing all in their power to make it agreeable. And, as there are few people more obliging to strangers than the Dutch in general at this place, and refreshments of all kinds are nowhere to be got in such abundance, we enjoyed some real repose, after the fatigues of a long voyage. The good treatment which strangers meet with at the Cape of Good Hope, and the necessity of breathing a little fresh air, has introduced a custom not common anywhere else (at least I have nowhere seen it so strictly observed), which is, for all the officers who can be spared out of the ships to reside on shore. We followed this custom. Myself, the two Mr. Forsters, and Mr. Sparrman, took up our abode with Mr. Brandt, a gentleman well known to the English by his obliging readiness to serve them. My first care after my arrival, was to procure fresh-baked bread, fresh meat, greens, and wine, for those who remained on board; and, being provided every day during our stay with these articles, they were soon restored to their usual strength. We had only three men on board whom it was thought necessary to send on shore for the recovery of their health; and for these I procured quarters, at the rate of thirty stivers, or half-a-crown, per day, for which they were provided with victuals, drink, and lodging.

We now went to work to supply all our defects. For this purpose, by permission, we erected a tent on shore, to which we sent our casks and sails to be repaired. We also struck the yards and topmasts, in order to overhaul the rigging, which we found in so bad a condition, that almost everything, except the standing rigging, was obliged to be replaced with new; and that was purchased at a most exorbitant price. In the article of naval stores, the Dutch here, as well as at Batavia, take a shameful advantage of the distress of foreigners. That our rigging, sails, &c. should be worn out, will not be wondered at, when it is known, that, during this circumnavigation of the globe, that is, from our leaving this place, to our return to it again, we had sailed no less than twenty thousand leagues; an extent of voyage nearly equal to three times the equatorial circumference of the earth, and which, I apprehend, was never sailed by any ship in the same space of time before. And yet, in all this great run, which had been made in all latitudes between  $9^{\circ}$  and  $71^{\circ}$ , we sprung neither lower-masts, top-mast, lower nor top-sail yard, nor so much as broke a lower or top-mast shroud; which, with the great care and abilities of my officers, must be owing to the good properties of our ship.

One of the French ships which were at anchor in the bay, was the *Ajax* Indiaman, bound to Pondicherry, commanded by Captain Crozet. He had been second in command with Captain Marion, who sailed from this place with two ships, in March 1772, as hath been already mentioned. Instead of going from hence to America, as was said, he stood away for New Zealand; where, in the Bay of Isles, he and some of his people were killed by the inhabitants. Captain Crozet, who succeeded to the command, returned by the way of the Philippine Isles, with the two ships, to the Island of Mauritius. He seemed to be a man

possessed of the true spirit of discovery, and to have abilities. In a very obliging manner, he communicated to me a chart, wherein were delineated not only his own discoveries, but also that of Captain Kerguelen, which I found laid down in the very situation where we searched for it; so that I can, by no means, conceive how both we and the *Adventure* missed it. Besides this land, which Captain Crozet told us was a long but very narrow island, extending east and west, Captain Marion, in about the latitude of  $43^{\circ}$  S., and from  $16^{\circ}$  to  $30^{\circ}$  of longitude east of the Cape of Good Hope, discovered six islands which were high and barren\*. These, together with some islands lying between the line and the southern tropic in the Pacific Ocean, were the principal discoveries made in this voyage, the account of which, we were told, was ready for publication.

By Captain Crozet's chart, it appeared that a voyage had been made by the French across the South Pacific Ocean, in 1769, under the command of one Captain Surville; who, on condition of his attempting discoveries, had obtained leave to make a trading voyage to the coast of Peru. He fitted out, and took in a cargo, in some part of the East Indies; proceeded by way of the Philippine Isles; passed near New Britain; and discovered some land in the latitude of  $10^{\circ}$  S., longitude  $158^{\circ}$  E. to which he gave his own name. From hence he steered to the south; passed but a few degrees to the west of New Caledonia; fell in with New Zealand at its northern extremity, and put into Doubtful Bay, where, it seems, he was when I passed it, on my former voyage, in the *Endeavour*. From New Zealand, Captain Surville steered to the east, between the latitude of  $35^{\circ}$  and  $41^{\circ}$  south, until he arrived on the coast of America; where, in the port of Callao, in attempting to land, he was drowned. These voyages of the French, though undertaken by private adventurers, have contributed something towards exploring the Southern Ocean. That of Captain Surville clears up a mistake which I was led into, in imagining the shoals off the west end of New Caledonia to extend to the west, as far as New Holland. It proves that there is an open sea in that space, and that we saw the N.W. extremity of that country.

From the same gentleman we learnt, that the ship which had been at Otaheite before our first arrival there this voyage, was from New Spain; and that, in her return, she had discovered some islands in the latitude of  $32^{\circ}$  S. and under the meridian of  $130^{\circ}$  W. Some other islands, said to be discovered by the Spaniards, appeared on this chart; but Captain Crozet seemed to think, they were inserted from no good authorities. We were likewise informed of a later voyage undertaken by the French, under the command of Captain Kerguelen, which had ended much to the disgrace of that commander.

While we lay in Table Bay, several foreign ships put in and out, bound to and from India, viz. English, French, Danes, Swedes, and three Spanish frigates, two of them going to, and one coming from, Manilla. It is but very lately that the Spanish ships have touched here; and these were the first that were allowed the same privileges as other European friendly nations.

On examining our rudder, the pintles were found to be loose, and we were obliged to unhang it, and take it on shore to repair. We were also delayed for want of calkers to calk the ship, which was absolutely necessary to be done, before we put to sea. At length I obtained two workmen from one of the Dutch ships; and the Dutton English East Indiaman, coming in from Bengal, Captain Rice, obliged me with two more; so that by the 26th of April, this work was finished; and having got on board all necessary stores, and a fresh supply of provisions and water, we took leave of the governor and other principal officers, and the next morning repaired on board. Soon after, the wind coming fair, we weighed and put to sea; as did also the Spanish frigate *Juno*, from Manilla, a Danish Indiaman, and the Dutton. As soon as we were under sail, we saluted the garrison with thirteen guns; which compliment was immediately returned with the same number. The Spanish frigate and Danish Indiaman both saluted us as we passed them, and I returned each salute with an equal number of guns. When we were clear of the bay, the Danish ship steered for the East Indies, the Spanish frigate for Europe, and we and the Dutton for St. Helena.

\* These were visited by Cook when going out on his third voyage, and were distinguished by him by the names of Prince Edward's Islands, Marion's and Crozet's Islands. For a further account of Kerguelen's Land, see the

narrative of Cook's visit to it on his third voyage, in Dec. 1776, and Dr. Douglas's notes upon the subject of the previous visits of the French.—ED.



Depending on the goodness of Mr. Kendall's watch, I resolved to try to make the island, by a direct course. For the first six days, that is, till we got into the latitude of  $27^{\circ}$  S., longitude  $11\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  W. of the Cape, the winds were southerly and S.E. After this we had variable light airs for two days; they were succeeded by a wind at S.E. which continued to the island, except a part of one day, when it was at N.E. In general, the wind blew faint all the passage, which made it longer than common. At daybreak in the morning of the 15th of May, we saw the island of St. Helena, at the distance of fourteen leagues; and, at midnight, anchored in the road before the town, on the N.W. side of the island. At sunrise the next morning, the castle, and also the Dutton, saluted us, each with thirteen guns: on my landing, soon after, I was saluted by the castle, with the same number; and each of the salutes was returned by the ship. Governor Skettowe, and the principal gentlemen of the island, received and treated me, during my stay, with the greatest politeness, by showing me every kind of civility in their power.

Whoever views St. Helena, in its present state, and can but conceive what it must have been originally, will not hastily charge the inhabitants with want of industry: though, perhaps, they might apply it to more advantage, were more land appropriated to planting of corn,



ST. HELENA.

vegetables, roots, &c., instead of being laid out in pasture, which is the present mode. But this is not likely to happen, so long as the greatest part of it remains in the hands of the Company and their servants. Without industrious planters this island can never flourish, and be in a condition to supply the shipping with the necessary refreshments\*. Within these three years a new church has been built; some other new buildings were in hand; a commodious landing-place for boats has been made; and several other improvements, which add both strength and beauty to the place. During our stay here we finished some necessary repairs of the ship, which we had not time to do at the Cape. We also filled all our empty water-casks; and the crew were served with fresh beef, purchased at fivepence per pound. Their beef is exceedingly good, and is the only refreshment to be had worth mentioning.

By a series of observations made at the Cape Town, and at James Fort, in St. Helena; at the former by Messrs. Mason and Dixon, and at the latter by Mr. Maskelyne, the present astronomer royal; the difference of longitude between these two places is  $24^{\circ} 12' 15''$ , only two miles more than Mr. Kendall's watch made. The lunar observations made by Mr. Wales, before we arrived at the island, and after we left it, and reduced to it by the watch, gave

\* In recent years great improvement has taken place in the cultivation of the island, which has been encouraged by the exertions of the government and the establishment of Agricultural and Horticultural Societies. Still the

chief supplies to be obtained here are fresh meat and water; and the former is held of such importance, that no one is allowed to kill an ox without the governor's permission.—Ed.

5° 51' for the longitude of James Fort, which is only five miles more west than it is placed by Mr. Maskelyne. In like manner, the longitude of the Cape Town was found within 5' of the truth. I mention this to show how near the longitude of places may be found by the lunar method, even at sea, with the assistance of a good watch.

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CHAPTER X.—PASSAGE FROM ST. HELENA TO THE WESTERN ISLANDS, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF ASCENSION AND FERNANDO NORONHO.

On the 21st, in the evening, I took leave of the governor, and repaired on board. Upon my leaving the shore, I was saluted with thirteen guns; and, upon my getting under sail, with the Dutton in company, I was saluted with thirteen more; both of which I returned. After leaving St. Helena, the Dutton was ordered to steer N.W. by W. or N.W. by compass, in order to avoid falling in with Ascension; at which island, it was said, an illicit trade was carried on between the officers of the India Company's ships and some vessels from North America, who, of late years, had frequented the island, on pretence of fishing for whales or catching turtle, when their real design was to wait the coming of the India ships. In order to prevent their homeward-bound ship from falling in with these smugglers, and to put a stop to this illicit trade, the Dutton was ordered to steer the course above mentioned till to the northward of Ascension. I kept company with this ship till the 24th, when, after putting a packet on board her for the Admiralty, we parted, she continuing her course to the N.W., and I steering for Ascension.

In the morning of the 28th, I made the island, and the same evening anchored in Cross Bay, on the N.W. side, in ten fathoms water, the bottom a fine sand, and half a mile from the shore. The Cross Hill, so called on account of a cross or flag-staff erected upon it, bore by compass S. 38° E.; and the two extreme points of the Bay extended from N.E. to S.W. We remained here till the evening of the 31st; and, notwithstanding we had several parties out every night, we got but twenty-four turtle, it being rather too late in the season; however, as they weighed between four and five hundred pounds each, we thought ourselves not ill off. We might have had a plentiful supply of fish in general; especially of that sort called old wives, I have nowhere seen such abundance; there were also cavalies, congor eels, and various other sorts; but the catching of any of these was not attended to, the object being turtle. There are abundance of goats, and aquatic birds, such as men-of-war and tropic birds, boobies, &c.

The Island of Ascension is about ten miles in length, in the direction of N.W. and S.E., and about five or six in breadth. It shows a surface composed of barren hills and valleys, on the most of which not a shrub or plant is to be seen for several miles, and where we found nothing but stones and sand, or rather slags and ashes; an indubitable sign that the isle, at some remote time, has been destroyed by a volcano, which has thrown up vast heaps of stones, and even hills. Between these heaps of stones we found a smooth even surface, composed of ashes and sand, and very good travelling upon it; but one may as easily walk over broken glass bottles as over the stones. If the foot deceives you, you are sure to be cut or lamed, which happened to some of our people. A high mountain, at the S.E. end of the isle, seems to be left in its original state, and to have escaped the general destruction. Its soil is a kind of white marl, which yet retains its vegetative qualities, and produceth a kind of purslain, spurg, and one or two grasses. On these the goats subsist; and it is at this part of the isle where they are to be found, as also land-crabs, which are said to be very good. I was told, that about this part of the isle is some very good land, on which might be raised many necessary articles; and some have been at the trouble of sowing turnips and other useful vegetables. I was also told there is a fine spring in a valley which disjoins two hills on the top of the mountain above mentioned; besides great quantities of fresh water in holes in the rocks, which the person who gave me this information believed was collected from rains. But these supplies of water can only be of use to the traveller, or to those who may



be so unfortunate as to be shipwrecked on the island \* ; which seems to have been the fate of some not long ago, as appeared by the remains of a wreck we found on the N.E. side. By what we could judge, she seemed to have been a vessel of about one hundred and fifty tons burthen.

While we lay in the road, a sloop of about seventy tons burthen came to an anchor by us. She belonged to New York, which place she left in February ; and having been to the coast of Guinea with a cargo of goods, was come here to take in turtle to carry to Barbadoes. This was the story which the master, whose name was Greves, was pleased to tell, and which may, in part, be true ; but I believe the chief view of his coming here was the expectation of meeting with some of the India ships. He had been in the island near a week, and had got on board twenty turtle. A sloop, belonging to Bermuda, had sailed but a few days before with one hundred and five on board, which was as many as she could take in ; but having turned several more on the different sandy beaches, they had ripped open their bellies, taken out the eggs, and left the carcasses to putrify ; an act as inhuman as injurious to those who came after them. Part of the account I have given of the interior parts of this island I received from Captain Greves, who seemed to be a sensible, intelligent man, and had been all over it. He sailed in the morning of the same day we did.

Turtle, I am told, are to be found at this isle from January to June. The method of catching them is to have people upon the several sandy bays, to watch their coming on shore to lay their eggs, which is always in the night, and then to turn them on their backs, till there be an opportunity to take them off the next day. It was recommended to us to send a good many men to each beach, where they were to lie quiet till the turtle were ashore, and then rise and turn them at once. This method may be the best when the turtle are numerous ; but when there are but few, three or four men are sufficient for the largest beach ; and if they keep patrolling it, close to the wash of the surf, during the night, by this method they will see all that come ashore, and cause less noise than if there were more of them. It was by this method we caught the most we got ; and this is the method by which the Americans take them. Nothing is more certain, than that all the turtle which are found about this island come here for the sole purpose of laying their eggs, for we meet with none but females ; and of all those which we caught, not one had any food worth mentioning in its stomach ; a sure sign, in my opinion, that they must have been a long time without any ; and this may be the reason why the flesh of them is not so good as some I have ate on the coast of New South Wales, which were caught on the spot where they fed.

The watch made  $8^{\circ} 45'$  difference of longitude between St. Helena and Ascension ; which added to  $5^{\circ} 49'$ , the longitude of James Fort in St. Helena, gives  $14^{\circ} 34'$  for the longitude of the Road of Ascension, or  $14^{\circ} 30'$  for the middle of the island, the latitude of which is  $8^{\circ}$  S. The lunar observations made by Mr. Wales, and reduced to the same point of the island by the watch, gave  $14^{\circ} 28' 30''$  west longitude.

On the 31st of May we left Ascension, and steered to the northward, with a fine gale at S.E. by E. I had a great desire to visit the island of St. Matthew, to settle its situation ; but as I found the winds would not let me fetch it, I steered for the island of Fernando de Noronho, on the coast of Brazil, in order to determine its longitude, as I could not find this had yet been done. Perhaps I should have performed a more acceptable service to navigation, if I had gone in search of the island of St. Paul, and those shoals which are said to lie near the equator, and about the meridian of  $20^{\circ}$  west ; as neither their situation nor existence is well known. The truth is, I was unwilling to prolong the passage in searching for what I was not sure to find ; nor was I willing to give up every object, which might tend to the improvement of navigation or geography, for the sake of getting home a week or a fortnight sooner. It is but seldom that opportunities of this kind offer ; and when they do, they are too often neglected.

In our passage to Fernando de Noronho, we had steady fresh gales between the S.E. and E.S.E. attended with fair and clear weather ; and as we had the advantage of the moon, a

\* Since the time when Napoleon was imprisoned in St. Helena, Ascension has been occupied by a small British garrison, by whose exertion it has been much improved ; and is now a very convenient station as a depot for stores, and a place for watering ships cruising on the coast of Brazil or in the South Atlantic Ocean.—Ed.

day or night did not pass without making lunar observations for the determining our longitude. In this run, the variation of the compass gradually decreased from  $11^{\circ}$  west, which it was at Ascension, to  $1^{\circ}$  west, which we found off Fernando de Noronho. This was the mean result of two compasses, one of which gave  $1^{\circ} 37'$ , and the other  $23'$  west. On the 9th of June, at noon, we made the island of Fernando de Noronho, bearing S.W. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., distant six or seven leagues, as we afterwards found by the log. It appeared in detached and peaked hills, the largest of which looked like a church tower or steeple. As we drew near the S.E. part of the isle, we perceived several unconnected sunken rocks lying near a league from the shore, on which the sea broke in a great surf. After standing very near these rocks, we hoisted our colours, and then bore up round the north end of the isle, or rather round a group of little islets; for we could see that the land was divided by narrow channels. There is a strong fort on the one next the main island, where there are several others; all of which seemed to have every advantage that nature can give them, and they are so disposed as wholly to command all the anchoring and landing places about the island. We continued to steer round the northern point, till the sandy beaches (before which is the road for shipping) began to appear, and the forts and the peaked hills were open to the westward of the said point. At this time, on a gun being fired from one of the forts, the Portuguese colours were displayed, and the example was followed by all the other forts. As the purpose for which I made the island was now answered, I had no intention to anchor; and therefore, after firing a gun to leeward, we made sail and stood away to the northward, with a fine fresh gale at E.S.E. The peaked hill or church tower bore south,  $27^{\circ}$  west, distant about four or five miles; and from this point of view it leans, or overhangs, to the east. This hill is nearly in the middle of the island, which nowhere exceeds two leagues in extent, and shows a hilly, unequal surface, mostly covered with wood and herbage.

Ulloa says, "This island hath two harbours, capable of receiving ships of the greatest burden; one is on the north side, and the other on the N.W. The former is, in every respect, the principal, both for shelter and capacity, and the goodness of its bottom; but both are exposed to the north and west, though these winds, particularly the north, are periodical, and of no long continuance." He further says, that you anchor in the north harbour (which is no more than what I would call a road) in thirteen fathoms water, one-third of a league from shore, bottom of fine sand; the peaked hill above mentioned bearing S.W.  $3^{\circ}$  southerly\*.

This road seems to be well sheltered from the south and east winds. One of my seamen had been on board a Dutch India ship, who put in at this isle in her way out, in 1770. They were very sickly, and in want of refreshments and water. The Portuguese supplied them with some buffaloes and fowls; and they watered behind one of the beaches in a little pool, which was hardly big enough to dip a bucket in. By reducing the observed latitude at noon to the peaked hill, its latitude will be  $3^{\circ} 53'$  south; and its longitude, by the watch, carried on from St. Helena, is  $32^{\circ} 34'$  west; and by observations of the sun and moon, made before and after we made the isle, and reduced to it by the watch,  $32^{\circ} 44' 30''$  west. This was the mean result of my observations. The results of those made by Mr. Wales, which were more numerous, gave  $32^{\circ} 23'$ . The mean of the two will be pretty near the watch, and probably nearest the truth. By knowing the longitude of this isle, we are able to determine that of the adjacent east coast of Brazil; which, according to the modern charts, lies about sixty or seventy leagues more to the west. We might very safely have trusted to these charts, especially the Variation Chart for 1744, and Mr. Dalrymple's of the Southern Atlantic Ocean†.

On the 11th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, we crossed the equator in the longitude of  $32^{\circ} 14'$  west. We had fresh gales at S.S.E., blowing in squalls, attended by showers of

\* See Don Antonio d'Ulloa's book, vol. ii. chap. 3, page 95 to 102, where there is a very particular account of this island.

† Ulloa says, that the chart places this island sixty leagues from the coast of Brazil; and that the Por-

tuguese pilots, who often make the voyage, judge it to be eighty leagues; but, by taking the mean between the two opinions, the distance may be fixed at seventy leagues.



rain, that continued at certain intervals, till noon the next day, after which we had twenty-four hours' fair weather. At noon on the 13th, being in the latitude of  $3^{\circ} 49'$  north, longitude  $31^{\circ} 47'$  west, the wind became variable, between the N.E. and south; and we had light airs and squalls by turns, attended by hard showers of rain, and for the most part dark, gloomy weather, which continued till the evening of the 15th, when in the latitude of  $5^{\circ} 47'$  north, longitude  $31^{\circ}$  west, we had three calm days, in which time we did not advance above ten or twelve leagues to the north. We had fair weather and rain by turns; the sky, for the most part, being obscured, and sometimes by heavy dense clouds which broke in excessive hard showers. At seven o'clock in the evening on the 18th, the calm was succeeded by a breeze at east, which, the next day, increasing and veering to and fixing at N.E., we stretched to N.W. with our tacks on board. We made no doubt that we had now got the N.E. trade-wind, as it was attended with fair weather, except now and then some light showers of rain; and as we advanced to the north, the wind increased and blew a fresh top-gallant gale.

On the 21st, I ordered the still to be fitted to the largest copper, which held about sixty-four gallons. The fire was lighted at four o'clock in the morning, and at six the still began to run. It was continued till six o'clock in the evening; in which time we obtained thirty-two gallons of fresh water, at the expense of one bushel and a half of coals; which was about three-fourths of a bushel more than was necessary to have boiled the ship's company's victuals only; but the expense of fuel was no object with me. The victuals were dressed in the small copper, the other being applied wholly to the still; and every method was made use of to obtain from it the greatest quantity of fresh water possible, as this was my sole motive for setting it to work. The mercury in the thermometer at noon was at eighty-four and a half, and higher it is seldom found at sea. Had it been lower, more water, under the same circumstances, would undoubtedly have been produced; for the colder the air is, the cooler you can keep the still, which will condense the steam the faster. Upon the whole, this is a useful invention; but I would advise no man to trust wholly to it. For although you may, provided you have plenty of fuel and good coppers, obtain as much water as will support life, you cannot, with all your efforts, obtain sufficient to support health, in hot climates especially, where it is the most wanting; for I am well convinced, that nothing contributes more to the health of seamen than having plenty of water.

The wind now remained invariably fixed at N.E. and E.N.E. and blew fresh with squalls, attended with showers of rain, and the sky for the most part cloudy. On the 25th, in the latitude of  $16^{\circ} 12'$  north, longitude  $37^{\circ} 20'$  west, seeing a ship to windward steering down upon us, we shortened sail in order to speak with her; but finding she was Dutch by her colours, we made sail again and left her to pursue her course, which we supposed was to some of the Dutch settlements in the West Indies. In the latitude of  $20^{\circ}$  north, longitude  $39^{\circ} 45'$  west, the wind began to veer to E. by N. and E.; but the weather remained the same; that is, we continued to have it clear and cloudy by turns, with light squalls and showers. Our track was between N.W. by N. and N.N.W. till noon on the 28th, after which our course made good was N. by W., being at this time in the latitude of  $21^{\circ} 21'$  north, longitude  $40^{\circ} 6'$  west. Afterwards, the wind began to blow a little more steady, and was attended with fair and clear weather. At two o'clock in the morning of the 30th, being in the latitude of  $24^{\circ} 20'$  north, longitude  $40^{\circ} 47'$  west, a ship, steering to the westward, passed us within hail. We judged her to be English, as they answered us in that language; but we could not understand what they said, and they were presently out of sight.

In the latitude of  $29^{\circ} 30'$ , longitude  $41^{\circ} 30'$ , the wind slackened and veered more to the S.E. We now began to see some of that sea-plant which is commonly called gulf-weed, from a supposition that it comes from the Gulf of Florida. Indeed, for aught I know to the contrary, it may be a fact; but it seems not necessary, as it is certainly a plant which vegetates at sea. We continued to see it, but always in small pieces, till we reached the latitude  $36^{\circ}$ , longitude  $39^{\circ}$  west, beyond which situation no more appeared. On the 5th of July, in the latitude of  $32^{\circ} 31' 30''$  north, longitude  $40^{\circ} 29'$  west, the wind veered to the east, and blew very faint; the next day it was calm; the two following days we had

variable light airs and calms by turns; and, at length, on the 9th, having fixed at S.S.W., it increased to a fresh gale, with which we steered first N.E. and then E.N.E. with a view of making some of the Azores, or Western Isles. On the 11th, in the latitude of  $36^{\circ} 45'$  north, longitude  $36^{\circ} 45'$  west, we saw a sail which was steering to the west; and the next day we saw three more.

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CHAPTER XI.—ARRIVAL OF THE SHIP AT THE ISLAND OF FAYAL, A DESCRIPTION OF THE PLACE, AND THE RETURN OF THE RESOLUTION TO ENGLAND.

AT five o'clock in the evening of the 13th, we made the Island of Fayal, one of the Azores, and soon after that of Pico, under which we spent the night making short boards. At daybreak the next morning we bore away for the bay of Fayal, or De Horta, where, at eight o'clock, we anchored in twenty fathoms water, a clean sandy bottom, and something more than half-a-mile from the shore. Here we moored N.E. and S.W., being directed so to do by the master of the port, who came on board before we dropped anchor. When moored, the S.W. point of the bay bore S.  $16^{\circ}$  W., and the N.E. point N.  $33^{\circ}$  E.; the church at the N.E. end of the town N.  $38^{\circ}$  W.; the west point of St. George's Island N.  $42^{\circ}$  E., distant eight leagues; and the Isle of Pico extending from N.  $74^{\circ}$  E. to S.  $46^{\circ}$  E., distance four or five miles. We found in the bay the *Pourvoyeur*, a large French frigate, an American sloop, and a brig belonging to the place. She had come last from the river Amazon, where she took in a cargo of provisions for the Cape Verde Islands; but, not being able to find them, she steered for this place, where she anchored about half an hour before us.

As my sole design in stopping here was to give Mr. Wales an opportunity to find the rate of the watch, the better to enable us to fix, with some degree of certainty, the longitude of these islands, the moment we anchored, I sent an officer to wait on the English consul, and to notify our arrival to the governor, requesting his permission for Mr. Wales to make observations on shore, for the purpose above-mentioned. Mr. Dent, who acted as consul in the absence of Mr. Gathorne, not only procured this permission, but accommodated Mr. Wales with a convenient place in his garden to set up his instruments; so that he was enabled to observe equal altitudes the same day. We were not more obliged to Mr. Dent for the very friendly readiness he showed in procuring us this and every other thing we wanted, than for the very liberal and hospitable entertainment we met with at his house, which was open to accommodate us, both night and day.

During our stay, the ship's company was served with fresh beef; and we took on board about fifteen tons of water, which we brought off in the country boats, at the rate of about three shillings per ton. Ships are allowed to water with their own boats, but the many inconveniences attending it more than overbalance the expense of hiring shore-boats which is the most general custom. Fresh provisions for present use may be got, such as beef, vegetables, and fruit; and hogs, sheep, and poultry, for sea-stock, at a pretty reasonable price; but I do not know that any sea-provisions are to be had, except wine. The bullocks and hogs are very good, but the sheep are small, and wretchedly poor.

The principal produce of Fayal is wheat and Indian corn, with which they supply Pico, and some of the other isles. The chief town is called *Villa de Horta*. It is situated in the bottom of the bay, close to the edge of the sea, and is defended by two castles, one at each end of the town, and a wall of stone-work, extending along the sea-shore, from the one to the other. But these works are suffered to go to decay, and serve more for show than strength. They heighten the prospect of the city, which makes a fine appearance from the road; but, if we except the Jesuits' College, the monasteries, and churches, there is not another building that has anything to recommend it, either outside or in. There is not a glass window in the place, except what are in the churches, and in a country-house, which lately belonged to the English consul; all the others being latticed, which, to an Englishman, makes them look like prisons.

This little city, like all others belonging to the Portuguese, is crowded with religious



buildings; there being no less than three convents of men, and two of women; and eight churches, including those belonging to the convents, and the one in the Jesuits' College. The college is a fine structure, and is seated on an elevation in the pleasantest part of the city. Since the expulsion of that order, it has been suffered to go to decay, and will probably in a few years, be no better than a heap of ruins. Fayal, although the most noted for wine, does not raise sufficient for its own consumption. This article is raised on Pico, where there is no road for shipping; but being brought to De Horta, and from thence shipped abroad, chiefly to America, it has acquired the name of Fayal wine.

The bay, or road of Fayal, is situated at the east end of the isle, before the Villa de Horta, and facing the west end of Pico. It is two miles broad, and three quarters of a mile deep, and hath a semicircular form. The depth of water is from twenty to ten, and even six fathoms, a sandy bottom; except near the shore, and particularly near the S.W. head, off which the bottom is rocky, also without the line, which joins the two points of the bay, so that it is not safe to anchor far out. The bearing before-mentioned, taken when at anchor, will direct any one to the best ground. It is by no means a bad road, but the winds most to be apprehended are those which blow from between the S.S.W. and S.E.; the former is not so dangerous as the latter, because, with it, you can always get to sea. Besides this road, there is a small cove round the S.W. point, called Porto Pierre, in which, I am told, a ship or two may lie in tolerable safety, and where they sometimes heave small vessels down.

A Portuguese captain told me, that about half a league from the road, in the direction of S.E., in a line between it and the south side of Pico, lies a sunken rock, over which is twenty-two feet water, and on which the sea breaks in hard gales from the south. He also assured me, that of all the shoals that are laid down in our charts and pilot-books about these isles, not one has any existence but the one between the islands of St. Michael and St. Mary, called Hormingan.—This account may be believed, without relying entirely upon it. He further informed me, that it is forty-five leagues from Fayal to the island of Flores; and that there runs a strong tide between Fayal and Pico, the flood setting to the N.E., and the ebb to the S.W., but that out at sea, the direction is east and west. Mr. Wales having observed the times of high and low water, by the shore, concluded that it must be high water at the full and change about twelve o'clock, and the water riseth about four or five feet.

The distance between Fayal and Flores was confirmed by Mr. Rebiers, lieutenant of the French frigate, who told me, that, after being by estimation two leagues due south of Flores, they made forty-four leagues, on a S.E. by E. course by compass, to St. Catherine's Point, on Fayal.

I found the latitude of the ship at anchor in the bay . . . . .	38° 31' 55" N.
By a mean of seventeen sets of lunar observations, taken before we arrived, and reduced to the bay by the watch, the longitude was made . . . . .	28 24 30 W.
By a mean of six sets after leaving it, and reduced back by the watch . . . . .	28 53 22
Longitude by observation . . . . .	28 38 56
Ditto, by the watch . . . . .	28 55 48
Error of the watch on our arrival at Portsmouth . . . . .	— 16 26½
True longitude by the watch . . . . .	28 39 18½

I found the variation of the compass, by several azimuths, taken by different compasses on board the ship, to agree very well with the like observations made by Mr. Wales on shore; and yet the variation thus found is greater by 5°, than we found it to be at sea; for the azimuths taken on board, the evening before we came into the bay, gave no more than 16° 18' west variation, and the evening after we came out, 17° 33' west.

I shall now give some account of the variation, as observed in our run from the Island of Fernando de Noronho to Fayal. The least variation we found was 37° W., which was the

day after we left Fernando de Noronho, and in the latitude of 33° S., longitude 32° 16' W. The next day, being nearly in the same longitude, and in the latitude of 1° 25' N. it was 1° 23' west; and we did not find it increase till we got into the latitude of 5° N., longitude 31° west. After this our compasses gave different variations, viz., from 3° 57' to 5° 11' W., till we arrived in the latitude of 26° 44' north, longitude 41° west, when we found 6° west. It then increased gradually, so that in the latitude of 35° N. longitude 40° W., it was 10° 24' W.; in the latitude of 38° 12' N., longitude 32½° W., it was 14° 47'; and in sight of Fayal 16° 18' W., as mentioned above.

Having left the bay at four in the morning of the 19th, I steered for the west end of St. George's Island. As soon as we had passed it, I steered E. ½ S. for the Island of Tercera; and after having run thirteen leagues, we were not more than one league from the west end. I now edged away for the north side, with a view of ranging the coast to the eastern point, in order to ascertain the length of the island; but the weather coming on very thick and hazy, and night approaching, I gave up the design, and proceeded with all expedition for England. On the 29th we made the land near Plymouth. The next morning we anchored at Spithead; and the same day I landed at Portsmouth, and set out for London, in company with Messrs. Wales, Forsters, and Hodges.

Having been absent from England three years and eighteen days, in which time, and under all changes of climate, I lost but four men, and only one of them by sickness, it may not be amiss, at the conclusion of this journal, to enumerate the several causes to which, under the care of Providence, I conceive this uncommon good state of health experienced by my people was owing. In the Introduction, mention has been made of the extraordinary attention paid by the Admiralty, in causing such articles to be put on board as, either from experience or suggestion, it was judged would tend to preserve the health of the seamen. I shall not trespass upon the reader's time in mentioning them all, but confine myself to such as were found the most useful. We were furnished with a quantity of malt, of which was made *Sweet Wort*. To such of the men as showed the least symptoms of the scurvy, and also to such as were thought to be threatened with that disorder, this was given from one to two or three pints a day each man; or in such proportion as the surgeon found necessary, which sometimes amounted to three quarts. This is, without doubt, one of the best antiscorbutic sea medicines yet discovered; and, if used in time, will, with proper attention to other things, I am persuaded, prevent the scurvy from making any great progress for a considerable while. But I am not altogether of opinion that it will cure it at sea.

*Sour Krout*, of which we had a large quantity, is not only a wholesome vegetable food, but, in my judgment, highly antiscorbutic; and it spoils not by keeping. A pound of this was served to each man when at sea, twice a week or oftener, as was thought necessary. *Portable Broth* was another great article, of which we had a large supply. An ounce of this to each man, or such other proportion as circumstances pointed out, was boiled in their pease, three days in the week; and when we were in places where vegetables were to be got, it was boiled with them, and wheat or oatmeal every morning for breakfast; and also with pease and vegetables for dinner. It enabled us to make several nourishing and wholesome messes, and was the means of making the people eat a greater quantity of vegetables than they would otherwise have done. *Rob of Lemon* and *Orange* is an antiscorbutic we were not without. The surgeon made use of it in many cases, with great success. Amongst the articles of victualling, we were supplied with *Sugar* in the room of *Oil*, and with *Wheat* for a part of our *Oatmeal*; and were certainly gainers by the exchange. *Sugar*, I apprehend, is a very good antiscorbutic; whereas oil (such as the navy is usually supplied with), I am of opinion, has the contrary effect.

But the introduction of the most salutary articles, either as provisions or medicines, will generally prove unsuccessful, unless supported by certain regulations. On this principle, many years' experience, together with some hints I had from Sir Hugh Palliser, Captains Campbell, Wallis, and other intelligent officers, enabled me to lay a plan whereby all was to be governed. The crew were at three watches, except upon some extraordinary occasions. By this means they were not so much exposed to the weather as if they had been at watch and watch; and had generally dry clothes to shift themselves, when they happened to get



wet. Care was also taken to expose them as little to wet weather as possible. Proper methods were used to keep their persons, hammocks, bedding, clothes, &c., constantly clean and dry. Equal care was taken to keep the ship clean and dry betwixt decks. Once or twice a week she was aired with fires; and when this could not be done, she was smoked with gunpowder mixed with vinegar or water. I had also frequently a fire made in an iron pot at the bottom of the well, which was of great use in purifying the air in the lower parts of the ship. To this and to cleanliness, as well in the ship as amongst the people, too great attention cannot be paid; the least neglect occasions a putrid and disagreeable smell below, which nothing but fires will remove. Proper attention was paid to the ship's coppers, so that they were kept constantly clean. The fat which boiled out of the salt beef and pork, I never suffered to be given to the people; being of opinion that it promotes the scurvy.

I was careful to take in water wherever it was to be got, even though we did not want it. Because I look upon fresh water from the shore to be more wholesome than that which has been kept some time on board a ship. Of this essential article we were never at an allowance, but had always plenty for every necessary purpose. Navigators in general cannot, indeed, expect, nor would they wish to meet with, such advantages in this respect, as fell to my lot. The nature of our voyage carried us into very high latitudes. But the hardships and dangers inseparable from that situation, were, in some degree, compensated by the singular felicity we enjoyed, of extracting inexhaustible supplies of fresh water from an ocean strewed with ice. We came to few places where either the art of man or the bounty of nature had not provided some sort of refreshment or other, either in the animal or vegetable way. It was my first care to procure whatever of any kind could be met with, by every means in my power; and to oblige our people to make use thereof, both by my example and authority; but the benefits arising from refreshments of any kind soon became so obvious, that I had little occasion to recommend the one or to exert the other.

It doth not become me to say how far the principal objects of our voyage have been obtained. Though it hath not abounded with remarkable events, nor been diversified by sudden transitions of fortune; though my relation of it has been more employed in tracing our course by sea, than in recording our operations on shore; this, perhaps, is a circumstance from which the curious reader may infer, that the purposes for which we were sent into the southern hemisphere were diligently and effectually pursued. Had we found out a continent there, we might have been better enabled to gratify curiosity; but we hope our not having found it, after all our persevering searches, will leave less room for future speculation about unknown worlds remaining to be explored. But, whatever may be the public judgment about other matters, it is with real satisfaction, and without claiming any merit but that of attention to my duty, that I can conclude this account with an observation which facts enable me to make, that our having discovered the possibility of preserving health amongst a numerous ship's company, for such a length of time, in such varieties of climate and amidst such continued hardships and fatigues, will make this voyage remarkable in the opinion of every benevolent person, when the disputes about a southern continent shall have ceased to engage the attention, and to divide the judgment of philosophers.

END OF VOL. I.











